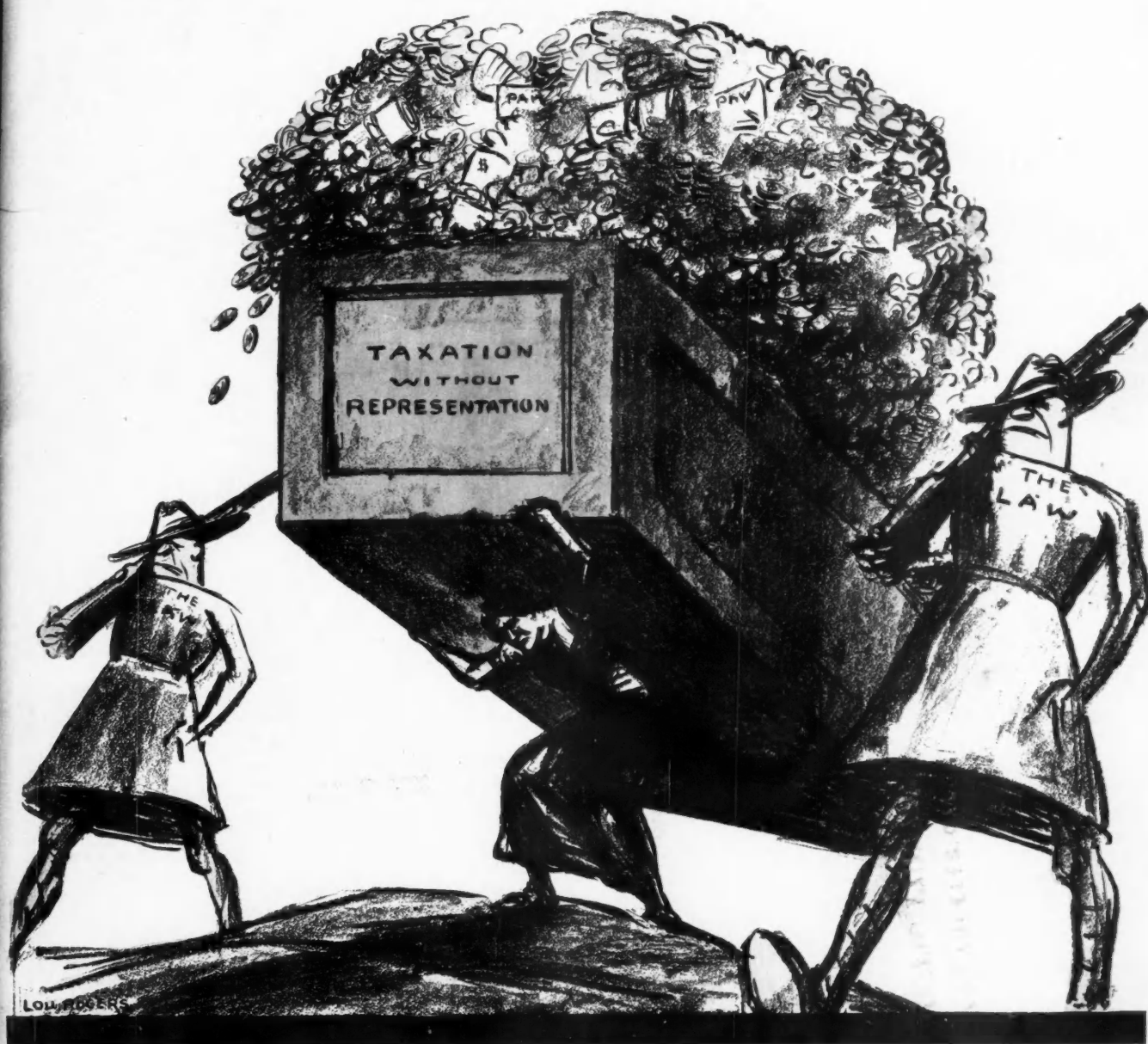


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December 1, 1917

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL FOUNDED 1870



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Founded June 2, 1917

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HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY

and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Head-quarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue

New York

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On to Washington!

In a week the suffrage hosts will assemble, in person and by proxy, in Washington, D. C., for the

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The Date is December 11-15

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By the

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PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2 and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Con-
ferring upon Women the
Right of Suffrage.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915; yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington, and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Representatives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee
September 13, every member of Committee approving.

IN THE HOUSE:

Raker resolution to create a woman suffrage committee in the House adopted by the House September 24 by a vote of 181 to 107.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

December 1, 1917

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The Sex Line in Politics

UNDER this caption the New York Evening *Sun* rises to administer rebuke to New York suffragists who declare their intention of dealing with State Senator Elon R. Brown and United States Senator James W. Wadsworth at the polls because of their anti-suffrage philosophy and practice. According to the *Sun* these two men were honest in their opposition to suffrage and any concerted attack upon them by women "can be regarded in no way save as a sex attack."

Leaving to one side Senator Brown's legislative record as an exploiter of women and children in industry, and dealing with the situation only on the ground of the *Sun's* apparent contention that it is not fair or womanly, is indeed "an inferential breach of faith," to want to put out of business those whose political ideals are hostile to yours, those who have knifed, and are so natured and so back-grounded that they must continue to knife, the thing that you carry nearest your heart—dealing with the situation only on that ground, it is well-nigh impossible to find any justification in the *Sun's* position.

In view of the fact that for whomever women may work and vote in place of the two Senators in question, they will yet work and vote for a man, where lies the action for sex attack? In view of the further fact that woman's task of securing the suffrage is not finished and will not be until she gets nation-wide suffrage, she would be too stupid to vote at all if she did not use her vote to delete such opposition to suffrage wherever it may be found. Talk the matter in terms of the prohibitionists instead of the suffragists, and observe the deviousness of the *Sun's* manner of argument. Guided by it, the prohibitionist whose task is nation-wide prohibition would remember that the opposition encountered in state and United States Senate was "conscientious" and "honest and public-spirited in its motive" and would not stand out against the re-election of his opponents. Talk the matter in terms of Child Labor, and observe again that the legislators who fought the protection of little children in industry, having done so with a conscientious faith in their own judgment as to what was for the good of the country, Mr. Owen Lovejoy and the National Child Labor Committee will kindly extend the right hand of fellowship when these opponents stand for re-election.

It is an argument that trips itself.

Women will oppose Senator Brown and Senator Wadsworth because such men as they stand forth as an archetype of opposition to what women want to see read into legislation by legislators. What they want to see read into legislation by legislators is the spirit of democracy and the application of justice.

That is the motive and the only motive that is likely to animate women in handling such cases, in anticipation or in fact.

As a motive it is very animating.

Suffrage Progress in Great Britain

ON November 20 despatches pointed out that the British House of Commons had unanimously decided "to extend the municipal franchise to women on the same terms as they now have the parliamentary franchise." This was misleading. The purport of the action by the House of Commons was so to extend the woman suffrage clause of the Representation of the People Bill that married women, over thirty, whose husbands are entitled to the municipal franchise, should have it also. They never have had it, though single women over 21 have had it since 1869, in England and Wales, since 1881 in Scotland and since 1898 in Ireland. In doing away with this old-time discrimination against married women with regard to the municipal franchise the action taken adds just so much to the original woman suffrage clause of the Representation of the People Bill, which grants parliamentary suffrage to women over thirty. By increasing the age limit from 21 to 30 for all women it cuts in on the present municipal franchise rights of unmarried women. But the two gains, parliamentary suffrage for all women over 30, and municipal suffrage for all married women over 30, far more than offset the cut on single women between 21 and 30. Final favorable action on the whole bill is expected daily from the House of Commons.

Her Soul Goes Marching On

NO soldier of the Grand Army was ever more touchingly honored north or south of Mason and Dixon's line than was the great veteran, Susan B. Anthony, on November 10th.

A triumphal wreath was placed on her grave in Mt. Hope

Cemetery, Rochester, N. Y., by members of the Woman Suffrage Party of Monroe County. Miss Anthony's former pastor, Dr. William C. Garnett, D. D., of Cambridge, Mass., went with the band of suffragists from headquarters, on North Street, to the grave of the great dead leader of the suffrage cause, whose soul has gone marching on.

There a memorable ceremony was held, attended by few persons comparatively; but millions of those who have fought under Miss Anthony's banner in the last fifty years were there in spirit, for the Grand Army of the Suffrage Cause is a mighty host.

Suffrophobia, an Old Complaint

"I FOUGHT against it, wrote against it, did all I could against it, but the Democratic Party were unanimously in favor of its passage, and a large proportion of my own party supported it, and so it was easily carried through."

This is not a post-election wail from one of the few anti-suffrage newspapers in New York state in 1917. It is a statement from Mr. Thurlow Weed, showing how he had opposed manhood suffrage in his state in 1821.

He and Chancellor Kent had feared the decomposition of the foundations of government if manhood suffrage became general.

Posterity will "deplere in sackcloth and ashes the delusion of the day" if it is adopted, thundered the Chancellor. Martin Van Buren, another prototype of 1917 anti-suffragists, dreaded increasing the voters of New York City from 13,000 to 25,000, and feared it would "drive from the polls all sober-minded people."

"That," wrote Thurlow Weed in 1881, "was sixty years ago, and I have lived all these years under that amended Constitution, and have not seen the danger I once feared."

Capturing the Main Body of the Enemy

MORE than all else is the New York suffrage victory wonderful because it has captured the main body of the opposition. All other victories were but skirmishes by comparison. Now the woman suffrage cause is done with flank movements and guerilla warfare.

"When one goes to war," says the Lincoln, Nebraska, *State Journal*, "one expects to capture the main body of the 'enemy' last. New York state contains about one-tenth of the women of the United States. Because it was a state of conservative farmers and foreigner-filled cities, it was regarded as probably the last stronghold of the opposition. And now New York has voted votes to its women. Has voted irrevocably; for a backward step could be taken only with the consent of the New voters, which will never be given and probably never asked for. Cornwallis has been captured. There is no possible doubt that in winning New York the women have won their Gettysburg. No president of the United States can ever again be elected as an opponent of woman suffrage. Probably it will be necessary for every candidate and party to favor not only woman suffrage by state action, as did the platforms of 1916, but national suf-

frage. What remains to the woman suffrage movement in the United States is but the rounding up of the stragglers.

"Perhaps most important of all is the sign this furnishes to Europe that our democratic professions are not a pretense but a fact. The victory for the women is a defeat for the Kaiser in Europe as well as for Kaiserism in America."

Anti-Suffrage Logic

THE opponents of equal rights for women have never been noted for logic; but when they are smarting under defeat, their logic becomes something absolutely weird. Their latest argument runs something as follows:

1. All anti-suffragists are patriotic, and ardently in favor of continuing the present war to a victorious peace.
2. The enormous majority of woman are anti-suffragists.
3. If the Federal Amendment passes, the government may later take a nation-wide referendum on the war, and if women as well as men have a vote on it, the result will be unfavorable to the war!

How is that for a sample of inverted logic?

A. S. B.

Mme. Breshkovsky on the Russian Situation

ALL sorts of conflicting reports come from Russia, and it is hard to disentangle the false from the true. It is the more interesting to get a few words on the subject from Catherine Breshkovsky, who is familiar with the whole situation.

Not long ago, the municipal elections took place in more than six hundred cities and towns of Russia. The cablegrams reported that in Moscow and most of the other places, the Bolsheviki (or extremists) were defeated. Madame Breshkovsky writes:

"Our women have already taken part in the municipal elections. They were as numerous as the men, and performed the duty quite well. Day after tomorrow I will write a letter about it for the *Woman's Journal*." (She has not yet got used to the name of the *Woman Citizen*.) The promised letter has just come. It is dated from the Winter Palace in Petrograd. She says:

"I am here for a few days only. I never remain long in large cities, because I prefer to be busy in our great provinces, where I see my people in their true nature, and speak to them freely, not only about politics and economics, but touching freely on all sides of life, and preaching to them as severely as I choose. I see how devoutly they hear and accept my counsels concerning all questions which constitute the basis of an honorable life of a citizen. The inhabitants of large cities also are attentive to what one says, but their distracted life makes them very soon forget their good intentions, and it is necessary to exhort them anew.

"The unanimity of the people in their principles throughout all Russia proves the question of equality of rights for both sexes. It was not even voted upon, the government having acknowledged the equality in its declaration, the principle having been long ago approved. No discussions or debates even appeared in the press. Does not this prove the innate righteousness of the people as a whole? And so the principles of self-government of the so-called

democratic Republic, the common possession of the land with all its riches, the autonomy of nationalities (which are very numerous in our large country, some of them not awaking great sympathy with the Russians), abide. All these principles never meet with opposition on the part of the large democracy in Russia. The Liberals, too, accept them, all but the principle concerning the division and possession of the land. They consent to distribute the states which belonged to the imperial family and to the monasteries, and the large possessions of the 'crown'; but they hold that the domains belonging to the nobility and the other land-owners should be retained by their possessors. Knowing the philosophy and the world-conception of our people, we cannot consent to such a decision, for it would create another revolution in a few years.

"Now I will boast of the clever manner in which our women showed themselves during the past month as municipal voters. In many cities the suffragettes were as numerous as the men. Very old women were seen among the masses, and all were conscious of the political party with which they sympathized. Our party took the record till now." (Madame Breshkovsky represents the moderate Socialists as opposed to the Bolsheviks or extremists.) "In Moscow the municipal functions are in our hands, also in many other towns. The mischief is that the resources of every kind are swallowed up by the war, and the population is suffering privation. We will try; we do not fear work or sacrifice. Do not doubt our faithfulness. The municipal suffrage was the first test of our population as a whole, and the women were not behind the men in the least.

"Now we are concerned with a much greater field of activity—the election of members of the National Assembly, where all the principles and laws must be settled. I have a sincere hope, to see a good termination, yet I know that we must work harder than ever before."

Madame Breshkovsky has been standing side by side with Kerensky in the recent troubles. In a letter lately received, but which had taken several months to reach America, she said:

"Our peasants, fathers and husbands, are reasonable enough to wait, and maintain order in their villages. But the young workmen and young soldiers are too inexperienced and ignorant to be mindful and patient. They imagine that all the old wrongs can be undone in some days, and therefore they are demanding new conditions of life and welfare that cannot be created in a few months, and with a war on our shoulders."

This is the element that seems now to have seized control.

A. S. B.

A Tale of Two Cities

THE opponents of equal rights claim that the victory of equal suffrage in New York state was due to the large Socialist vote cast in New York city. Now New York city and Cincinnati voted on woman suffrage on the same day. Cincinnati cast a larger Socialist vote, in proportion to its population, than New York city did; yet in Cincinnati suffrage was snowed under.

The big suffrage majority in New York was drawn from all

parties. It was due to the hard work, the fine team play, and the magnificent organization of the women. All the speakers from other states who took part in the New York campaign have gone home full of praise for its leaders, and declaring that the New York victory was due to no fortuitous circumstances, but was earned in the fullest sense of the word.

The *New York Times* and other inveterate opponents who persist in laying the suffrage victory to the Socialists, are strengthening the Socialists' hands. At the next election, and in years to come, it will be a great asset to any party if it can convince the majority of the new voters that it was mainly responsible for their enfranchisement.

Are our anti friends really desirous to give this advantage to the Socialists?

A. S. B.

Why Have They Disbanded?

THE New York Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has voted to disband. In all the states where women have obtained the ballot anti-suffrage organizations (if there were any) have gone to pieces. For years this has been noted as an invariable fact.

Yet, if equal suffrage were the pernicious thing they have represented it, they ought not to disband, but to strengthen their organization and redouble their efforts, in the hope of securing its repeal. If it had a twentieth part of the harrowing results that have been predicted, within a few years men and women alike would be eager to get rid of it.

When the anti-suffrage societies disband, they tacitly assume that after the people have had experience of equal suffrage, the majority will never wish to return to the old way. This is true; but to acknowledge it is to give away the whole case against equal rights.

A. S. B.

A Change of Note

BEFORE the great suffrage victory in New York, a favorite argument against the Federal Amendment for woman suffrage was the statement that when Congress submitted the question to the state Legislatures, New York would carry no more weight than Nevada. None of these opponents of equal rights are now complaining because, in that final decision, "the great state of New York" will carry no more weight than Maine! Why do not some of them protest against this "flagrant injustice"?

A. S. B.

If They Were Women

IF Lenine and Trotzky were women, and if the present troubles in Russia were supposed to be instigated by the government of Colorado, where women vote, instead of by the government of Germany, which is strongly opposed to women's voting, it is likely that the opponents of equal suffrage would see a vast significance in the matter. But as the facts are the other way around, they will not admit for a moment that the situation reflects any discredit on the enemies of equal rights.

A. S. B.

The Administration and the Suffragists

WITH the Congress of the United States, headed by the Speaker and his wife, represented by leading men and their wives in both houses on the Honorary or Advisory Council for the Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Washington in December; with the ladies of President Wilson's cabinet issuing invitations to Congress to meet the officials of the National Association; with the leading men and women in official, educational, religious, scientific, business and social life, both national and local, acting upon this same Council, and joining hands with the suffrage leaders, suffragists think it plain to see that the end of the long struggle for equal suffrage is in sight.

Commenting upon the interest shown by the constituted authorities, both local and national, in the coming Convention, Mrs. Helen H. Gardner, one of the National Association's most prominent and effective workers at the Capitol says: The struggle of the suffragists from the beginning to the present time, when the end is so near, has been one of unparalleled dignity and skill in the history of the world's evolution in politics toward the democratic ideal. It is the only bloodless revolution ever conducted, and the only one carried on, from start to finish, by unarmed, voteless victims—those with neither a voice in their own government nor arms (and the will to use them) to effect their wills, and secure their "place in the sun."

"Through educational propaganda from the beginning to the end, the women have won by the sheer force of the argument based upon the fundamentals of self-government. While proving their power to govern themselves they have stated their case to the satisfaction of their original opponents, and held respect while proving the case against those same opponents.

"This is so rare an achievement as to be one of the greatest wonders of political history."

Many additional distinguished names have been added to the list de luxe that has been assembled as the Honorary Council to supplement the efforts of the suffrage leaders for the Convention. The list as it now stands is headed by Speaker Clark and almost the entire Cabinet, while Senate and House are represented by Democrats and Republicans of equal prominence in equal numbers and stars from the diplomatic service and the Judiciary shine in the same firmament, as do also civilians of high degree.

HONORARY COUNCIL FOR N. A. W. S. A. CONVENTION

The Speaker and Mrs. Champ Clark; Secretary of the Treasury and Mrs. McAdoo; Secretary of War and Mrs. Baker; Attorney General and Mrs. Gregory; Mrs. Albert Sidney Burleson; Secretary of the Navy and Mrs. Daniels; Secretary of the Interior and Mrs. Lane; Secretary of Agriculture and Mrs. Houston; Secretary of Labor and Mrs. Wilson; Senator Jacob H. Gallinger; Senator and Mrs. Charles Curtis; Senator and Mrs. Reed Smoot; Senator and Mrs. John F. Shafroth; Senator and Mrs. Albert B. Cummins; Senator Henry F. Hollis; Senator and Mrs. Wesley L. Jones; Senator and Mrs. Miles Poindexter; Senator and Mrs. John B. Kendrick; Senator Francis E. War-

ren; Senator Kenneth D. McKellar; Senator and Mrs. George E. Chamberlain; Senator and Mrs. Robert M. La Follette; Senator Morris Sheppard; Senator and Mrs. Howard Sutherland; Senator and Mrs. George W. Norris; Senator Robert L. Owen; Senator and Mrs. A. A. Jones; Senator William F. Kirby; Senator and Mrs. Key Pittman; Senator and Mrs. James H. Brady; Senator Joseph I. France; Senator William E. Borah; Representative and Mrs. James R. Mann; Representative and Mrs. Edward T. Taylor; Representative and Mrs. John E. Raker; Representative and Mrs. Carl Hayden; Representative and Mrs. Edward Keating; Representative and Mrs. Andrew J. Volstead; Representative and Mrs. Luther W. Mott; Representative and Mrs. M. Clyde Kelly; Representative and Mrs. Clifton N. McArthur; Representative Thomas L. Blanton; Representative James C. Cantrill; Representative Isaac R. Sherwood; Representative and Mrs. Edward W. Pou; Representative and Mrs. Philip Pitt Campbell; Representative and Mrs. Daniel R. Anthony, Jr.; Representative and Mrs. F. W. Mondell; Representative and Mrs. Irvine L. Lenroot; Representative and Mrs. Burton L. French; Representative and Mrs. Everis A. Hayes; Representative and Mrs. Horace M. Towner; Representative and Mrs. Jouett Shouse; Representative and Mrs. Charles Bennett Smith; Representative and Mrs. John M. Nelson; Representative and Mrs. Julius Kahn; Resident Commissioner and Mme. Jaime C. De Veyra (Philippine Islands); Resident Commissioner Felix C. Davila (Porto Rico); Major-General and Mrs. W. C. Gorgas; Brigadier-General Anson Mills; Secretary to the President and Mrs. Joseph P. Tumulty; Assistant Secretary of Agriculture and Mrs. Carl Vrooman; Hon. John Barrett, Director of the Pan-American Union; Commissioner and Mrs. Louis Brownlow; Commissioner and Mrs. W. Gwynn Gardiner; Justice and Mrs. Wendell P. Stafford, Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; Justice and Mrs. Frederick L. Siddons, Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; U. S. Commissioner of Education and Mrs. Philander P. Claxton; Miss Julia Lathrop, Chief of Children's Bureau; Mr. and Mrs. H. B. F. MacFarland; Dr. and Mrs. Alexander Graham Bell; Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert Grosvenor; Mrs. George Thacher Guernsey, President General Daughters of the American Revolution; Mrs. Cordelia R. P. Odenheimer, President General Daughters of the Confederacy; General Julian S. Carr, Division Commander United Confederate Veterans; Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, President National Education Association; Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, ex-President, National Education Association; Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor; Rev. and Mrs. Henry N. Couden, Chaplain of the House of Representatives; Rev. and Mrs. U. G. B. Pierce; Rev. and Mrs. Shera Montgomery; Rabbi Abram Simon; Mr. and Mrs. Theodore W. Noyes—*The Star*; Mr. Arthur Brisbane—*The Times*; Mr. and Mrs. C. T. Brainerd—*Washington Herald*; Mr. W. P. Spurgeon—*The Washington Post*; Mr. and Mrs. J. Leftwich Sinclair, President Washington Chamber of Commerce; Mr. Thomas Grant, Secretary Chamber of Commerce; Major Raymond S. Pullman, Chief of Police; Mrs. Chris-

tian Hemmick; Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood; Mrs. Herbert Hoover; Mr. and Mrs. Simon Wolf; Mr. and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot; Mrs. A. Garrison McClintock; Mr. and Mrs. Frank Vanderlip; Dr. and Mrs. Ryan Devereux; Mrs. Ellis Meredith; Mr. and Mrs. John Van Schaick, President School Board; Miss Janet Richards; Mr. and Mrs. V. Everit Macy; Dr. H. A. Garfield, Director Fuel Administration for U. S. of America; Mr. and Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, U. S. Tariff Commission; Mrs. Blaine Beale.

Woman's Vote and Congress

BY the addition of New York's forty-three representatives, the total number of United States congressmen in whose election women have a voice is increased to 90. Appended is a list showing the full suffrage states each with its quota of congressmen.

Arizona	1
California	11
Colorado	4
Idaho	2
Kansas	8
Montana	2
Nevada	1
Oregon	3
Utah	2
Washington	5
Wyoming	1

	40
New York	43
	83

To these must be added

Arkansas	7
	90

These 90 representatives are more than one-fifth of the whole number, which is 435. Woman's equal political powers with men also has its effect in the selection of 26 members of the personnel of the Senate, and 193 electoral college votes.

Federal Amendment Favored

A MASS meeting in the interest of the Federal Amendment was held at Chattanooga, Tenn., on Nov. 29. Two of the prominent speakers for the occasion were Mrs. John S. Shafroth and Mrs. Stuart E. Walling, both of Colorado. Mrs. Shafroth is the wife of Senator Shafroth, well known for his advocacy of the suffrage cause in the Senate. The envoys from the voting state have a practical message to give the Southern women who as yet are potential voters.

On the Menu

"What's on the menu?" asked the hungry man. "Well," replied the waiter, "a few articles of food are mentioned. But most of the space is taken up with Government instructions on what not to eat."—*Washington Star*.

Program for the Great Washington Convention

TENTATIVE programs for both day and evening sessions of the 49th Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, to be held at Washington, Dec. 11-15, are now announced in fairly complete form. Outstanding features of the day and business sessions will be the Congressional Conference on Tuesday, a closed meeting, at which the program for the Federal Amendment campaign will be determined; Wednesday's formal opening of the Convention, Dr. Shaw's greeting; reports of officers; Thursday afternoon's symposium on "Friends and Enemies of Presidential-Suffrage," contributed by the presidents of the seven states which gave women presidential suffrage this year, War Service Reports, and Standing Committee Reports; Friday's discussion of "What My State Will Do for the Federal Amendment," and "Should We Work for Woman Suffrage in War Time?" and "What Good Will Woman Suffrage Do the Country?"

The evening sessions are to be distinguished by a brilliant array of speakers, some of whom are already announced. From Great Britain comes Miss Helen Fraser, famous in war service and gifted as orator, to talk on women's work in war time. The same subject will be handled by Mrs. Nellie McClung, the Canadian speaker and writer, whose speaking tours of America have made her popular East and West. Mrs. William G. McAadoo, wife of the Secretary of the Treasury, will be a star speaker at the Friday evening meeting for the consideration of American Women's War Service. Mrs. George Bass, Democratic women leader, will speak on the same subject. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, peerless orator and leader of American women in war work, will tell of the great program projected and executed by the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. Thursday evening is set for Mrs. Catt's address. Miss Rankin will contribute to the same evening's program.

Wednesday evening will usher in the Victory Program contributed by the New York Woman Suffrage Party. The details of the evening's entertainment are as yet shrouded in mystery, but that joy will be unconfined is certain.

TENTATIVE CONVENTION PROGRAMS FOR DAY SESSIONS

Monday, Dec. 10, 1917: Executive Council. 10 a. m. to 5 p. m. Suffrage House, 1626 Rhode Island avenue, Washington, D. C. Executive Session; closed.

Tuesday, Dec. 11, 1917: 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. Congressional Conference, Poli's Theatre. Conference strictly confined to members of the Executive Council, State and District Congressional Chairmen. (Meeting not open to the public.)

Wednesday, Dec. 12, 1917. 2 p. m. Convention called to order. Invocation. Local arrangements, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman; Membership Committee, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, chairman; Credentials Committee, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, chairman ex-officio Elections Committee.

Reports of officers: 1st vice-president, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller; 2nd vice-president, Mrs. Stanley McCormick; 3rd vice-

president, Miss Esther Ogden; recording secretary, Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Frank J. Shuler; treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers; auditor, Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs; greeting, honorary president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.

Thursday, Dec. 13, 1917. Primary for nomination of officers. 12 m. to 3 p. m. Polls open for election, 8.30 a. m. to 4 p. m.; 5 p. m. to 8 p. m.; 9.30, Convention called to order. Invocation: Minutes, final credentials report, announcements. Recommendations, Executive Council. Reports, Literature Committee, Mrs. Henrietta Livermore, chairman; National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Miss Esther Ogden, president; Press Committee, Miss Rose Young, chairman.

2.30 p. m. "Friends and Enemies of Presidential Suffrage": North Dakota, Mrs. Grace Clendenning; Ohio, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton; Michigan, Mrs. Orton H. Clark; Nebraska, Mrs. W. E. Barkley; Arkansas, Mrs. O. F. Ellington; Indiana, Mrs. Richard E. Edwards; Rhode Island, Mrs. Barton Jenks.

Reports: Art Publicity Committee, Mrs. Thompson Seton. National-American Woman Suffrage Association War Service, Production, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers; Thrift, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller; Americanization, Mrs. Bagley; Industrial Protection, Miss Ethel Smith. What war service shall be the especial task of the N. A. W. S. A. the coming year. Recommendations of the Executive Council. General discussion.

Friday, Dec. 14, 1917: Invocation—Minutes, credentials report, announcements.

"What my state will do for the Federal Amendment": Miss Catharine Ludington, president, Connecticut; Miss Anna B. Lawther, president, Iowa; Mrs. Julian Parks, president, Alabama; Mrs. Grace Allen Johnson, acting president, Massachusetts; Mrs. Frank Stranahan, president, Florida; Mrs. Andreas Ueland, president, Minnesota; Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, Illinois; Mrs. B. J. Cunningham, Texas.

Friday afternoon: "Should we work for woman suffrage in war time?" New Jersey, Mrs. E. F. Feickert, president; Wisconsin, Mrs. Henry Youmans, president; Mississippi, Mrs. Edward F. McGehee, president; Maryland, Mrs. Jessie Ross Thomson, president; Maine, Miss Mabel Connor, president; Kentucky, Mrs. John W. South, president.

Discussion—"What good will woman suffrage do the country?" North Carolina, Mrs. John S. Cunningham; Tennessee, Mrs. Guilford Dudley; Pennsylvania, Mrs. John O. Miller; Vermont, Mrs. A. L. Bailey; South Carolina, Mrs. Harriet P. Lynch; Virginia, Mrs. John O. Lewis, proxy; New Hampshire, Miss Martha Kimball; Delaware, Miss Agnes Downey; West Virginia, Mrs. John L. Ruhl.

Saturday, Dec. 15, 1917: Unfinished business, resolutions, new business.

EVENING CONVENTION PROGRAMS

Tuesday: Reception at Hotel Willard.

Wednesday: New York Victory Evening.

Thursday: President's annual address, Miss Jeanette Rankin, and others.

AMERICAN WOMEN'S WAR SERVICE

Friday: Mrs. William G. McAadoo, Financing

the Great War; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Chairman Woman's Committee of the Council of Defense and Mrs. George Bass. Other speakers and topics announced later.

WOMEN'S WAR SERVICE BOARD

Saturday: Miss Helen Fraser, representing Great Britain; Mrs. Nellie McClung, representing Canada. Other speakers announced later.

Sunday afternoon: Miss Helen Fraser, Suffrage in Great Britain; Mrs. Nellie McClung, Suffrage in Canada; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.

Washington Women Head Convention Committees

MISS MARY GARRETT HAY, of New York, National Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements for the 49th annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, announces the following revised list of chairmen on the convention's committees:

Chairman of Local Arrangements—Mrs. L. B. Swormstedt.

Vice-Chairman—Mrs. Gilbert Grosvenor.

Treasurer—Mrs. Cato Sells.

Secretary—Miss Florence Stiles.

Chairman in Charge of Hotels and Houses—Mrs. Clara Eastment, 2923 Ordway, Cleveland Park, D. C.

Information—Mrs. Louis Ottenberg, 1622 Lamont St., Washington, D. C.

Vice-Chairman of Union Station—Mrs. D. K. Shute, 1717 DeSales St.

House—Mrs. Hamilton Dimick, 1317 Clifton St.

Ushers and Pages—Mrs. Harwood Read, The Concord.

Decorations—Mrs. Wm. E. Chamberlin, 44 R St., N.E.

Post Office—Mrs. Ruth Hensey, The Ontario.

Miss Hay calls attention to the fact that delegates and alternates should arrive in Washington in the daytime, as it will be difficult to find their way to their assigned quarters after dark, unless those quarters happen to be the well-known hotels.

The *Woman Citizen* is able to reassure delegates and visitors as to the possibility of securing rooms. Through the exertions of Mrs. Eastment ample accommodations have been listed. No one, therefore, need stay away for fear of lack of accommodations.

The Local Committee on Information will have a table in the Railroad Station (Union), Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

There will be Information Bureaus also at Poli's Theatre and at the Ebbitt Hotel. Look for the women wearing cerise colored badges with black lettering.

Lost!

Miss Mary Gawthorpe, New York State Woman Suffrage Party, 303 Fifth avenue, would like to hear of her Waterman fountain pen, marked "Kensington College," which mysteriously disappeared at the Suffrage Convention, Hotel Ritz-Carlton, on Wednesday afternoon, Nov. 21—Reward.

Found!

FOUND.—Lady's hand-bag at Jubilee Meeting, Cooper Union, Nov. 8. AMELIA SCHACHTEL, 153 West 16th street, New York.



MRS. NEWTON DIEHL BAKER,
WIFE OF THE
SECRETARY OF WAR



MRS. FRANKLIN
KNIGHT LANE,
WIFE OF THE
SECRETARY OF
THE INTERIOR

LADIES OF THE CABINET

A double star marks Tuesday evening, December 11, on the calendar of the 49th Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at Washington, D. C. That is the evening for which is scheduled the one big social event in the well Hooverized program of the Conven-

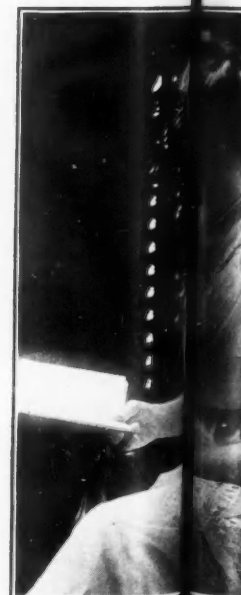


MRS. ALBERT SIDNEY
BURLESON, WIFE OF THE
POSTMASTER-GENERAL

tion. The occasion will be a reception to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, with the ladies of President Wilson's Cabinet as hostesses. Congress and many other distinguished people are asked to meet the National's officers and delegates.



MRS. WM. G. ADO
OF THE SECRETARY
TREASURY



MRS. DAVID FRANKLIN
TON, WIFE OF SECRETARY
OF AGRICULTURE

WHO ARE INVITING CONGRESS AND ALL THE REST OF NOT- ABLE WASHINGTON TO A RECEPTION IN HONOR OF DR. SHAW AND MRS. CATT



MRS. JOSEPHUS DANIELS,
W I F E O F
T H E S E C R E T A R Y
O F T H E N A V Y



MRS. THOMAS WATT
GREGORY, WIFE OF THE
ATTORNEY-GENERAL



MISS AGNES
HART WILSON,
D A U G H T E R
O F W I L L I A M B.
W I L S O N , S E C R E -
T A R Y O F L A B O R

The invitations just issued read:

In honor of

*Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Carrie Chapman
Catt and other officers and delegates of the National
American Woman Suffrage Association*

<i>Mrs. William Gibbs McAdoo</i>	<i>Mrs. Franklin K. Lane</i>
<i>Mrs. Newton D. Baker</i>	<i>Mrs. David F. Houston</i>
<i>Mrs. Thomas W. Gregory</i>	<i>Miss Agnes Hart Wilson</i>
<i>Mrs. Albert Sidney Burleson</i>	<i>Mrs. James R. Mann</i>
<i>Mrs. Josephus Daniels</i>	<i>Mrs. Philip Pitt Campbell</i>

Request the pleasure of your company at

A RECEPTION

*Tuesday evening, December the eleventh, nineteen hundred
and seventeen, eight-thirty to eleven o'clock
R.S.V.P.*

*Secretary,
1838 Lamont Street.*

*The Willard.
Present this card.*

G. AD00. WIFE
SECRERY OF THE
TREASURY

ID KLIN HOUS-
C OF SECRETARY
AG TURE

New York's Victory Convention

NEW YORK STATE suffragists, at their forty-ninth annual convention held November 20-22 at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, New York City, celebrated their great victory of November 6 by consecrating themselves anew to the cause of suffrage in a memorable convention. Amid great enthusiasm they pledged the Empire State organization to battle for justice and democracy until universal suffrage was won. Discussions of plans for the great drive for the Federal Amendment and the future work of the women of the state in preparing themselves for the duties of citizenship were alternated on the program with speeches and reports celebrating the addition of New York to the list of full suffrage states.

"What are you going to do with the vote now that you have it," has been the burning question put by anxious politicians and doubting Thomases alike. The suffragists gave a decisive answer by outlining a future policy which admits of no exploiting of the new voters by zealous politicians, and no lowering of standards and ideals maintained throughout the years of struggle. The planks in the new suffrage platform are:

- 1—As an organization to remain non-partisan.
- 2—To campaign against candidates who oppose the Federal Amendment.
- 3—Not to put loyalty to the Federal Amendment before loyalty to country.
- 4—To carry on a campaign of education to fit women for citizenship.
- 5—To investigate records of candidates for political office.
- 6—To watch legislation with special reference to women and children and the health of the state.
- 7—To study the special interests and needs of women in industry.
- 8—To campaign against candidates who have opposed humanitarian legislation.
- 9—To study problems of rural women.
- 10—To form a war service committee to cooperate with existing agencies.
- 11—To renew the offer of service to the government to perform any duty which the government may designate.

Keen discussion was evoked over the suggestion of a change of name for the state association. Some felt that the Woman Suffrage Party as a name was not in harmony with the new state of citizenship into which New York women have entered, but the great majority voted to continue to fight for the Federal Amendment under the name that had been a talisman in the struggle for political liberty. The organization will remain intact and will welcome to its membership all who are concerned with carrying on this great educational campaign. Study courses in civics will be sent out, classes formed and lectures arranged. No corner of the state will be neglected. There are some details of the November 6 election still to engage the attention of Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, state chairman, such as providing for the polls when the soldier vote is counted on December 18, then the decks will be clear for action and the Federal Amendment drive and educational campaign will be pushed with vigor.

The New York City Woman Suffrage Party

will conduct normal classes in citizenship at the city headquarters and classes will be formed in every assembly district. Miss Mary Garrett Hay, city chairman, has an extended program outlined which will cover every group and every nationality, special attention being given to the foreign-born women.

As the reports of the various chairmen of districts and committees were given they showed an almost unbelievable amount of work done during the campaign. The impressive feature was the co-ordination of action between all units. An amusing touch was the report of the Speakers' Bureau by the chairman, Mrs. Victor Morawetz. To see that hundreds, nay thousands, of speakers are routed and kept routed and last minute changes and calls adjusted had given Mrs. Morawetz ample opportunity to come to grips with human nature, and her keen, yet genial comments thereon showed her well-known kinship to the author of "David Harum." Routing and meeting the demands of the "movie" queens and the prima donnas seem like play to Mrs. Morawetz after meeting some of the demands of the volunteer speaker.

Something of the stupendous amount of work projected and carried out which resulted in the victory was told in the address of Mrs. Whitehouse to the convention. "We laid particular emphasis upon a complete organization along political lines," said Mrs. Whitehouse. "We urged the enrollment of 1,000,000 women, we decided to canvass the voters as soon as the suffrage resolution should pass the Legislature, we planned suffrage schools, watchers' schools, canvassers' conversations, hearings before political meetings, granges, labor unions, farmers' institutes and country fairs. Mass meetings and street meetings were held. A complete plan of circularization was adopted. Pageants, motor tours, moving picture films, parade and torchlight rallies and every sort of publicity features were decided upon. Special attention was given rural problems. A press department was fully organized. Literature touching every phase of suffrage argument was compiled."

In closing, Mrs. Whitehouse said, "We shall remain together as a non-partisan organization. We shall adopt a plan of political education and try to put it within reach of every woman in the state. That is one duty we have, but there is another and a greater one—it is to use our new power in every way to obtain for the women of all our country the full citizenship that we have won for ourselves through such long and hard efforts."

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt in addressing the convention said, "I regard the New York victory as the very greatest victory this movement has ever had in any country of the world." Later Mrs. Catt gave her attention to standards of citizenship saying, "I have felt, as long as I can remember, a certain sort of humiliation in this nation because I realized that its standards of democracy were so exceedingly crude and low. We enfranchise the incoming foreigners after a residence of five years. The vote goes to the boys of 21, and nowhere in this land has state or nation ever done one thing to qualify either the boy or the naturalized citizen for the vote. It is my sincere conviction that democracy would have come to the world a

half century ago, if our standards had been higher. I believe that we shall never make democracy safe for the world until every man and every woman will be able to qualify for the vote with a certain test of fitness, and I hope that the time will come when in every state there will be established schools of citizenship, through which men and women will pass—a sort of Civil Service for citizenship.

And for this reason I hope, and believe, that in the effort of the women of the Suffrage Party to start schools all over the state for women a movement is being started which will spread all over the country, and will finally include men in the training, and which is going to lift up the standards of democracy throughout our own, and other countries, and redeem our republic from every charge of base corruption and misuse which has been put upon it in the past. This, to my mind, is the greatest thing that we can do in this state of New York."

An analysis of the vote as presented by Mrs. Raymond Brown was illuminating. Some of the points made were: The cities gave a far better vote for suffrage than the rural communities; there were several bitter local wet and dry fights that were bad for the suffrage vote; the antis in such cases putting up a bitter fight, supported by the brewing interests. There were evidences here and there of strong opposition from political machines. The opposition of the antis was centered in the places which cast the best vote in 1915. The work of the Anti-suffrage Association did not cut much figure in the state as a whole. The result of the vote shows that the Woman Suffrage Party plan of campaign was the only one that could win and wherever it was carried out it was invincible.

Mrs. Brown said it was advisable now to change from the campaign district to the Congressional district as the important line of organization in the Federal Amendment campaign.

For a time during the campaign suffrage activities were put entirely aside for war service work, the suffragists making a brilliant record, and by their recommendations and resolution at the convention showed themselves ready to answer any government call. It was suggested by Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip that the State Party throw its splendid organization into the new Liberty Loan work, the war saving stamps. She said that this new work should be done by election districts and that suffragists were peculiarly fitted to work in that manner.

The state committee will consider another recommendation—the sending of a reconstruction unit to Europe.

Two big features of the convention were the mass meeting at the Metropolitan Opera House with Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Gov. Charles S. Whitman and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as the speakers, and the dinner at the Hotel Biltmore, honoring Mrs. Whitehouse, who was re-elected state chairman. The dinner was a brilliant affair featured by the crowning of Mrs. Whitehouse with a crown of gold and the crowning of the campaign district leaders with wreaths of laurel.

The two-year campaign cost the State Party \$450,000 and the \$10,000 deficit was more than

(Continued on page 13)

Being Shown in Missouri

THE outstanding feature of "Federal Suffrage Amendment Day" in St. Louis on Friday, Nov. 16, was not so much Congressmen Igoe's and Dyer's promise of support of the Susan B. Anthony resolution as the lesson in political science which Congressman Meeker gave the delegation of one hundred women from his district who visited him at his office. His conception of representative government, needless to say, was not shared by his audience.

From five to eight women from every ward in the 10th Congressional district, each wearing a yellow tag bearing the number of her ward, pinned to her coat by a small American flag, met at the headquarters of the Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis at 10.30 a. m., Friday. Led by Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, chairman of the Missouri Suffrage Association, Mrs. Ernest W. Stix, chairman of the Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis, and Mrs. Charles Passmore, state congressional chairman, the suffragists went to Mr. Meeker's office to ask him to vote for the Federal Amendment in the next Congress.

Representative Meeker was not in, although he had made an appointment for 11 o'clock. The women waited for him, holding a meeting in his office until his return.

"I know what you want, but my answer is 'no,'" said Mr. Meeker, when he arrived. "I am against suffrage—my district is against it, and it's all nonsensical, anyway."

"Hundreds of women in my district may come to see me, but I only consider the voters," he declared in answer to Mrs. Miller's question if he considered the women of the Tenth Congressional District people.

So, if you are a mother of a boy at the front or a wife or a sister of a man in France, and live in the 10th Congressional District of Missouri, your interests in momentous national war legislation will have no consideration at the hands of your so-called representative in the Congress, which convenes Monday, December 3.

Indignant as the women were at Meeker's attitude on this subject, they became more irate at his accusation of disloyalty when he said, "Effeminizing the nation will never lick the Kaiser." "That's treason," cried one of the women.

Similar delegations composed of women from every ward in their districts called upon Congressmen Igoe and Dyer. Both of these men gave their assurance that they would vote for the Federal Amendment, in reply to Mrs. Miller's plea, "Help us to stand for the thing that America stands for abroad—fundamental democracy."

From Mr. Dyer's office, the women, accompanied by the Congressmen, went to the American annex for the luncheon given by the Equal Suffrage League, at which Congressman John E. Raker of California was the principal speaker. Miss Josephine Miller, Miss Gertrude Watkins and Miss Marie Ames, who were active in the recent New York campaign, spoke of the suffrage victory in the East. New and old advocates of the Federal Amendment met at this critical time in the suffrage movement to urge the national enfranchisement of American women.

Mrs. Ernest W. Stix, presiding, introduced Melville L. Wilkinson, chairman of the Mis-

souri Council of National Defense, who spoke of the work of American women in the second line of defense. As an employer of large numbers of women, Mr. Wilkinson, president of Scruggs-Vandervoot and Barney Dry Goods Co., said that the equality of women with men in the business world has been well established.

George O'Dell, director of the Ethical Society of St. Louis, who was active in the suffrage movement in England until he came to this country four years ago, said that America's plea for world-wide democracy "had come home to roost." "One of the things that impressed me most in the New York suffrage campaign, during my six weeks visit in that city recently, was the large poster that one saw all over the city, stating, 'Let America Lead. England and Russia have promised women the vote.' One of the fundamentals of that democratic ideal which American people have sent around the world has been acknowledged by other world powers before this country has faced the issue squarely. We shall have a real democracy, only when all of the women get the vote."

Mrs. B. F. Bush, who, as chairman of the Woman's Division of the Missouri Council of National Defense is mobilizing the woman power of this state, told the audience that the old argument that "woman's place is in the home" had completely broken down in this crisis.

Congressman Dyer reiterated his pledge to support the Federal Amendment in the coming session and State Representative William J. Blesse assured the suffragists of its ratification by the Missouri Assembly. Mr. Blesse, who voted favorably on the Presidential Suffrage bill, introduced in the last session of the Missouri Legislature, said that there was favorable sentiment in both houses of the Assembly for the passage of this bill which had been blocked in the Senate Committee. "Despite the good work of the Missouri suffragists," said Mr. Blesse, "you have failed twice in Missouri. The third time, I am sure, will mean success."

In Tennessee

THREE women on November 19 cast their vote at Memphis, Tenn., for the nomination of a candidate for judge of the Supreme Court of that state. This in a state which defeated suffrage in its last Legislature and again through the failure of the proposed constitutional convention. The story of this unprecedented happening within the state borders came about this way. Western Tennessee is entitled to two judges. The two candidates living in Memphis agreed to take the vote of the Memphis and Shelby County Bar and abide by the decision. It was further agreed that the winner should receive the support of the defeated candidate in the final contest, the opposing candidate in the final contest being from another county.

It so happened that three women lawyers are members of the Memphis bar—Frances Wolf, Katherine Watson and Marion Griffin—and to them was accorded the privilege of voting. They exercised their privilege. In speaking of this unique incident Miss Griffin said: "I forgot to note my sensations while voting, but do not recall anything unusual."

New York's Convention

(Continued from page 12)

wiped out by the pledges at the mass meeting. A fund was pledged for the future educational work. Throughout the convention there was frequent praise for the press of New York and the big part it played in the victory. By resolution the convention voiced its thanks to the press.

The following resolutions presented by the chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Mrs. Alice Duer Miller, were adopted:

Resolved, That with the increase in power that comes to us with the ballot, we renew our pledges of loyalty and service to our country.

WHEREAS, The decision of the voters on November 6 having settled the question of Woman Suffrage in New York state, and all women are now enfranchised citizens and must meet those new duties and obligations, and

WHEREAS, Though the Suffrage Party is throwing the force of its organization behind the Federal Amendment its purpose otherwise is to develop a plan of education in order to assist in fitting all women for citizenship,

Resolved, That to all those women who desire to serve their Government effectively, who wish to know and then to act, so that the injustices and difficulties under which many of the citizens of the state live and labor may be abolished; we, the Woman Suffrage Party, extend a hearty welcome.

Resolved, That we express our gratitude to the voters of New York state for having recorded their belief in complete democracy.

Resolved, That we express our especial gratitude to the President of the United States for his generous and effective assistance; to the Governor of the state for his long continued support, and to all organizations and individuals, who have helped us to win the privileges of full citizenship.

Resolved, That we express our thanks to Miss Alice Morgan Wright, chairman of the Convention Committee; to Mrs. E. R. Strange, chairman of local arrangements; to all those who have worked to make the convention a success, and to Mr. Albert Keller and the management of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel for their thoughtful and efficient arrangements.

OFFICERS—1917-1918

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Soldiers say that New York's majority for suffrage will be greatly increased when the soldier vote is in.

When Women Lobby

By Anne Bigony Stewart

Special Correspondent for the Woman's Legislative Federation of King County, Wash.



MRS. JOHN TRUMBULL
Seattle, Washington

"IN the light of my political experience in Olympia, Washington, I would say this: If we want the right kind of legislation we must have the right kind of men."

Mrs. John Trumbull, of Washington, says this after completing the most interesting lobby ever carried on in any state. She was the official guardian last winter at the state capitol in Washington of the interests of the Woman's Legislative Federation, comprising 43 affiliated organizations and representing from 10,000 to 15,000 Washington women.

This Federation has been in existence four years; it publishes a little paper called "The Legislative Federationist," and its mission is to arouse Washington women to a personal interest in every bill brought up in Olympia. Washington women are voters and try to be conscientious and intelligent in their use of the ballot. They know that good legislation is not enacted by the Grace of God and without effort. Voters must keep their ear to the ground, if right is to prevail.

Early last January a State Bills Committee was organized by the Federation, for the purpose of promoting such legislation as was approved by the Federation. This committee was composed of one representative from each of the organizations affiliated.

A committee was elected whose duty it was to digest all bills endorsed by the organizations in order to promote public education on these measures and a woman was selected to attend the sessions in Olympia and establish a Bureau of Information at the State House.

Because of her years of experience, Mrs. Trumbull, of Seattle, was selected to fill this unique post. She had just served four years as chairman of the Washington Woman's Legislative Committee which did effective work in promoting the Red Light and Prohibition Laws which now prevail in Washington.

By consent of Governor Ernest E. Lister, who recommended her to the Board of Control, Mrs. Trumbull was generously granted space in the State House lobby for her Bureau. People from all over the state applied to her for information and she was able either to furnish it or direct them to the proper quarter. Part of her duty was to watch all pending

legislation. Each time a bill came up, she made it her business to place a copy of it on the desk of every Senator and Representative with the endorsement or opposition of the women's organization on it.

Now, here was a new kind of lobby, demonstrating the fact that women who have the vote are trying to use it conscientiously. No one had any axes to grind. No one tried to influence votes for selfish ends. Submarine and sinister methods were absolutely lacking and graft was out of the question. The expenses of the lobbyist, paid by the Federation, amounted to something less than \$100.

And last of all Mrs. Trumbull was not unwelcome at the Capitol. She remained during the entire session, never missing a meeting. She was listened to and treated with the utmost respect by all the legislators, all aiding her in establishing her quarters. She was of infinite service to the legislators themselves. Women from all over the state came to her for advice and assistance. A member of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union begs leave to mention "the good fortune that was hers in working with Mrs. Trumbull." "When there was difficult work to do," she adds, "Mrs. Trumbull was equal to the task. I believe she was the right woman in the right place."

Mrs. Trumbull says: "In looking back upon the Legislature, I can see a great melting pot into which were cast measures for the well-being of the many, and measures for the interests of the few. I can see honest endeavor and altruistic purpose side by side with the trail of graft and the clutch of moneyed interests. I see the high-souled men of integrity—and there are many of them—and the manipulation of the political machine."

"The women were interested in thirty-three bills, which I was instructed to watch and keep in touch with in order that pressure might be brought to bear at the psychological moment, for or against their enactment into law. Five of these we opposed, and they were either not passed or else so modified that they were not objectionable. Of the other twenty-eight, nine were passed either as original bills or in an amended form."

Mrs. Trumbull is keenly appreciative of the splendid help given in promoting the right kind of legislation along moral, educational and sanitary lines, by the men legislators and the one woman representative, Mrs. Ina P. Williams of Yakima, chairman of the Public Morals Committee.

Of the 10,000 women backing her, Mrs. Trumbull speaks in the highest praise, attesting "they never once failed me."

Defendant's lawyer: "You say my clients called you names! How did you know for sure that they were talking to you and not to somebody else?"

Plaintiff: "Well, maybe I was mistaken, but when they accompanied their conversation with biffs on my jaw and swats in my ribs I naturally couldn't be blamed for thinking they were addressing their remarks to me."—Judge.

About the Educational Plans of the New York City Suffrage Party

THE first course for the new women voters will begin Thursday, Dec. 13. It will be called "The Business of Citizenship."

Lessons—one hour lectures—will be given afternoons and evenings, at 3 East 38th Street.

The instructor will be Professor Howard Lee McBain of Columbia University.

The price for the afternoon course of six lessons will be \$5.00.

The price for the evening course of six lessons will be \$3.00.

Lectures will give in a condensed form:

The organization of the City, State and National governments;

Political procedure;

The functions and policies of the political parties;

The direct and indirect relationships of the individual voter to the various city departments—to the Federal Government;

Will also show from what viewpoints labor, prohibition, free speech and other problems may be regarded.

All women are invited to the course but assembly district leaders and other women who will be called upon to establish citizens' schools in their own districts will find it especially beneficial.

Charts and pictures will be used to give information in a graphic way.

Committee of Citizenship for City Party:

Chairman, Mrs. Adolphe Borie, President of Bryn Mawr Club.

Secretary, Mrs. John Blair.

Members, Miss Katherine D. Blake, Mrs. Herbert Croly, Miss Marie Bowen Chapin, Mrs. Frederick Cranford, Miss Jennie Melvne Davis, Miss Mary Dreier, Miss Lina Gano, Miss Louise Grant, Miss Virginia Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard; Miss A. G. Harvey, Mrs. Howard Mansfield, Mrs. V. Everit Macy, Miss Alice G. Perkins, Miss Virginia Potter, Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Mrs. V. Simkhovitch, and Miss Lillian Wald.

Husband and Wife Professorships

THE field for pioneering is not large these days but the war has brought forth a number of new avenues and created new groups of pioneers. It is in one of these new groups that the University of Kansas at Lawrence lays claim to being a pioneer—the group which includes "husband and wife professorships." On September 23 Prof. W. S. Hunter of the department of psychology left the University halls to take up his work as first lieutenant in the Base Hospital at Camp Lee, Peters, Va. As soon as the call came steps were taken to fill the vacancy and Mrs. Hunter was immediately appointed to fill this important professorship. Fortunately she was prepared by training and practical experience as an instructor in this course at the University of Texas. The new professor will in all probability retain her post until the lieutenant returns.

(Nevada is another suffrage state that boasts a husband-and-wife professorship).

Mrs. Lowerstrat: "Is there any doubt about her having descended from the Pilgrim Fathers?"

Mrs. Uppercrust: "There may be some doubt about the genealogy, but there's no doubt about the descent."—Judge.

Across Country With the Conventions

LAST week held its own as "convention week" in suffrage circles. On November 19 and 20 Florida held its state convention, and on November 20 to 22 Pennsylvania suffragists met in convention at Pittsburgh. West Virginia held its convention at Fairmount, November 21 to 23, and on November 22 Delaware met in convention at Newport.

Virginia, Wisconsin, Minnesota and New Jersey were also among the states holding conventions during the last week. Kentucky is meeting in convention at Lexington November 30 to December 2.

THE Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association stands firmly for the policies of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Considerable discussion preceded the election of the officers at the thirty-sixth annual convention held Nov. 16 and 17 at St. Paul, but the entire staff elected, by a large majority, is as a unit for the National's non-militant policy. The election resulted in the reelection of Mrs. Andreas Ueland, by a big majority, to the office of president. Mrs. Ueland will have as her staff: Mrs. C. P. Noyes, St. Paul, first vice-president; Mrs. H. G. Harrison, Minneapolis, second vice-president; Mrs. H. J. Grannis, Duluth, third vice-president; Mrs. M. M. David, Waseca, fourth vice-president; Mrs. C. M. Stockton, Faribault, fifth vice-president; Mrs. Maud C. Stockwell, Minneapolis, secretary; Mrs. John M. Guise, St. Paul, recording secretary; Mrs. Victor Troendle, Minneapolis, treasurer; Mrs. Russell M. Bennett, Minneapolis, auditor. The directors are Mrs. J. C. Holman, Mrs. Stiles Burr, Mrs. C. A. Severance and Mrs. A. M. Burt, all of St. Paul, Mrs. F. B. Snyder, Mrs. James Paige, and Dr. Ethel Hurd, all of Minneapolis, and Mrs. C. C. Colton of Duluth.

Loyalty and service to country were the watchwords of the convention. The work so far accomplished and the work yet to be done was set forth in talks by Mrs. A. E. Zonne, director of the Hennepin County Suffrage Red Cross station, which now superintends the work of twenty-eight field circles, Mrs. T. G. Winter, director of Minnesota for the Council of National Defense, Mrs. C. A. Severance, director of war work in her district, and Mrs. Peter Oleson. Mrs. Winter said during the course of her talk, "Whose war and whose country is this? Not the government's. It is our war and our country. We should not consider that we are making any sacrifice in giving up non-essentials for something for which we care a thousand times more."

A feature of the convention was a paper read by Mrs. Eugenia B. Farmer, who has passed her eighty-second milestone and is said to be the oldest active suffragist in the state. "A Voice from the Civil War" was the title Mrs. Farmer took for her paper.

The Canadian situation as regards both suffrage and war was presented by Mrs. Nellie McClung of Edmonton, Canada, who is well known for her part in making suffrage possible for Canadian women.

By resolution the state convention pledged its loyalty to the country and the president in this struggle and its thanks to the President for his support of the suffrage cause during the New York campaign. The convention also expressed

the hope that the President would recommend in his annual message to Congress that that body submit the Federal Amendment to the state legislatures for ratification.

THE Kentucky Equal Rights Association is now in convention at Lexington, Ky., the closing session being the patriotic mass meeting on Sunday afternoon, Dec. 2. Hon. Jeannette Rankin and Mrs. Nellie L. McClung of Canada are among the speakers at the convention. A "Penny Lunch" is one of the social features of the affair tendered by the Johnson High School. There will be other luncheon and teas to give time for talking over convention activities. Mrs. McClung gave her address Friday evening, that being the offering of the suffrage association to the State Teachers Association, one thousand strong.

The Louisville Woman Suffrage Association held an open meeting on November 18, the speakers being Miss Laura Clay of the advisory board of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, and Mrs. W. F. Lillard, auditor of the Equal Rights Association, both of whom were active in the New York State campaign. Miss Clay, until five years ago, was for twenty-five years president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

"It is for us to show that the man or woman who attacks suffrage is aiding and abetting the enemy," said Miss Clay in the course of her address. "What could more strongly encourage the foe than to see America deny democracy to women. We hear it said sometimes that this is no time to do woman suffrage work. I wish to express my strong conviction that suffrage work is the noblest patriotic work that can be done. If we are to martial the spirit of the nation, we must include the spirit of women. The whole force of this people cannot be put forth unless the whole force of women is utilized. It is to our glory that this country, in the platforms of all its national parties, declared for suffrage before we entered the war."

THE suffragists of Arkansas are hoping for the incorporation of many reform measures when Arkansas shall adopt its new constitution. For the first time in 43 years a constitutional convention has assembled in that state and radical changes will no doubt be made in the organic law by the 112 delegates who have this important work in hand. In March of this year Arkansas granted its women primary suffrage and this fact, together with the advance suffrage is making the world over, makes it reasonable to suppose that full suffrage for women will be included in the new constitution. The vote on the adoption of the constitution will in all likelihood fall at the general election of 1918.

ARKANSAS women have moved one step nearer complete political emancipation as the result of the declaration of Governor Brough that he would recommend that the constitutional convention adopt an amendment giving to the women of the state full suffrage instead of the primary suffrage they now enjoy. This is the most important step yet taken in any southern state to bring about full suffrage, and the result is awaited with the keenest interest, not only by the suffragists of Arkansas but the suffragists of all states. The setting of such

an example by Arkansas, it is believed, would hasten the granting of suffrage to women in other states.

Governor Brough's declaration was given during the course of an address at the Hotel Marion at Little Rock on November 16, the occasion being a luncheon in honor of Mrs. T. T. Cotnam in celebration of the New York state suffrage victory. Mrs. Cotnam was a big factor in the New York campaign as a speaker and organizer.

An interesting situation has arisen in Arkansas in connection with the mayoralty primary at Ft. Smith. It was the first primary held in Arkansas in which the women have been permitted to vote. A majority of the 400 women who paid their poll taxes voted for Arch Munro for mayor as against the opposing candidate, J. H. Wright, the deposed mayor. Mr. Munro was elected by 192 votes and as a result Mr. Wright is contesting the nomination basing his contest on the ground that the women could not legally be permitted to vote. Mr. Wright sets forth as his three reasons:

"First, that women are not qualified electors under the state constitution. Second, that they are not electors under the state laws. Third, that they are not qualified to vote in any election in the state because of their sex, and that they are not qualified under the terms of the city's charter for commission form of government."

It so happens, according to the press of Arkansas, that the judge who is to hear the case is on his honeymoon and will not return until after the election takes place, therefore Mr. Munro's name will be the one on the election ticket.

There are several other things that would seem to be in Mr. Wright's way. The attorney-general of the state holds that the women did have a right to vote and the suffragists believe that the Supreme Court of the state would uphold this opinion if the case should be carried so far. The Law Enforcement League was back of Mr. Munro and the women by their votes have shown that they stand for good government.

Mr. Wright was deposed from the office of mayor following his conviction on the charge of making a pre-election promise. Judge Paul Little in the Circuit Court overruled a motion for a new trial for Mr. Wright on this charge and the judge also refused a new trial in the case where Mr. Wright was convicted of the charge of failure to suppress violence in strike of telephone operators.

MEXICO has taken a notable step in advance as regards suffrage for women. According to the Mexican News Bureau the state of Guanajuato by its newly adopted constitution, confers the privilege of municipal suffrage upon women. The only restriction laid upon them is that they must be of reputable character.

The same official source of information states, "The newly adopted national constitution does not prohibit woman suffrage, but by implication permits it. No test has as yet been made in a national election, but the state of Guanajuato has set the example of granting the privilege in local affairs. It is believed the example thus set will be followed by other states."

The South and the Federal Amendment

THE federal amendment is coming into its own in Virginia, judging by the enthusiasm with which plans for furthering the amendment were outlined at the seventh annual convention held at Richmond November 12 to 14. Throughout every session the sentiment for the amendment was strong, and Mrs. B. B. Valentine, in her president's address, urged the suffragists to do all possible to arouse state sentiment for it. The Virginia suffragists, as auxiliaries to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, have worked along both state and federal lines, but interest in the federal campaign has not been active until of late, when sentiment has begun changing. Upon the action taken by the next Congress regarding the Federal Amendment will depend much of the policy of the Equal Suffrage League during the coming winter.

A big feature of the convention was the address by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, which was the first to be made by Dr. Shaw following the victory in New York State. The men were especially vociferous in their response to Dr. Shaw's opening words of greeting to her audience. So great was the interest in the address that hundreds were turned away. One hundred or more remained in the Palm room of the hotel awaiting a second address, which Dr. Shaw generously granted. A reception was tendered her after the mass meeting.

The reports from the committee and chairmen of important divisions of the League's work showed increased growth in suffrage work and results. The war service record made an excellent showing. Echoes from the New York State campaign were given by Mrs. L. L. Jobson of Richmond, Mrs. Faith W. Morgan of Newport News, and Mrs. G. Harvey Clarke of Richmond, members of the League, who assisted in the Empire State campaign.

A tribute to the ability of the president and her staff was shown at the election, when the entire staff was re-elected unanimously.

The resolutions adopted by the convention covered the following important points:

The League reaffirmed its stand for state-wide compulsory education, juvenile courts, the maintenance of proper courts and prison officials for the care of women and children offenders, equal guardianship, eight-hour working day, minimum wage law, raising age of protection to eighteen years, vigilance in food conservation, national health protection.

The convention reaffirmed its desire for the institution of a college for the higher education of women co-ordinated with the University of Virginia, and declared an ardent sympathy with the proposed opening of the Medical College of Virginia to women students, the admission of women to the bar of Virginia, and the enactment of such legislation as will enable women to serve on school boards.

In view of the New York victory, and believing that suffrage will enable the women to work more efficiently for the winning of the war, the convention resolved to call upon the Democratic party and all other political parties in the state of Virginia to co-operate with the suffrage association of Virginia in making good its recommendations for the enfranchisement of the women of Virginia.

It was further recommended that the suf-

fragists, by non-partisan methods, work for the political freedom of the women of the United States by both federal and state amendment.

The officers re-elected include: President, Mrs. B. B. Valentine, Richmond; vice-presidents, Mrs. John H. Lewis, Lynchburg, Mrs. W. T. Yancey, Bedford, Mrs. C. E. Townsend, Norfolk, Mrs. J. H. Whitner, Roanoke, Mrs. Faith W. Morgan, Hampton; recording secretary, Miss Roberts Wellford, University; treasurer, Mrs. E. G. Kidd, Richmond; auditor, Mrs. S. M. Block, Richmond.

CHIEF JUSTICE CLARK of North Carolina has made the prediction that at the next election for governor and state officers and the election of the president in 1920 the women of North Carolina will vote. Chief Justice Clark also predicts the passage of both the suffrage and prohibition amendments by Congress this coming spring and the prompt ratification by the necessary number of state Legislatures.

That Judge Clark has good backing for his predictions may be judged from the resolutions passed at the North Carolina State Suffrage Convention. The convention, by resolution, expressed gratification at the growth of suffrage in this and foreign countries. Further gratification was expressed that since the last state convention "the superstition that women are barred from holding office, either by the federal or the state constitution, has been discovered to be without foundation and no person is disqualified because he is not a voter. Recognizing as fundamental under a republican form of government that there should be equality before the law and equality in sharing the government both by voting and holding office and that there should be equal pay for equal service in all positions in public or private employment, the convention went on record as condemning an action recently taken by which the women members of the board of school examiners are allowed a salary of \$2,000 and the men \$2,500.

The convention resolved to urge the Legislature at the next general assembly, to confer the presidential and municipal suffrage upon women, equally with men, and to submit to the voters of the state an amendment to the constitution which would confer full suffrage upon women. It is the intention of the suffragists to work to secure the election of members to the next Legislature who will pledge themselves to these issues.

The convention re-affirmed its allegiance to the National American Woman Suffrage Association and deplored the militant tactics of the National Woman's Party.

Something of the growth of suffrage in North Carolina may be judged from the increase in the number of delegates attending this year's state convention and the number attending last year. Practically three times as many delegates attended this year's convention and, where last year the contributions in money netted less than one hundred dollars, this year they amounted to several hundred dollars. Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, auditor of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in addressing the convention, expressed the opinion that North

(Continued on page 17)

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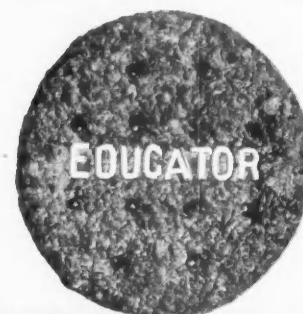
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pair **1.00**

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The Book Stall**Books for Linguists**

FOR the woman who speaks with tongues, there are books of interest, some of which she can not as yet share with her mono-lingual sisters. There is, for the fortunate woman who can read Italian, a book of singular interest, "La Donna della Nuova Italia," by Signora Baronchelli-Grosson. It is published by Riccardo Quintieri of Milan. This book, made up of documents about women's work in the war from 1915-1917, is no dry list of facts, but a vigorous record "showing the Italian woman in her individual home life, as an active member in political, social, philanthropic and official affairs." It devotes a chapter to her struggle for political enfranchisement and concludes with predictions by prominent statesmen of all parties of the near approach of her freedom. It is not yet done into English.

"Les Vaillantes," by Leon Abensour (Librairie Chapelot, 30, Rue Dauphine, Paris, France, price 4 francs) is an intimate study of the war service of French women. It is reported as "a notable contribution to the history of the women's movement."

Another more inclusive French book about the woman movement is "Les Femmes et les Tribunaux de Prud'hommes," by Andre de Maday, professor at the University of Neuchâtel (published by Attinger Frères, Neuchâtel.) This covers a unique phase of woman's admission into trade tribunals. In the middle ages, women known as prud'femmes had their own tribunals with jurisdiction over women's trades. An interesting detail given by professor Maday is that, as late as 1904, Germany passed

a law definitely excluding women from such trade tribunals. Oddly enough Geneva, Switzerland, did something of the same sort in 1914—and provoked this comment from the Mouvement Feministe; "Shoemakers will continue to decide the affairs of corset-makers, and boiler makers the affairs of milliners. Women are to mind their own business."

Our allies, Italy, France, Belgium and England have, however, within the same period, increased women's rights on trade councils.

The South and the Amendment

(Continued from page 16)

Carolina will soon be wholly converted to suffrage.

Reaffirming the stand of organized labor in support of woman suffrage, Mr. James F. Barrett of the Asheville "Labor Advocate," gave as the reasons for labor's advocacy of the movement: "It is best for the masses of the people that women have a voice in this government, and we are interested in the masses. The children of this country will be better protected and safeguarded if the mothers of the children have a voice in this government, and we are interested in the children. It will make the load lighter for the women who toil in the mills and factories, and we are interested in those women."

Mrs. John S. Cunningham, who has been chosen to lead the North Carolina suffragists, spoke with enthusiasm of the growth of suffrage in that state and the fast disappearing opposition, the main opposition now coming from the political machine.

the stage of final surrender

in the suffrage controversy is almost passed and from it emerges a new figure in our national life, the woman citizen. What will she do with her new found power? What legislation will she foster? What will be her influence on the economic life of the community?

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MRS. BRODIE G. HIGLEY

An Appointee

THE first "official" act to indicate women's new status as citizens of New York state was the appointment by Governor Whitman of Mrs. Brodie G. Higley to the State Board of Charities.

Mrs. Higley's training for her new post has been gained in part through her close attention to the care of prisoners in Great Meadow Prison, which is only a few miles from her home in Hudson Falls, New York, and in part through her local work for the New York State Woman Suffrage Party.

Mrs. Higley is the first woman in the history of New York to be a member of one of its permanent supervising boards. She has a young and pleasant face surrounded by heavy, whitening hair, which adds to her distinction.

During the suffrage campaign, Mrs. Higley was an up-state officer and worker of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party.

Italian Women's War Service

IT seems that after all it is not the Anglo-Saxon woman who is the last word in war service efficiency. English women have something to learn from their Latin sisters, according to an account in the *Manchester Guardian*.

The Italian women, who confine their canteen work to railway stations, have an organization run entirely by women which is worked in conjunction with the war office. It is an information bureau with branches in every town and with connections all over the country.

In this information bureau is a complete register of every soldier in the army. The women managing the bureau are given every possible aid by the war office, which keeps them informed of casualties and expects them to notify the next of kin.

When an officer has been killed, the bureau writes formally to the family. When it is a private, some lady from the bureau goes in person to break the news to the wife or mother as gently as possible.

Madame Melegari, who went from Rome to London to see how the English women are managing their war work, says that the Italian women feel that this house-to-house service of sisterly friendship is the kindest method of conveying the terrible news of disaster, but the suffering the visiting members of the bureau are forced to see is writing its record upon the hearts of the messengers themselves. She is very proud of the fact that by their war work her country women have won recognition of their right to the administrative vote—that is to say, the vote for local bodies in town or country.

In a recent book of value, "La Donna della Nuova Italia," by Signora Baronchelli-Grosson, a book not yet translated into English, the chapter on women's political struggle in Italy is illuminating. Efforts for enfranchising women culminated in a direct appeal to Giolitti in 1912 when universal suffrage was established in Italy, but statesmen were not then able to see that Italian women must also be included to make suffrage really "universal."

Social evolution since the war broke out, Signora Grosson points out, has now, however, brought almost every Italian politician to the point of granting women their rights in every social position, including the political vote.

So it would seem that the promises of Signor Sacchi, Italian Minister of Justice, and of Premier Boselli are no scraps of paper given to the women of the country, but are real pledges. On several occasions Signor Boselli has said, "The work done by women during this present war has shown that the work accomplished by men in government must be connected with a feminine electorate." He assured the women last June that the time was then ripe "for granting to Italian women the right to vote in municipal and all other 'administrative' elections" and added his belief "that sooner or later even political suffrage must be granted to them."

Canadian Women for a Win-the-War Policy

NOT parties, but a strong government is the slogan of Ontario women voters. "We will back up any government which will bring relief to our boys," is the unanimous verdict of Toronto mothers. In some districts of the province almost every home reports a soldier overseas.

Under the new Elections Act, there is a bouleversement of social privileges making for a democratic future. Many homes have been discovered where the maid may vote because she has men relatives at the front while the mistress, who may have devoted her entire time to patriotic work, has no representation whatever in national politics.

The general report is that Canadian women voters everywhere are keenly interested in politics and are asking most intelligent questions in order that they may have a thorough understanding of the situation, as all of them are anxious to cast their vote with the party that stands for conscription.

School-Teacher (to little boy)—"If a farmer raises 1,700 bushels of wheat and sells it for \$1.17 per bushel, what will he get?"

Little Boy—"An automobile."—*Milestones*.

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Edited by Alice Stone Blackwell

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Association, December 11-15

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OF HER HANDS, AND LET
HER OWN WORKS PRAISE
HER IN THE GATES.

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December 8, 1917

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL FOUNDED 1870



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Published Weekly Throughout the Year

171 Madison Avenue

New York City



THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE and
HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted
to Winning Equal Rights and
Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage
for Women, and published
weekly in Boston, Mass., from
1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE
PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY
and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Head-
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ceeding the National Suffrage
News, The Woman Citizen be-
comes the official organ of the
National American Woman Suffrage
Association, and as such will
try to maintain intimate contact
between the Association and its
two million members throughout
the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is pub-
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Citizen Corporation in the
hope that it may prove a self-
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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue

New York

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On to Washington!

Today the suffrage hosts are assembling
in person and by proxy, in Washington,
D. C., for the

49th Annual Convention of the
National American Woman Suffrage
Association

The Place is Poli's Theatre

The Date is December 11-15

The Particular Purpose Is

To Insure the Passage of the
Federal Suffrage Amendment

By the

Sixty-fifth Congress

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PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitu-
tion of the United States Con-
ferring upon Women the
Right of Suffrage.*

*Resolved by the Senate and House of
Representatives of the United States of
America in Congress assembled (two-
thirds of each House concurring therein),
That the following article be proposed to
the legislatures of the several states as an
amendment to the Constitution of the
United States, which, when ratified by
three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall
be valid as part of said Constitution,
namely:*

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the
United States to vote shall not be denied
or abridged by the United States or by any
state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power,
by appropriate legislation, to enforce the
provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10,
1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COM- MITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators
Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado,
Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington,
and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Representa-
tives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana,
Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado,
Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee
September 13, every member of Committee
approving.

IN THE HOUSE:

Raker resolution to create a woman suffrage
committee in the House adopted by the House
September 24 by a vote of 181 to 107.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

December 8, 1917

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Our Country 'Tis of Thee!

IS it a poor ambition that is animating the women of America when they insist so earnestly, so unceasingly, that they, too, be allowed to enter into the kingdom of full citizenship within America's borders?

Is it a demerit to value full American citizenship so highly? Is it un-American to want, so deeply and so truly, to be all-American?

From all over the United States to-day women are converging on Washington fired by that ambition and a-thrill with the determination to get that sort of citizenship. For years on top of years they have been fired by that same ambition and a-thrill with that same determination. And the years

have but kindled and rekindled the fire and the thrill.

America never had so eager a



body thronging on the electorate as these women at her gates. She never had a group so overwhelming in numbers, she never had the chance to incorporate into her body politic so much of constructive force at one stroke.

Women love their country; they build with and for country. What they are asking of the country is only that to which the country owes its reason for being—the right of self-government. Shall the country belittle them; shall it betray itself by

keeping them longer on the land of political recognition of the United States, and true friend of measure, with measure,

outside, in the hinterland? With the President, tried—much tried—suffrage, naming it a war Europe committed to it as a war with the people of the country showing at the polls that it is part and parcel of their mounting democratic sentiment, and that they see in it an added means for the country's welfare, the question knocks squarely at the doors of the 65th Congress.

Organization versus Chaos

THE Jews feel that the prospect of realization for the hopes of the Zionists has been suddenly brought much nearer by the recent promise of the British government. Some of them find it hard to adjust their minds to the great change. The Boston Jewish Advocate says editorially:

"The Jews have been so used to thinking in space wherever the collective Jewish issue was involved; they had behind them so many generations of sad experience, of bending the knee and bowing the head, of temporizing, of receiving favors, of being treated as the world's rather hopeless step-child, that it was exceedingly difficult to get the average Jew to understand that all things are possible when a standard of manhood is set up and organization replaces chaos."

Some of the old suffragists have a somewhat similar feeling, now that the prospect of the nation-wide suffrage amendment has suddenly been brought so much nearer. When Mrs. Catt last year told us that we were approaching the close of the long struggle; that in two years, if we did our duty, it might be all over: when she said emphatically, "It is the end"—some of us found it hard to realize the fact. We have to adjust our minds to the new situation. The victory has come closer as organization has replaced chaos in the national suffrage movement; and in order that it may arrive quickly and surely, organization must replace chaos in every Congressional district where chaos has still been allowed to prevail. Now is the time to put the matter through.

A. S. B.

A Notable Convert

THE conversion of Dr. Lyman Abbott to woman suffrage is the most striking event of its kind since the coming over of Mr. Asquith. Next we shall expect to hear of Everett P. Wheeler and Elihu Root falling into line. But we are ready to welcome them and any number more.

At the end of Josephine Preston Peabody's beautiful poem on St. Francis of Assisi and the wolf, the saint with the penitent wolf behind him, stands in the door with a lamp in his hand, and calls into the dark, "Come, little brother wolves, any and all of you that are out there in the forest, come to the light; come in out of the cold!" These are not the words—we quote from memory—but that is the general idea. Every one who has seen the light, even at the eleventh hour, can be admitted into the suffrage fold. And there are bound to be a crowd of applicants.

A. S. B.

Guanajuato, Where Women Vote

THE one state in Mexico which has formally conceded equal suffrage to women is a rich and beautiful section of the country. The Guanajuato silver mines have produced fabulous quantities of the white metal. Alden Buell Case in his recently published "Thirty Years with the Mexicans" tells of one fortunate miner who "paved the sixty yards of street from his house to the church, when his son was christened, with silver bars for the procession to pass over. From the Government mint, located there, come millions of silver pesos, which circulate not only throughout Mexico, but in China and in other parts of the Far East."

Guanajuato City is the capital of this rich silver mining country and has a population of about 70,000. Mr. Case quotes the ecstatic description of this city by Reau Campbell in her "Travels in Mexico": "Quaintest spot and most delightful under the sun! The little city of Guanajuato—may its name be written in letters of gold!—has succeeded in charming away the few remaining senses which this enchanting Mexico has left us. A city upon the mountains, a fortified place set upon the side of heights so steep that the houses seem fastened to the rock rather than resting upon it, and a misstep on the dizzy uppermost level of the narrow, steep streets would precipitate the unlucky one into the midst of some plaza three or four hundred feet below. A lovely, bewildering spot full of lanes and archways and winding, twisting market-places, with a crowd of picturesque people selling every oddity under the sun under a screen of matting; with a crossing, an interlacing of narrow paved ways which give at every ten steps the effect of a kaleidoscope with a vista of infinite beauty and novelty at every turning."

Mr. Case, who has lived in Mexico for a generation, believes the people to be noble and progressive. The majority of them in every state he reports to be much disgusted with the long continuance of disquietude and revolution. Doubtless when the smoke of battle clears away it will be discovered that many such progressive movements as the granting of suffrage to women in Guanajuato have been already established.

As to Suffrage in Holland

AN inspiring evidence that women are at last regarded as people has been made manifest by the very general interpretation put upon the recent press dispatches which said that "universal suffrage" had been adopted by the States General of Holland and approved by Queen Wilhelmina. The interpretation was that if it was universal it must include women. So far has America progressed in recent days! But the facts are, so far as the N. A. W. S. A. has heard, that only "passive" suffrage is secured to the women of Holland by the bill. That is to say, Dutch women have been given the right to be elected to office, but not to elect. They can even be elected to Parliament, but they can't vote for anything or anybody. Theirs is passive, as distinguished from active suffrage. However, an old-time constitutional impediment that expressly excluded women from the suffrage has been removed and it is expected that Holland's women will next secure the passage of a law whereby they may be electors as well as elected.

The Royal Belgian Suffragist

WHEN the war shall have ended and brave little Belgium shall have been given back her land, one of the first things she will do as a restored nation will be to grant universal suffrage to the women of Belgium. Such is the prophecy made recently by the King of Belgium when meeting the United States Congressmen on their tour of France and Belgium.

King Albert is a warm supporter of equal suffrage, and has no hesitation in saying that the granting of universal suffrage would be one of the first internal reforms which Belgium would establish in the Kingdom. His Majesty is quoted as saying, "The women have won that right for themselves in this war."

Dr. Shaw a Voter

AFTER the New York victory, regret was expressed in these columns that it had not enfranchised Dr. Shaw, who had worked so long and so hard for the cause. The present writer had forgotten that Dr. Shaw some time ago transferred her legal residence from Pennsylvania to New York. Dr. Shaw is at present a voting citizen, entitled to cast her ballot for all officers, from the highest to the lowest. All suffragists must be glad of the fact.

A. S. B.

A Good Example

THE British House of Commons, by unanimous vote, has extended municipal suffrage to married women, by amendment to the Representation of the People Bill.

This shows a gratifying growth of liberality and good sense. John Stuart Mill said the average Englishman of his day was not educated up to the point of being willing to live with an equal. John Quincy Adams said that a strong argument could be made in favor of suffrage for widows and unmarried women, but that "wife suffrage" would be an enormity.

In Scotland and Ireland, married women have had municipal suffrage for many years, but on such qualifications that only a

few of them possessed it. The right has now been given to Englishwomen on a much broader basis.

In discussing the various proposals for woman suffrage that have been broached in England, suffrage speakers have often been asked by workingmen whether the proposed bill would enfranchise their wives; and the speakers say that in the early years the questioners wanted to make sure that it would not, but in later years they wanted to make sure that it would.

To the credit of American men, they have never treated marriage as a disqualification. In the United States, wherever any form of suffrage has been conferred upon women, from Presidential suffrage down to the school vote, it has always been conferred upon married and single women alike.

In England, the unanimity of the recent vote extending municipal suffrage to wives shows that the widows and single women have not made a bad use of their votes during the past 48 years, and it also shows how nearly dead is the old prejudice against woman suffrage. It ought to give an impetus to the movement for the Federal Amendment. There is no valid distinction to be drawn between municipal and full suffrage; and American men will hardly be willing to admit that American women cannot be trusted with a power that English men are willing to bestow on millions of English women.

A. S. B.

Antis Outdo Bolsheviks

THERE is a curious likeness between the methods of the anti-suffragists and those of the Bolsheviks, who are just now being called by every denunciatory name.

For years, when anything untoward happened in an equal suffrage state, the opponents of equal rights said it showed that government by men and women was a failure. Ten thousand Russian refugees lived for a time in the United States, and saw many untoward things here; and after the outbreak of the revolution they went back to Russia and reported that republican government as carried on in the United States was a failure. If the anti-suffragists were right, the Bolsheviks were right: for they could point to more bad things in the United States as a whole than the anti-suffragists could show in the limited number of states where women were voters.

In fact, the antis outdid the Bolsheviks; for the antis actually claimed that the old régime was better than the new; whereas none of the Bolsheviks, so far as heard from, preferred an autocracy to a republic. Their point of view was that such a republic as existed in America was unsatisfactory, and that the public welfare demanded a republic on much more radical lines.

A thing in process of evolution may be very far from perfect without therefore being a failure. The anti-suffragists forgot this and they forgot it with much less to drive them to such forgetfulness than the Bolsheviks had. The Russian refugees in the United States were most of them very poor, and they knew by painful experience all the ways in which our great republic still fails to safeguard the welfare of the poorest part of its population. They knew all about Triangle fires, and food profiteering, and the frequent misuse of the police and the

courts in labor dispute. They knew about a thousand things that are hardly realized by the comfortable and well-to-do.

"The toad beneath the harrow knows
Exactly where each tooth-point goes."

Some of them had read in the press synopses of the last government report on industrial conditions showing that nearly half of the male wage-workers in the United States were earning only about \$500 a year; and many of themselves and of their friends were in that category. They had seen the whole seamy side of life in this country, and had suffered from it. The leading anti-suffragists, on the other hand, when they jumped to hasty and unjust conclusions, had not the excuse that they were in a state of suffering. Most of them were very comfortable. They were well educated, so far as book education goes. They were like the peppery woman in Charles Reade's story, "Very Hard Cash," who acknowledged that she had "behaved like a fool, without even the excuse of being one."

A. S. B.

Snapping the Snake

ANYONE who wanted a good laugh in pre-election days had only to compare some of the theories of the anti-suffragists with their practice.

As election time approaches fervent appeals are always sent out by all the political parties, urging the men of their own political stripe to register and vote. Scorn is heaped upon the "slacker" who will not take the trouble to cast a ballot for the sake of his country, his city, or his state. Praise is given to the good citizen who will not allow anything to keep him from the polls. There is not the remotest hint that the casting of an honest vote can be degrading or demoralizing. These exhortations are found even in the mouths of the politicians most hostile to equal rights. Yet for years these same gentlemen have been assuring women that if they cast a ballot they would become corrupted and depraved.

When Mrs. Catt was a little girl growing up on a farm, her brother used to catch a harmless snake, take it by the tail and snap it close to her ear in order to scare her. For some time the trick succeeded. Then the little girl, who already had a good head of her own, reflected that the snake must be harmless, or her brother would not dare to handle it. Subduing her tremors she caught a snake of the same kind, and secretly practised snapping it. Then she snapped it suddenly close to her brother's ear. He never tried to frighten her in that way again.

The wisest and most high-minded men vote without fearing to be hurt by it, and most of them want women to vote, too. When the less intelligent or less high-minded try to scare their sisters by telling them it will wreck their morals, it is either the blindness of prejudice or a case of pure "camouflage."

A. S. B.

Can You Believe Your Eyes?

"Thus, without any fuss and feathers, quietly, intelligently, with practical good sense, the women voters are taking their first steps in party organization and political life."—*New York Times*.

Pre-Convention Activities

MANY suffragists are already on the ground in Washington, and pre-convention activities may be said to have begun on the day Congress opened, December 20. Massachusetts and Indiana were among the earliest states to have representatives of their delegations present. Interest in the federal suffrage amendment has greatly heightened women's general interest in Congress, and it is doubtful if the nation's law-makers have any more eager watchers and listeners than the women visitors at Washington during congressional sessions.

Suffrage leaders are saying that the December 12-15 convention at Poli's may be the last the National will ever hold in Washington, for they believe Congress will pass the federal woman suffrage amendment at this session. As this amendment has been the National's goal throughout the fifty years of its existence, the organization will then transfer its activities to other fields than Washington—first, to the state legislatures, where the amendment must be ratified, and then to the proper utilization of the vote it will have secured for the women of the country.

Monday, December 10, ushers in the meeting of the executive council of the National, at suffrage headquarters, 1626 Rhode Island Avenue. Executive conferences will continue throughout the day on Tuesday. As already announced in the *Woman Citizen*, Tuesday evening, the 11th, the delegates will be formally welcomed to Washington by a reception in their honor at the Willard Hotel, where the hostesses will be Mrs. William Gibbs McAdoo, Mrs. Newton D. Baker, Mrs. Thomas W. Gregory, Mrs. Albert Sidney Burleson, Mrs. Josephus Daniels, Mrs. Franklin K. Lane, Mrs. David F. Houston, Miss Agnes Hart Wilson, Mrs. James R. Mann, and Mrs. Philip Pitt Campbell. This event, with eight ladies of the cabinet and the wives of two prominent members of the House in the receiving line, will be distinguished as a brilliant social affair as well as for its political significance.

The convention proper will be opened at 2 p. m. on Wednesday, December 12, by the president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

Even at this early date an unusually large and representative attendance upon the convention is assured. Partial lists of state delegations include the following:

ILLINOIS DELEGATES

Mrs. Robert D. Cunningham, Evanston Political Equality League, president; Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, Suffrage Amendment Alliance, president; Dr. Anna Blount, Evanston Political Equality League.

Chicago Equal Suffrage Association

Mrs. James W. Morrison, president; Mrs. Arthur Ryerson, Mrs. Cyrus McCormick, Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank, Mrs. Jacob Baur, first vice-president; Miss Caroline Kirkland, second vice-president; Mrs. Augustus Peabody, Mrs. Medill McCormick.

Illinois Equal Suffrage Association

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, Chicago, president; Mrs. George Bass, Chicago; Mrs. Geo. A. Soden, Mrs. Edward L. Stewart, Mrs. Samuel Slade, Mrs. Lyman A. Walton, Miss Florence

King, Mrs. Blanche B. West, Bushnell, three women from Galena, Mrs. Chas. Webster, Mrs. H. M. Stryker, and Mrs. E. O. Smith, Mrs. E. B. Coolley, Danville, Mrs. Lillian Danskin, Jacksonville, Mrs. Louis E. Yager, Oak Park.

MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATES

There will about fifty, among them Mrs. Louis Jerome Johnson, Cambridge, Mrs. John C. Lee, Wellesley, Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw, Mrs. Wirt Dexter, Mrs. Theresa Crowley, Mrs. B. F. Pitman, Mrs. Glendower Evans.

RHODE ISLAND DELEGATES

Mrs. Burton M. Jenks and Mrs. Sara Algeo head the list.

INDIANA DELEGATES

Mrs. R. E. Edwards, of Peru, president of the Woman's Franchise League, and Mrs. Horace Stillwell, of Anderson, are among those who have come early and will stay late.

CONNECTICUT DELEGATES

Miss Katherine Ludington, the new state president, Mrs. Josepha Whitney, Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton, and Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees are first on the list.

VIRGINIA DELEGATES

Thirty-nine in all are promised. Among them are Mrs. John H. Lewis, Lynchburg, Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Alexandria, Mrs. E. G. Kidd, Richmond, Mrs. Kate Langley Boshier, Richmond, Miss Lucinda Terry, Roanoke, Mrs. John Skelton Williams, and Mrs. Louise Collier Willcox, Norfolk.

WISCONSIN DELEGATES

Mrs. Theodora Youmans, Waukesha, president of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association, Mrs. Ben Hooper, Oshkosh, Congressional chairman, Miss Harriet F. Bain, Kenosha, chairman of finance, and Miss Emma Robinson, treasurer, will all be there.

KANSAS DELEGATES

Representing the Kansas Equal Suffrage will be Mrs. C. H. Brooks, Wichita, the new president, Mrs. W. Y. Morgan, Hutchinson, vice-president, and Mrs. Catherine Hoffman, Enterprise.

MAINE DELEGATES

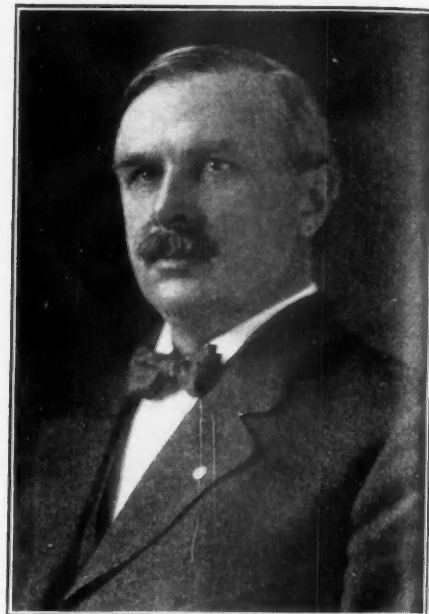
Mrs. W. R. Pattangall, Augusta, Mrs. George W. Bass, Wilton, Mrs. Frank Mills, Portland, Mrs. S. H. Boardman, Augusta, Mrs. D. M. Lawrence, Rockland, Mrs. Eugene Chamberlain, Brunswick, are coming.

SOUTH CAROLINA DELEGATES

South Carolina's Equal Suffrage League will be officially represented by Mrs. Harriet P. Lynch, Cheraw, president, Mrs. Leroy Springs, Lancaster, the League's treasurer, and Mrs. W. C. Cathcart, Columbia, chairman of Legislative and Congressional work.

NEW YORK DELEGATES

The "Party" will be nearly intact in its official representation, Mrs. Whitehouse heading a list that includes Mrs. Raymond Brown, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Arthur Livermore,



HON. JOHN E. RAKER, OF CALIFORNIA

HON. JOHN E. RAKER
DEMOCRAT, 2ND DISTRICT OF
CALIFORNIA

JUDGE RAKER is one of the members of the House who has introduced the federal suffrage amendment, and the resolution to create a Suffrage Committee was also known by his name. As a Californian and a true believer, he is a ready and ardent advocate of woman suffrage in Congress at all times. It was he who took charge of the petition to the Rules Committee, asking for the creation of the special suffrage committee, to which were secured the signatures of nearly a hundred members of Congress. He also conducted the hearing before the Rules Committee for the advocates of the resolution. Judge Raker, formerly of the Superior Court of California and a well-known criminal lawyer, has been a member of Congress since 1908. He will be found among the most active workers for the suffrage amendment in the next session.

Mrs. F. J. Tone, Miss Mary E. Dreier, Mrs. Wm. Belknap, Mrs. Ogden M. Reid, Miss Alice Morgan Wright, Mrs. Charles Noel Edge, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip.

The Chairmen of Sections who will attend are: Miss Adella Potter, Mrs. Howard Mansfield, Mrs. W. G. Mitchell, Mrs. Alice Duer Miller, Mrs. Henry Bull, Mrs. Victor Morawetz, Miss Katherine D. Blake and Mrs. John Blair.

Among the Campaign District Chairmen coming are: Mrs. Fred Eddy, Miss Leila Slott, Mrs. Robt. Ford, Mrs. Danforth, of the 7th, Mrs. T. Wright, Mrs. Gordon Norrie, Mrs. Geo. Notman, Mrs. Sharp, of the 12th, Mrs. Henry White Cannon, Mrs. Rumsey, Buffalo, and Miss Harriet May Mills, Syracuse.

All the borough chairmen will be there: Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, Brooklyn, Mrs. David R. Rodger, Queens, Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer, Bronx, Mrs. Wm. G. Wilcox, Richmond, and Mrs. John Humphrey Watkins, Manhattan.

State Presidents and State Work



MISS KATHERINE LUDINGTON,
New President of Connecticut Woman Suffrage Assn.

ONE thing the suffragists of Pennsylvania are determined—the German American Alliance shall have no power in the 1919 Legislature of that state. Mrs. John O. Miller, acting president, and since elected president, in her address to the forty-ninth annual convention held at Pittsburgh the last week in November, said that pro-German interests were active in the 1917 Legislature to such an extent that they controlled a number of votes. She called upon the suffrage association to see that these interests did not have the power in the next Legislature.

"The entire strength of this organization must be thrown to defeat certain types of politicians in various counties throughout the state," said Mrs. Miller. "We cannot hope to carry on the war with the least possible loss of life and treasure, if we cannot run our commonwealth efficiently and patriotically."

Patriotism was the keynote of all the addresses which featured the program. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt closed her address on women and democracy with an appeal to the men of Pennsylvania to give the women of that state the right to vote by working for the Federal Amendment that will give the women of the nation the ballot.

The Federal Amendment resolution passed by the convention was to the effect that they would urge the President of the United States, the members of Congress, and all citizens of the country to act in concert to have the federal woman suffrage amendment passed by Congress at this session and ratified by the Legislatures of the various states.

The convention pledged its support to the government in all avenues of war service and endorsed war time prohibition, urging the discontinuance of the manufacture of all alcoholic beverages.

After a full discussion of the matter the convention resolved "to repudiate the mistaken methods of the pickets."

The officers chosen for the year are: President, Mrs. John O. Miller, of Pittsburgh; vice-president, Mrs. Lewis L. Smith, of Stratford; secretary, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, of Milford, and treasurer, Mrs. Robert Mills Beach, of Bellefonte.

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES C. CANTRILL was unable to speak at the annual convention of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association held at Lexington, December 1 and 2, because of the opening of Congress on December 3. In expressing his regret to Mrs. John Glover South, state president, Mr. Cantrell said, "It has been a great pleasure to me to have been of assistance in bringing about the establishment of a suffrage committee in the House of Representatives. I have given careful consideration to the question of suffrage and as a citizen of Kentucky and as a member of the Congress of the United States, I feel that it is my duty to assist your organization in every way possible in securing suffrage for the women of the United States. As a member of the Committee on Rules and as a member of Congress, I will do everything in my power to bring about this result."

THE members of the Birmingham Equal Suffrage Association have no acquaintance with the word "rest." There is always something stirring in the suffrage camp in Birmingham. Just recently they have had a lecture by Mrs. Nellie McClung, a "Glory Luncheon" to celebrate the New York victory and this week sees them in the midst of the big bazaar for which such elaborate preparations have been going on for months. Then, too, Congressman Jeannette Rankin was on the lecture program at Birmingham.

The "Glory Luncheon" was held at the Southern Club and was attended by both men and women. The speakers were Senator Oscar W. Underwood and Congressman George Hudleston, Mrs. Solon Jacobs of the National Suffrage board and Mrs. C. M. Spencer, who has done such splendid service in handling the suffrage press work. What the New York victory means to the rest of the country was the theme of the talks. Mrs. Jacobs introduced all present to the Federal Amendment with such brilliant success that the talk closed with the rousing cheers of the guests who realized that the Federal Amendment drive was launched.



MRS. ANDREAS UELAND,
Re-elected President of Minnesota Woman Suffrage Assn.

THE underlying thought in the minds of the majority that suffrage by Federal Amendment would find small favor in the southern states is being refuted, as state after state below the Mason and Dixon line holds its annual suffrage convention and passes with enthusiasm a strong resolution calling upon their representatives in Congress to support the Federal Amendment.

The Georgia Equal Suffrage Party, in convention at Augusta the last of November, passed a resolution which said, "We demand the nation-wide enfranchisement of women, upon equal terms with men, and urge the immediate adoption of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution." The resolution was embodied in a telegram sent to President Wilson.

The convention also resolved to aid the government in all ways possible tending to keep clean the army camps from social vice. The White Cross Relief plan was endorsed.

For more than a hundred years Georgia has been offering to the young men of her state university and college education through her state educational institutions, but in all this century of time no provision has been made by the state to offer the same advantages to its young women. In the meantime the requirements for higher positions for professional life have been raised until higher education has become imperative. To get this the young women, at great expense and often inconvenience, have been obliged to go to other state universities and colleges. The Georgia Equal Suffrage Party entered a formal protest against this "narrow, illiberal, unjust policy" that has kept the doors of its state university so long closed to women and pledges its energies and influence to secure the admission of women to the University at an early date, under such provision as may seem wise and just to the women themselves.

This demand for the open door policy is general among the women of Georgia and no effort will be spared to right this archaic state of affairs.



ME, TOO, UNCLE !!

What We Are Fighting For

EVERY now and then it is solemnly suggested over in Europe that the Allies set forth their aims. Say what they are fighting for.

As if they might have forgotten! Or might never have had a clear idea!

Can it be possible that after America, too, has had three years of war, we shall have that question propounded here? Is there any doubt in anybody's mind, can there ever be any doubt in anybody's mind as to what America is fighting for? Shall we grow dull to the issue?

It is not the right of self-government?

The right of the small nation not to be down-trampled by the large?

The right of the individual who submits to authority to have a voice in his own government?

That being true, is it not also true that the struggle of American women for nation-wide suffrage is one and the same with the world struggle, part of it, integral?

Can anybody be so blurred of vision as to think of the suffrage program as separate and apart from the war program?

The war is for democracy. Suffrage is very sign and seal of democracy.

The war is to save to the world the right of self-government. Woman suffrage means exactly that—the right of self-government.

You can help win the war by going to the trenches. You can help win it by Red Cross work. You can help win it by private and public economy.

You can help win it by working for the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, so that the crack in America's democratic armor may be made whole.

Whichever way you help, what you are fighting for remains the same—the right of self-government.

You mustn't neglect democracy at home while you go abroad to nurse democracy in Europe.



Better Get Ready and Go Vote With Me

Do the women really want the vote? Will they use this privilege to any extent if they get it? Will they manifest some new and essentially feminine vagaries in politics, or will they divide on the issues in about the same proportion as the men?

I AM not going to attempt the task of answering the above questions for all women collectively; nor do I intend to treat it as an abstract question. I am merely going to tell you *my* opinion, formed from my own experiences and personal observations. It must necessarily be egotistical, for in order to make you understand why being able to vote in this last contest was a much more momentous affair to me than to most women, I must relate an incident occurring in my childhood:

When the annual event—the Fourth of July—came around, as had long been our family custom, we assembled on my grandfather's lawn to celebrate the great day in the usual manner. All the little folks looked forward with keen anticipation to wearing the white dresses with the gay sashes of red and blue. And the donning of the tricolored paper hats preparatory to the marching and drilling was an event of great delight to our childish minds. We could hardly wait for the evening and its grand climax of fire-works, but had to content ourselves with marching, drilling and hurrahing at every passing vehicle the name of some favorite political candidate, receiving in return, either an answering shout, a smile of sympathy or a deep growl of disgust.

OUR grandfather was a staunch "Whig" and would give us the cue so that, as nearly as possible, we might shout for the one the occupant did *not* like. At length a solitary old man came in sight riding on a load of stone. "Now," said our mentor, "shout for Millard Fillmore, and wave your flags harder than ever?"

At the right moment, up went the guiding hand, and we hurrahed, shouted ourselves hoarse, and danced with delight, waving our flags frantically.

My grandfather turned away chuckling, as there came back the growl:

"Then you'll hurrah for a d—d Tory."

I ran up to my grandparent and asked, "What is a Tory, Grandpa?"

"Tut, tut, child, you belong to the wrong sex to vote so you don't need to know about that."

"Why did God make me the wrong sex, Grandpa? I think he was mean to do that when I was too little to help myself."

"Child, child, you must not talk that way, it is wicked,"—and so came the usual lecture.

I turned away, abashed at the shocked look on my grandfather's face, and at the stern lecture I received; but instantly there sprang into my mind the vow that somewhere, somehow, sometime, I *would* vote and show everybody that I was able to vote as well as the right sex. I must confess that, on account of my familiarity with the two words, sin and wickedness, this lecture did not make a strong or lasting impression upon my young mind; but it aroused my curiosity and started two questions that I was forever balancing in my mind:

"Why did God make anyone wrong?" and "Why could I never vote?"

By Sarah Walworth Roach

Then in my eager quest for material to supply a logical answer to these questions, I learned that God did *not* make a wrong sex; that this was merely an assumption brought about by men's self-assertion. Then I added to my vow this codicil: "I would vote, not just half way, but for the president of my choice."

In school I learned what the contemptuous term, "Tory," signified to all loyal Americans; and in the "Topics of the Times" and "Table Talks" of the magazines I learned many things that do not usually interest the "wrong sex," and young folks not at all. In my family, I became a joke from my habit of always turning first to that part of the magazines.

Thus, I went on up to womanhood, and, a Democrat, I married a Republican. What did that matter, you think; but it did matter in this way: In spite of my husband's jeers at me an account of my views being of no moment as I could not vote, I would argue all questions of the day and thus learned both sides, for at heart he was a suffragist, and his jeers were merely fun at my helplessness in expressing my views on any question of a political nature.

AT length my young son began asking questions about what he heard in the street. Of course I answered them from my Democratic viewpoint. At this my husband protested and said that if I would let politics alone by referring all questions on that subject to him, I might have absolute freedom in bringing up the children in my church—for here again we differed. I agreed to this, but retained the right to talk politics at my own table.

So we argued any question that presented itself. I would ask him about certain men who were candidates for offices, their records and qualifications, etc., and he would say:

"Oh, I don't know, I never heard of them till now."

Then I would say scornfully, "And you, possessing the privilege of choosing the man who is to represent you, are willing to vote for one of whom you know nothing!"

And then I would ask, "Who put his name on the ballot?"

"Oh, the Republican party, of course."

"Then you would vote for any one, rascal or not, who managed to get his name on the ballot?"

"If he were the regular Republican nominee, I should, of course."

THEN I would say:

"Well! If I had a voice in such matters, I would vote for the men who had proved that they were men, and no party could make me vote for a rascal just because he happened to be its nominee. I would not belong to a party I could not trust to put up men who are reputable and whose record either in private or public life would not stand examination."

To this he would reply with a laugh, "I guess on the whole it's a good thing you women cannot vote, if you all feel that way about it."

Notwithstanding such remarks, I soon found that he was beginning to "scratch" his ballot. For many, many years I watched him going

off to the polls on election day alone—while I turned to "rock the cradle."

AT last in July of 1916, I found myself in the state of Washington. It was then too late for me to vote at the primary, but that did not matter, for, being such a stranger to all the state laws as well as to the men running for office, I would not have voted anyway till I could study into the record of each of the candidates. I attended all the speeches made by either side, and read all the papers and pamphlets I could get hold of.

After the primary my husband told me that I had been in the state long enough to vote at the regular election in November, and kept telling me to go and register. Then I found myself in a curious frame of mind. Eager as I had always been for this particular privilege, I found that this preliminary act of registering, I had never thought of. It made me nervous to think of going to the Registering Office alone, and I was foolish enough to ask him what I had to do to register.

The jeering laugh and raillery I heard in reply aroused my ire and I said:

"Oh well, I'll not bother you with any more questions."

"Why! Haven't you posted up on all these things in the long years you have been talking about it?"

To this I made no reply, but resolved to ask a woman friend all about the necessary steps. I felt as a young debutante would when about to make her first entrance into a drawing-room filled with people; though they might be her own friends, looking forward to this event all her life, and making all manner of preparations for this grand beginning to her gay young ladyhood, yet on the very threshold, drawing back in a tremor of dismayed nervousness.

FINALLY, a friend of mine and I went down to the office to register and I swore her to secrecy. Well, I survived and laughed at my own foolishness and thought, "That was nothing; how silly of me!" But, you see, I had always lived in a large city, and many times had been obliged to cross the street on election day to avoid the crowds of rough-looking men around the polling places. So to think of going among them to register alone was an ordeal I had dreaded.

Several times my husband would say at the table:

"You had better go down town today and register, for you haven't many days left," laughing at me mischievously.

I found that silence did not stop his teasing so I replied quietly with a bored air:

"Oh, I don't believe I care to vote after all. It's too much trouble, and what does one vote amount to anyway? There's no gain individually that I can see unless you run for office."

A grin was not what I received in return but a hearty laugh and:

"Your bluff doesn't work worth a cent. You registered the other day and I know it."

"What makes you think so?" I asked in genuine surprise.

"Oh, that was easy. You gave yourself away the other day when you repeated some—"

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The Dollar-a-Year Woman



ANNA COLEMAN LADD *Brugman*

TO be "a dollar-a-year woman!" It's as much as to have won the V. C. It stands for unostentatious sacrifice of the world's few big salaried positions at the call of the country. Washington sees many such men now. They are less dramatic than Rupert Brooke in the trenches or Percy Grainger in khaki leading a military band, but they mean the same—the laying down of individual ambitions for humanity's sake. And the line of trenches filled with such soldiers runs across the seas and up and down the continents.

Two women sculptors of wide reputation have recently come forward, one from Boston and one from Nashville, Tennessee, to offer their artistic skill to the United States government for remodeling the faces of wounded soldiers. They are Anna Coleman Ladd of Boston, Massachusetts, and Belle Kinney of Nashville, Tennessee.

Both are suffragists, both come from unenfranchised states and both are waiting to hear finally whether the government will find places for them.

At the great exhibitions of this country and France, at the National Academy in New York, the Paris Salons, the Chicago Art Museums or the National Sculpture Society, Mrs. Ladd's work has been known for many years. In the Corcoran Art Gallery at Washington and in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, her sculptures are permanently on view.

She is also a novelist, the author of "Hieronymous Rides" and "The Candid Adventurer." Hitherto she has fixed in bronze and in print her conceptions of beauty. Now she wants to set them forth in human faces, for love of mankind, and because she has a special gift to contribute.

Mrs. Ladd's plan of work has been accepted by Major V. P. Blair of the War Department. It appeals so strongly to Major Blair that he asked her to extend her services to the Allied wounded and a few days ago Mrs. Ladd received a telegram from the Lowther Hackett unit of the Women's Ambulance Drivers of France telling her how urgently her work is wanted over there.

Her plan is to get possession of a photograph of her patient as he was before he was wounded, and from it she will build up the scarred features until they are like the normal face. A plaster cast of the face with its physical defects will be furnished her upon which to model in clay the features as photographed. From the original cast a copper plate mask is to be made and tinted with flesh color. The finished mask will be held to the face by spectacle frames.

A provision that a physician's wife may not engage in work with the army while her husband is also attached to it, may make an obstacle to Mrs. Ladd's acceptance by General Pershing, as her husband, Dr. Raymond Ladd, is now in France, giving special aid to children.

The plan of Miss Belle Kinney of Nashville, Tennessee, differs from Mrs. Ladd's. Miss Kinney was the first woman in the United States to volunteer for her special kind of facial restoration. She is the sister of Dr. De Lam Kinney, a woman dentist who has been giving much time to work on the mouths of soldiers. These two sisters mean to work together for their results, as most of the restoration work heretofore accomplished has been done by dentists.

Very recently Miss Kinney has been assured by the authorities in Washington that her project will be given favorable attention.



BELLE KINNEY *Brugman*

When Miss Kinney takes up her work of restoring faces, she will, like Mrs. Ladd, lay aside great successes in her art. She has been given, it is said, the largest commission for sculptural work ever placed in a woman's hands.

This commission is a series of monuments to the women of the Confederacy, one of which, in bronze, is to be unveiled shortly in Jackson, Mississippi. Then will follow the second cast of the monument in Nashville, Tennessee. Ten

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NELLIE McCLUNG

Mrs. McClung's New Book

A VIVID picture of the war's effect on the life and thoughts of women in Western Canada is given by Mrs. Nellie L. McClung in her new book, "The Next of Kin, or Those Who Wait and Wonder" (Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston, \$1.25 net).

Mrs. McClung herself has a son in the army and so is well qualified to describe the feelings of the "Next of Kin." She shows us the women's patriotism, their heroism, their sacrifices; and the growing determination among the more thoughtful of them to make this war the last. As one mother put it:

"I am willing to give my boy to die for others if I am sure that the others are going to be saved; but I am not willing that he should die in vain. I have made a heavy investment in the cause of Humanity, and I am going to look after it."

She shows the resolution of the women to help the country economize—not only in saving food by the ounce, in the homes, but in stopping some of the big wastes:

"Great new ways of wasting and destroying our resources are going on while the old leaks are all running wide open. More children under five years of age have died since the war than there have been men killed in battle—and largely from preventable 'dirt diseases' and poverty. Now is the time to set in force certain agencies to make good these losses, so far as they can be repaired."

One of the finest chapters is that on Conservation. The author brings graphically before us the distress of a settler's wife about to give birth to a child in a lonely farm house in the snowy wilderness, when her husband finds that the only other woman within many miles is away from home and cannot come to help. There is no aid but the husband and the eleven-year-old daughter, Mary; and the poor woman, who has already lost two babies, is in deadly

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State Support for Federal Amendment

WE women of Illinois, recognizing in the New York suffrage victory the most conspicuous triumph of democracy in America, desire to congratulate our sisters, who through many years have conducted the campaigns of education and perfected an organization which made this result possible.

We believe that the significance of this victory is so clear that it should be made the most powerful engine in passing the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the national constitution and sending it to the state Legislatures as one of the first acts of Congress.

To thus effectuate their victory we pledge our renewed efforts to secure the unanimous support of the Illinois national representatives. Signed by:

Ella J. Abeel, Elizabeth Hawley Everett, Rosa G. Landauer, Anna Scott Gray, Annie P. Lobbell, Mary M. Betts, Mary P. Smith, Jean Peck Washburn, Catharine W. McCulloch, Minna Farrell Johnson, Maude Radford Warren, Alice E. Moran, Mary Foulke Morrison, Katherine E. Caldwell, Ella S. Stewart, Katherine O. Jones, Ella B. Tucker, M. E. Parker, Mary E. Brundy, F. W. Colburn.

Mary Mars, Ella B. Treliaze, Clara M. Wray, Mabel L. Sippy, Anna S. L. Brown, Jessie Ozias Donahue, Edith Mitchell Ennis, Edith Jordan Hall, Jennie W. Hall, S. Grace Nicholes, Celia Parker Woolley, Florence Bennett Peterson, Margaret B. Lord, Gratia Shipman Erickson, Mary Graham Gallery, Maude E. Roulston, Anna E. Blount, M.D., Garreta H. Bussey, Nellie Sprague Searing, Ida Ford Hallock.

Clara P. Seippel, Grace V. A. Peabody, Mary Aldis, Lillian Kohlhamer, Jean Ellis Driver, Mary Bliss, Estelle H. B. Boot, Edith Risser McKay, Dora E. Link, Celia M. Howard, Esther A. Dunshee, C. Agnes McHugh, Ada M. Cartwright, Charlotte Foye, Jeanette W. Foye, Lucy S. Stewart, Jane Addams, Grace M. Packard, Mary R. Plummer, Elizabeth Bass.

THE West Virginia State Suffrage Association, which met in convention last month at Fairmount, took a firm stand for the Federal Amendment saying "we pledge ourselves vigorously to co-operate with the National American Woman Suffrage Association in its campaign for the Federal Amendment and to this end we urge our several representatives in Congress to work and vote for said amendment."

Believing women to be peculiarly fitted to hold the newly created office of probation officer for the juvenile courts in the various counties of the state, the convention protested against the condition brought to light by the recent decision of the attorney-general which apparently makes it impossible for a woman to hold such an office in West Virginia because she is not a voter.

Mrs. Ellis A. Yost has retired from the presidency but will remain an important factor in the movement as the member of the National Executive Committee. An editorial comment says: "Mrs. Yost has done much for suffrage in this state, and no matter who the actual leader is when success crowns the effort, Mrs.

Yost will be entitled to a large share of the credit."

The state suffrage association will be officered by Mrs. John L. Ruhl of Clarksburg as president, Mrs. Alfred Hazlett of Wheeling as first vice-president, Mrs. J. Gale Ebert of Parkersburg as second vice-president, Mrs. Frank Mann of Huntington as third vice-president, Mrs. Thomas Paedro of Parkersburg as recording secretary, Dr. Harriett B. Jones of Glendale as corresponding secretary, Mrs. Harriett Schroeder of Grafton as treasurer, and Mrs. Charles Manly of Fairmount as auditor. Mrs. Yost will be the member of the National Executive Committee and Mrs. Edward S. Romine of Wheeling will be chairman of the Congressional Committee.

PATRIOTIC service was the keynote of the annual convention of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association, unusual stress being placed upon the need of service and loyalty to the government during the war. Every speaker embodied something of this in her address and Mrs. Henry M. Youmans, state president, in her address on "Woman and Democracy" made a stirring plea for greater service on the part of women, in order that the world may be made safe for democracy.

The convention adopted the loyalty pledge of the Wisconsin Loyalty League, and also reiterated that the state association had no connection with the National Woman's Party and that it deplored the picketing methods used by the members of that party.

Declaring that President Wilson was the greatest friend of suffrage that has ever occupied the White House, Mrs. Youmans made a strong plea for the suffragists to put loyalty to country before all else. "I see the hope of peace only through international agreement, on the other side of this great war, and then only if the war ends right," said Mrs. Youmans. "I believe that permanent peace, government by the people, the cause of woman, are equally endangered by the cause of militarism. I believe that we are fighting to make the world safe for democracy and only in a world made safe for democracy may we hope for permanent peace. The democracy of these United States is not perfect. It is our ordained mission, yours and mine, to improve it. But to refuse help to a democratic government on the ground that it is imperfect, and so give help to powers which would crush democracy, is strange logic and stranger patriotism."

Mrs. Youmans ventured the prophecy that President Wilson would indorse the Federal Amendment, and said "the Federal Amendment fills our immediate future. We hope and believe it will pass."

The officers elected for 1917-1918 are:

President, Mrs. Henry M. Youmans, Waukesha; first vice-president, Mrs. Ben Hooper, Oshkosh; second vice-president, Miss E. E. Robinson, Kenosha; third vice-president, Mrs. Frank Thanhouser, Milwaukee; treasurer, Mrs. Isaac P. Witter, Grand Rapids; recording secretary, Mrs. A. J. Rogers, Milwaukee; corresponding secretary, Mrs. E. J. Barrett, Sheboygan, and auditors, Mrs. H. A. J. Upham, Milwaukee, and Mrs. Sara Van Dusen, Madison.

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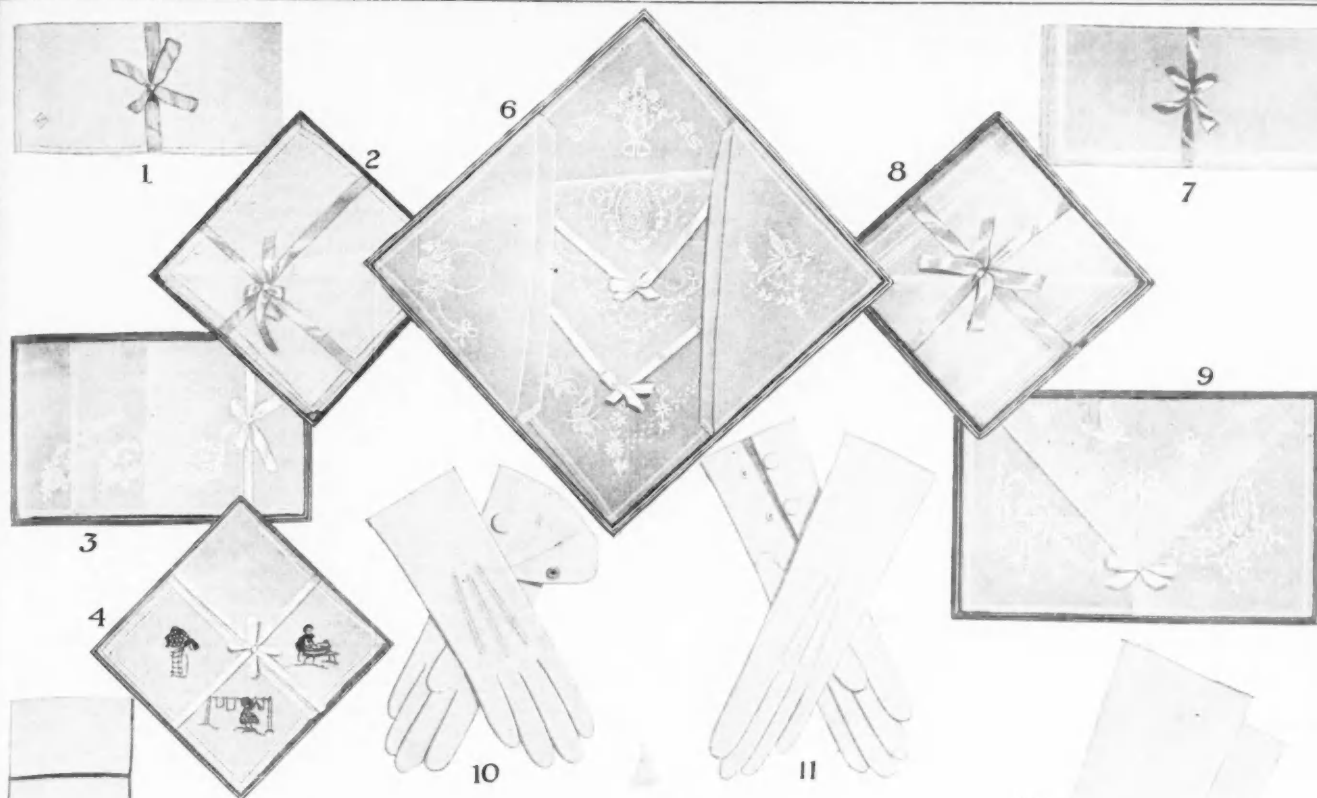
Protection for Working Mothers on War Contracts

PROTECTION for mothers employed on government war contracts is recommended by the Committee on Women in Industry of the Council of National Defense. "No woman," says its bulletin on industrial standards, just issued, "shall be employed during a period of two months prior, or two months subsequent to childbirth."

Such a prohibition is already in effect in four states in this country but no provision has yet been made for the care and support of working mothers when thus deprived of their wages.

All European countries that have this restricted period also have maternity insurance, according to official reports, as a protection against suffering, destitution, and impaired strength of both mother and child. To afford full protection of motherhood among families of industrial workers in the United States, the workmen's health insurance bill prepared by the American Association for Labor Legislation in co-operation with the American Medical Association provides for maternity benefits including medical, nursing and obstetrical care, as well as cash payments.

Maternity insurance to accompany the restricted working period for mothers, it is being urged, is necessary in the United States as in the allied countries, to safeguard effectively the health and well being of women workers now entering industries in greatly increased numbers, and to contribute to the nation's industrial power after as well as during the war.



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Mrs. McClung's New Book

(Continued from page 33)

fear. Just then a trained nurse knocks at the door. She says to the anxious husband:

"I am what is called a pioneer nurse, and I am sent to take care of your wife as long as she needs me. You see the women in Alberta have the vote now, and they have a little more to say than they used to have, and one of the things they are keen on is to help pioneer women over their rough places. Your neighbor, Mrs. Roberts, on her way East, reported your wife's case, and so I am here. The mounted police brought me out; I have everything that is needed."

"But I don't understand!" Mr. Wood began.

"No!" said the nurse; "it is a little queer, isn't it? People have spent money on pigs and cattle and horses, and have bonused railways and elevator companies, or anything that seemed to help the country, while the people who were doing the most for the country, the settlers' wives, were left to live or die as seemed best to them. Woman's most sacred function is to bring children into the world, and if all goes well, why, God bless her! But when things go wrong—God help her! No one else was concerned at all. But women vote now in Alberta, and what they say goes. Men are always ready to help women in any good cause, but, naturally enough, they don't see the tragedy of the lonely woman as women see it. They are just as sympathetic; but they do not know what to do. Some time ago, before the war, there was an agitation to build a monument to the pioneer women, a great affair of marble and stone. The women did not warm up to it at all. They pointed out that it was poor policy to build monuments to brave women who had died while other equally brave women in similar circumstances were being let die! So they frowned down the marble monument idea and began to talk of nurses instead."

"So here I am," concluded Mrs. Sanderson, as she hung up her coat and cap. "I am a monument to those who are gone, and the free gift of the people of Alberta to you and your wife, in slight appreciation of the work you

are doing in settling the country and making all the land in this district more valuable. They are a little late in acknowledging what they owe the settler; but it took the women a few years to get the vote, and then a little while longer to get the woman's point of view before the public."

Mary Wood stood at her father's side, drinking in every word.

"But who pays?" asked Mary's father, "who pays for this?"

"It is all simple enough," said the nurse. "There are many millions of acres in Alberta held by companies, and by private owners who live in New York, London and other places, who hold this land idle, waiting for the prices to go up. The prices advance with the coming in of settlers like yourself, and these owners get the benefit. The government thinks these land-owners should be made to pay something toward helping the settlers, so they have put on a wild-lands tax of one per cent of the value of the land. They have also put a telephone tax on each unoccupied section, which will make it as easy for you to get a telephone as if every section was settled; and they have also a hospital tax, and will put up a hospital next year, where free treatment will be given to everyone who belongs to the municipality."

"The idea is to tax the wild land so heavily that it will not be profitable for speculators to hold it, and it will be released for real, sure-enough settlers. The government holds to the view that it is better to make homes for many people than fortunes for a few."

"What is it you said the women have now?" asked Mary.

The nurse explained carefully to her small but interested audience. When she was done, Mary Wood, aged eleven, had chosen her life work.

"Now I know what I'll be when I grow big," she said. "I intended to be a missionary, but I've changed my mind. I am going to be a voter!"

A. S. B.

Better Get Ready and Go Vote With Me

(Continued from page 32)

thing Mrs. — said about something entirely foreign to voting. I knew at once that you wouldn't have met her if you hadn't gone to her office to register."

I let it go in silence but continued my studies of the things on the sample ballot, not merely to "post up" as he said, but with keen interest, for these Initiative and Referendum questions were so new to me and of such vital significance to all women that I wanted to make no mistake.

At length the seventh of November, 1916, was ushered in with a steady downpour, but as we on this coast do not mind such little things, I, of course, intended going down town. Indeed, I believe if I had been laid up with broken limbs and it had rained fire and brimstone, I should have gotten up and gone on crutches.

My feelings can better be imagined than described when, instead of coming into my room and saying that he was going down town to vote and wouldn't be gone long, or not to

wait dinner if he were detained, etc., my husband said at the breakfast table:

"Better get on your things and go down with me as soon as you can, so as to get there before the crowd begins, for the mill boys and clerks will be there at noon."

Well, I did so, and started off—with my husband to vote—to vote, ladies! If I did not strut when thinking what the errand signified and remembering my sisters "back East," it was because all the other women we met or passed were or had been bound for the same place on the same errand.

We walked along, chatting on any subject as we usually do when together, not once mentioning the subject of voting; it was too momentous to me, and too tame and familiar to him. On my return home, I found that the house had not been wrecked in my absence; nor had the dinner burned; it was as if I had just stepped over to a neighbor's to chat a few moments; no world save my own had suffered any upheaval.

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The New Citizens

THE Naturalization Bureau of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York has offered its co-operation in the campaign for citizenship which has been launched on a big scale by the Woman Suffrage Party, since the victory of November 6. The bureau will be pleased to expedite in every possible way the applications of women who desire to declare their intention to become citizens or who desire to file their petitions for final citizenship.

The Naturalization Bureau is located in the Federal Building (the old Post Office Building), corner of Broadway and Park Row. The hours are from nine to four o'clock, except on Saturday, when the hours are from nine o'clock until noon.

Concerning Food

To the Editor of THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

Your correspondent, Katherine Dooris Sharpe, on page 502, voices a very common misconception—the idea that Americans are urged to save wheat that other nations may eat it rather than other grains. Many women less courteous than Mrs. Sharpe have asserted scornfully that they wouldn't feed their families on corn meal just so a lot of foreigners could eat wheat, and I need hardly point out how helpful this criticism is to those who would give aid and comfort to our enemies. Some weeks ago the "Official Bulletin" called attention to this criticism, and gave the reasons why our national authorities are urging us to save wheat.

The nations we are to aid are not eating the soft white wheat bread we luxuriate in—they are already eating war bread, containing a large proportion of rye, barley, oats, maize, potatoes and other substances. Government regulations in the warring countries settle the proportion (in some cases 50 per cent) of other substances to be mixed with wheat. We are asked to save wheat that this war bread may be more nourishing and palatable. Furthermore, wheat flour does not heat and depreciate in quality as readily as corn meal, is convenient to ship, and leaves us very necessary by-products for use in stock feeding.

I like corn meal, and my household uses it freely, but there are other considerations attached to its use besides growing accustomed to it. Its most economical use is as mush or polenta. Corn bread made with egg and milk would be too expensive for countries where both eggs and milk are high-priced luxuries. Hoe cake is cheap and good when fresh, but I find it needs courage to eat it when stale. Yeast-raised corn bread needs other grain with it. Corn meal that is heated or musty is unwholesome, and in a very restricted diet may easily be dangerous. While I believe it is now settled that corn meal, per se, does not cause pellagra, epidemics of this disease have usually occurred where a very narrow and restricted diet included much corn meal of poor quality. The past season early frosts, following a late spring, prevented proper ripening of much corn, which will doubtless be kiln-dried, when soft, and the quality will be poor.

That "corn-fed lassie" of the West did not live by corn alone—that was the physician's little joke. Her diet was liberal and varied, as it always is in the corn belt. Corn meal is rich in carbohydrates and fat, but deficient in protein and mineral matter.

You will find an interesting discussion of the results of corn meal feeding on young animals—the deficiency of bone and muscle resulting—in "Feeds and Feeding," by Henry and Morrison. At present our American dietary is so liberal that we can afford to add more corn meal to it, rather than urge the increased use of our national grain to those who are already suffering for the protein and mineral matter in which it is deficient.

EMILY T. ROYLE.

New York, Nov. 26, 1917.

A Dollar Gift

Subscribe to the *Woman Citizen* for your friends as a Christmas gift. See the outside cover for the rest.



Won't Mamma be S'prised?

It is Bobbie who asks, "Won't Mamma be S'prised?"

Mamma is down town shopping, and Dorothy, Nan and Bobbie, fearing she will not be back in time to make the promised Jell-O dessert, are making it themselves.

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is probably the only fine dessert that requires no work at all in its preparation.

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There are seven flavors: Strawberry, Raspberry, Lemon, Orange, Cherry, Peach, Chocolate. Each in a package by itself, 10 cents at any grocery or any general store.

The beautiful new Jell-O Book, just out, is the most complete ever published. New styles of desserts and salads are described in it, and "New Things in Jell-O" is the particular theme of the book. One of the books will be sent to you free if you will send us your name and address.

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Oatmeal Muffins

No. 1.— $\frac{1}{2}$ cup milk, 1 egg, 2 tablespoons fat, 1 cup cooked rolled oats, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cups flour, 4 teaspoons baking powder, 2 tablespoons sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon salt.

The rolled oats are cooked in twice their volume of water for an hour or more.

Mix the milk, rolled oats, egg, and melted fat. Add to dry ingredients which have been sifted together.

No. 2.— $1\frac{1}{2}$ cups milk, 1 egg, 2 tablespoons fat, 2 tablespoons sugar, 1 teaspoon salt, 2 cups rolled oats, 1 cup flour, 4 teaspoons baking powder.

Pour milk over oats and let soak one-half hour. Add eggs and melted fat. Add to dry ingredients which have been sifted together. Bake 25 to 30 minutes.

Bread Crumb Griddle Cakes

$2\frac{1}{4}$ cups milk, 2 tablespoons fat, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cups dry bread crumbs, 1 egg, $\frac{1}{2}$ cup flour, 3 teaspoons baking powder, $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon salt.

Add fat to scalded milk and pour over bread crumbs. Let stand about 10 minutes or until crumbs are soft. Add beaten egg, and combine with the flour, baking powder, and salt, sifted

Woman's Dress in the Philosophy of the Hour

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together. If crumbs are not dry, use a little less liquid.

Kindly Keep on Knitting

HARVEY D. GIBSON, General Manager of the American Red Cross, authorizes the following statement:

"A great number of inquiries are being received by the Red Cross from women knitters throughout the United States as to whether they should discontinue knitting.

"The Red Cross, therefore desires to place before the women of this country its conception of the knitting situation. As is well known it is the policy of the Red Cross to supplement, so far as it has the power, the efforts of the Army and Navy in conserving the health and comfort of our soldiers and sailors, either in this country or abroad.

"Sweaters and other knitted articles are designed primarily for warmth. They certainly are not ornamental. Therefore it must follow that when there is an almost universal demand on the part of our soldiers and sailors for sweaters and other knitted articles the demand is a real one. Such articles, therefore, can only be classed as equipment, supplementary though they may be, to that furnished by the Army and Navy. And they undoubtedly constitute equipment that will add greatly to the health and comfort of our men under conditions generally met with.

"The Red Cross know that the soldiers and sailors want sweaters and other knitted articles. These goods can be obtained from the Red Cross in single garments only upon individual request; or if in bulk, then upon the request of a commanding officer. How great the need is, is best evidenced by the fact that in addition to the hundreds of thousands of knitted articles produced by our Red Cross chapters in the last few months we have been compelled to purchase 550,000 extra sweaters alone to meet the insistent demand made upon us by our men for them. We are sorry that we had to do any purchasing at all because we know how much the soldiers and sailors of this country prefer the sweaters and other articles knitted by the women of this country.

"It may be understood further that in addition to the demands of our Army and Navy we have urgent demands from Commissions abroad for like articles for destitute civilian populations: men, women and children—who, if not actually homeless, are very scantily clad and usually without fuel, in this cold weather, to warm their houses.

"It is hoped that this general statement will satisfy the women of this country who have been devoting all their possible time to knitting for our men. We cannot too strongly urge all women who are now knitting to keep on knitting."

On Force as the Basis of Government

THE fifty women guards on the new subway extension of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit railways will be able by pushing an air pressure lever to open all the doors under their jurisdiction. Women who have pushed a broom on carpeted floors or have exercised their shoulder muscles over a rubbing board, may smile knowingly after this when they hear comments about the superior physical force needed for men's jobs.

Straight Edge Industrial Settlement

By AVERY QUERCUS

I

I AM HIRING this column to indulge in the popular diversion of lecturing the ladies on citizenship.

Having no political ax to grind, possibly what I have to say may have an element of novelty.

I am going to write about methods for the settlement of industrial problems.

MOST "GOVERNMENT" is a fungus growth, a parasite that fastens upon industry and sucks its life-blood in the form of irresponsible and oppressive tribute.

That kind of government is Autocracy. It ignores the law of human service, recognizing no obligation to render any service in return for the tribute it exacts. Would that Autocracy were confined to Germany, Austria and Turkey. But we have a lot of it in this country, and being a supposed democracy, it "belongs" to all of us—like a boil or a cancer.

To acknowledge this is not disloyalty, but simply diagnosis, which is the first step toward relief.

THE ANTIDOTE for Autocracy is good citizenship. In fact, Autocracy is simply bad citizenship asserting itself in government.

Democracy is good citizenship asserting itself in government.

The difference between good citizenship and bad citizenship and the difference between Autocracy and Democracy may be expressed in one word—SERVICE.

CITIZENSHIP that functionates one day in the year for a few minutes at the polls may be either good or bad, or simply good-for-nothing.

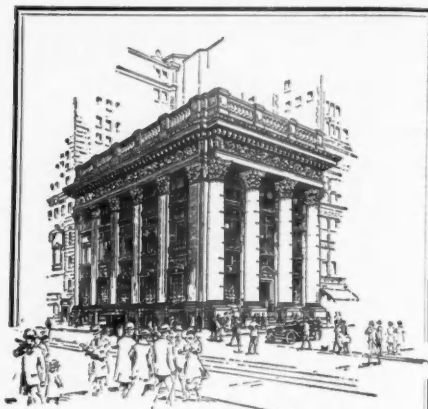
Good citizenship is useful service 365 days in the year—service that people want and are glad to pay for and recognize as worth the price.

THE ENTERPRISE I am going to write about in this series of articles is "a working model of an industrial commonwealth."

It is not a scheme of government or of espionage that is to be fastened upon an unwilling or an unsuspecting world, but it is a serious attempt at organizing human service on a plan which, if universally adopted, would solve all human problems.

As I cannot in these articles go into the details of the working plan of the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement, I suggest that you write for literature about the enterprise. Address Straight Edge, 100 Lawrence Street, New York. If you enclose a dime, they will send you the booklet, "The Highest of All Arts," suggesting how the art of cooperation might be taught in public schools.

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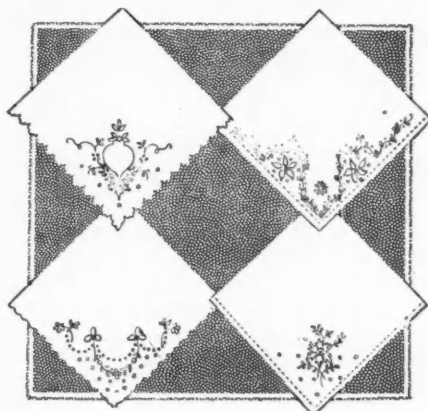
The Dollar a Year Woman

(Continued from page 33)

others of this series are to be placed eventually in ten southern states. Miss Kinney is also the creator of "America, 1917," an interpretation of the American spirit in the present war. She is a sculptor of soldiers. Her bronzes of General Owen and General A. P. Stewart are soon to be unveiled.

These women sculptors are two of many creative geniuses, men and women, who have put into the world's holocaust the final gift of creative beauty. Rupert Brooke and Gaudier Breszke, countless other men musicians, poets and artists have laid their young laurel wreathes on the arms of the European Moloch. The women artists of Europe and America are marching up smilingly to lay their gifts there too.

Our Christmas Handkerchiefs Are Ready



Help Win the War!

Food is one of the vital factors. If you want to be patriotic, have at least one meatless day and one wheatless day each week.

ALL our Christmas Handkerchiefs from foreign lands are here and already our thoughtful patrons are making their selections while the stocks are full and before the final Christmas rush begins. It is much more satisfactory to shop for Christmas early in December.

Once more we exhibit a variety of styles that run far into the thousands. The collection is just as large as usual—plain ones, elaborate ones, hard-service kinds, and filmy Cobwebs; large square ones and dainty glove Handkerchiefs, for Men, Women and Children; and every Handkerchief is pure Linen, as always at "The Linen Store."

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

December 15, 1917

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

A Jubilee Convention

THE National Convention now in session at Washington is the most jubilant in the long history of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Never in the whole forty-nine years have the suffragists had so much reason to rejoice.

The year 1917 has not only seen the full ballot given to women in New York—the greatest single victory that the cause has yet won in this country—but it has seen municipal suffrage granted in Vermont, presidential suffrage in Rhode Island, Michigan, Nebraska, and North Dakota, and practically full suffrage in Arkansas. Never have we had so many victories in a single year; and this is without counting the many minor triumphs which have gladdened our hearts since January last—the extension of municipal suffrage in North Dakota and Nebraska, and in the capital city of Ohio, and in smaller cities of Ohio, Florida and Tennessee.

Outside the borders of our own country, too, the ballot has been granted in 1917 to a vastly larger number of women than in any one year before; full State suffrage in Ontario, national suffrage throughout the whole of Canada, and full suffrage in Russia, with its 170,000,000 inhabitants. In England, municipal suffrage, which has been exercised by single women and widows ever since 1869, has just been extended to married women by a unanimous vote of Parliament; and the House of Commons has voted seven to one in favor of giving women the Parliamentary franchise. And there is a good prospect that the year's victories will culminate in the passage by Congress of the Federal Amendment for nation-wide suffrage for women.

It is no wonder that the suffragists are happy, even in this year of war and sorrow and devastation. In "The Last Days of Pompeii," there is a weird description of the destruction of that great city by eruption of the neighboring volcano. While the people were rushing about the streets, wild with terror at the unnatural darkness, the rain of ashes and the quakings of the earth beneath their feet, a band of Christians marched through the city singing a hymn of solemn exultation. They believed that it was the Day of Judgment, and that their time of triumph over the heathen world which had so long persecuted them had

come. Even in these days of unparalleled ruin and distress, the suffragists have a right to rejoice in the triumph of their special cause; for when the great cataclysm is over, and everything has to be rebuilt, the world will be in sore need of mothering and nursing; and it will be worth a great deal to humanity to have no hampering bonds laid upon that half of the human family which for ages has specialized in mothering and nursing.

A. S. B.

The President Defines

AGAIN it is the President of the United States who makes articulate women's hunger for enfranchisement. In the spring, he defined for them that which they, as well as all liberty-loving people, carry nearest their hearts—"democracy, the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

In his message to Congress on December 4, President Wilson explained the fundamental grievance of the German people against the autocratic power which holds them enthralled. He might have been voicing women's own heartfelt cry when he said: "They were allowed to have no opinion of their own which might be set up as a rule of conduct for those who exercised authority over them."

Finally in a noble phrase he outlined in what spirit and with what unflinching resolve the battle for democracy must be waged: "The cause being just and holy, the settlement must be of like motive and quality. For this we can fight, but for nothing less noble or less worthy of our traditions. For this cause we will battle until the last gun is fired."

What Will the Federal Amendment Do?

JUST what does the pending Federal Amendment for woman suffrage mean? What women will it enfranchise? On this point there is some misunderstanding and a great deal of misrepresentation.

Opponents often assume that, when passed by Congress and ratified by the Legislatures of thirty-six states, it will enfranchise all the women in the country, regardless of their qualifications. As a matter of fact, it will enfranchise only those women in each state who come up to the qualifications now

required of men in that state. For instance, Massachusetts has a reading and writing qualification for suffrage. When the Federal Amendment is adopted, it will enfranchise in Massachusetts only those women who can read and write. Rhode Island still has a property qualification for certain elections. The only Rhode Island women who will be able to vote in those elections will be women who possess that property qualification. Many of the southern states have rather elaborate qualifications for suffrage for men. The only women enfranchised in those states will be the women who come up to those qualifications.

The Federal Amendment simply forbids the United States or any state to debar women from suffrage on account of sex. It leaves them the same rights that they now have to maintain other qualifications; and under it the women will automatically become subject to the same qualifications that the different states now require of men. A clear comprehension of this fact would do away with much misunderstanding.

A. S. B.

Three "Little Scares"

A FLUTTER of worry has been evident amongst the men voters of New York State, as if they feared that since women have acquired their new weapon, the ballot, they might mistake it for a pocket knife and go hacking about with it. They act as frightened as if women were about to snip the strings that bind social interests together and let the whole package of humanity's needs go tumbling about like spilled oranges. Three pet "little scares" of the nervous gentlemen, according to Miss Mary Garrett Hay in an article in the Times of December 9, are "sex-antagonism, a separate woman's party and a policy of reprisals." "Yet," said Miss Hay, musingly, "all told I don't see how we can go very wrong, surrounded as we are by advice. We have been told that we must go into parties, and we have been told that we must keep out of parties. We have been warned that if we don't let bygones be bygones and vote for our ancient enemies we will prove ourselves unworthy."

Then Miss Hay proceeded patiently to take these "little scares" all to pieces and prove that they are nothing more dreadful than Jack o' lanterns made of pumpkins and candle ends. "The party will not be a political party, nor do suffragists intend to form one," she assured them, showing how harmless is the purpose of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party's plan to hold its organization intact for educational purposes.

"I do not believe it is desirable to have a woman's party. Men and women should work side by side for the good of the community. Men and women should be drawn closer together—not separated, now that women have voting powers. Interest in public affairs will make for a higher companionship, a better comradeship than men in New York City and State have ever known. The testimony comes from the West that woman's enfranchisement has produced this very result.

"There will never be a sex war such as has been predicted by some sensational souls. It is absurd to think that women as a sex will line up and oppose men as a sex on any question. Men and women are bound together too closely by all kinds of ties for such a situation ever to develop. In this State, where men have

just shown justice to women, they can count on woman's loyalty and gratitude. Moreover, good men and women think alike on many questions and will certainly champion them together. A sex war is more apt to be brought on in those places where men are unjust to women than where they treat them as they ought. New York State then has nothing to fear of such a character. In the State I expect to see men and women working together harmoniously in the various parties."

Russia and Its Women

AS the *Woman Citizen* goes to press special cable from Russia carries the news that the long-deferred constituent assembly is meeting in Petrograd.

This news recalls another scene. When the Preliminary Parliament assembled in Petrograd on October 20, 1917, Madame Breshkovsky was called upon by Kerensky, then Premier, to take the chair, as she was the senior member of the Parliament.

Behind Petrograd, the Bolsheviks, and the haze of internal discord, stands the sturdy little figure of the "Grandmother of the Revolution." In June of this year she wrote to her "ever dear and beloved friends in America," among them A. S. B.: "A new history of the world is beginning. . . . Certain disorders and some partial revolts have taken place here and there. We are doing our utmost to combat the false ideas spread by stupid or malevolent persons. As for the rest of the population—the men and women of the villages and the faubourgs—they constitute a patriotic element. It is necessary to illuminate, to enlighten, the minds of a nation that is ready to grasp knowledge; a nation that has forcibly been deprived of all teaching. We must teach them the causes of the present war, and set before them the consequences that may follow if the Russians do not behave properly towards their Allies.

Americans Not Inferior

THE opponents of nation-wide suffrage for women are hard up for arguments; and their old stock objections grow more and more out of joint with the times, as one European nation after another enfranchises its women. In spite of all protestations from the enemies of equal rights, it is clear that the adoption of woman suffrage has brought no disasters upon these other countries. So the anti-suffragists, after maintaining for years that it must cause fearful results everywhere and always, are now driven to say that a thing which works passably well in one place might work very badly in another.

With most of those men who entertain a poor opinion of women, it is an article of faith that all women are pretty much alike. In one of Blackmore's novels, a young man perplexed by the behavior of his sweetheart asks his sister to interpret it to him. He says, "You can understand other girls, because you have all their dodges inside yourself." Now, it is by no means true that every girl has the same number and kind of dodges inside of her that every other girl has; yet there are some things in which all women are alike. For instance, every woman has "all the time there is." The physical functions of women, too, are much the same, all the world over. Multitudes of women,

of different nationalities and races, are already voting, in various parts of the world. Among the snows of Norway, Iceland and Finland, in the dry heat of Australia, in the moist coolness of England and Ireland, in the mild temperature of New Zealand, in the bracing climate of Canada, and in all the widely varying zones of enormous Russia, the women find strength to get to the polls, and time to cast their ballots without neglecting their babies. Yet Dr. Lyman Abbott, even while confessing his conversion to equal suffrage, expresses a lingering doubt whether it will not undermine women's health to care for their families and at the same time to care for the public welfare as enfranchised citizens. Is it likely that American women are so radically different from all other women that they will succumb under a duty which is already being performed by millions of women, from the Arctic circle almost to the Equator? American men have the reputation of being the most chivalrous in the world, and also among the most alert in adapting themselves to new conditions. Is it likely that they will find themselves unable to fit into a new order of things to which the men of a dozen other countries, from Iceland to New Zealand, have adjusted themselves without unhappiness? We believe better things of our countrymen. And we do not have to go wholly upon theory. The men and women of our western states have been proving to us for years that in this respect Americans are fully able to hold their own with the rest of the world. What reason is there to suppose that like proof cannot be given by the whole nation?

A. S. B.

No Sex Discrimination

SORROWING Halifax sees no sex discrimination in its disaster. Women as well as men are bearing additional burdens and hopeless grief. Every new war horror drives home the fact that great national and civic enterprises have ceased to be personal and individual and have become collective. Protection is no longer a man's strong right arm sheltering his wife and child. Protection is an affair of governments upon whom women and men depend, without discrimination of sex, for life and liberty.

Zero Weather Notwithstanding

ON December 10, the coldest day so far this season, nine women conductors were put on the Broadway-Amsterdam Avenue car line in New York City, and ten postwomen were started on a fortnight's trial. The postwomen were divided through the city and created a mild furor of excitement wherever they were seen. Only one was in full uniform, the rest dressing for the part in tailored skirts and coats with postmen's caps.

Postmaster Patten and all his corps are friendly to the idea of women helpers. The women reported courtesy everywhere and a cordial reception. The postmaster says that he will follow the custom set by France and put postwomen on regular street duty as soon as they qualify. They have merely collected from office buildings so far.

All the women conductors were volunteers. No advertisement was sent out for them; but an announcement from the car barns

to employes that any dependent of an employe called into service could obtain employment if she desired, brought an immediate response.

On Tuesday thirty women were put on the force and the number was increased to forty by Wednesday. These women began work with a "nipping and an eager air" blowing great guns. At the end of their day's work both the city and the women announced themselves satisfied.

Peace with Victory

"JUSTICE and equality of rights can be had only at a great price. We are seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world. As always, the right will prove to be the expedient."

So says President Wilson in giving his reasons for believing that the United States should persevere in the war till a satisfactory end is attained. This expresses also the reason of the suffragists for persevering in their own struggle until it shall end in a nation-wide "peace with victory."

A. S. B.

With No Uncertain Sound

IT is Georgia that speaks for the Federal Amendment with no uncertain sound. "We demand," says the Georgia Equal Suffrage Party, "the nation-wide enfranchisement of women upon equal terms with men, and urge the immediate adoption of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Federal Constitution."

From suffrage leaders and societies in Kentucky, Alabama, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia and South Carolina have come words signifying a resolute advance on Congress by the women of the South.

"Let's Treat Women Fairly"

THE fifty Massachusetts women delegated by their suffrage association to the forty-ninth annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, carried a message to their Massachusetts Congressmen in Washington which rang with the spirit and temper of the Pilgrims of 1620. They protested against the slow method of state referenda.

"Should Congress submit an Amendment, by the ratification of 36 states it would be written into our Federal Constitution and all the necessity of canvassing millions of individual voters—native, naturalized or intentional, be avoided," they declared. "Women all over our country are rendering such invaluable aid to Red Cross and other forms of war relief, that it is a churlish mind which would impose the additional labor of state campaigns to secure the obvious right of citizenship. The State of New York by an overwhelming vote has enfranchised its women. The Western states have anticipated the East in freedom and it is time by one sweeping act to declare the whole United States a true democracy. Let's treat women fairly. We need them in our country's crisis. A decent respect for their opinions, as well as the right to voice them, is only common political honesty. If there is no fairness or honesty in politics then it is evident that men have failed to carry on the principles of our government."

With the Suffragists in Washington



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Chairman of Local Arrangements

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"One Thing Mightier Than Kings and Armies"

AMONG the things said by the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in her annual address* on December 13, were these: "Woman suffrage is inevitable. Suffragists knew it before November 6, 1917; opponents afterwards.

"Three distinct causes make it inevitable, and the first is the history of our country. The American Revolutionists boldly proclaimed 'Taxation without representation is tyranny' and 'Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.'

"These two fundamental principles of democratic government are not only the spiritual source of our national existence but have been our chief historic pride and at all times the sheet anchor of our liberties.

"With such a history behind it, how can our nation escape the logic it has never failed to follow, when its last unenfranchised class calls for the vote? Behold our Uncle Sam floating the banner with one hand, 'Taxation without representation is tyranny,' and with the other seizing the billions of dollars paid in taxes by women to whom he refuses 'representation.'



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"Woman suffrage became an assured fact when the Declaration of Independence was written," said Mrs. Catt, and quoted Hon. Champ Clark as saying that he had been a woman suffragist ever since he "got the hang of the Declaration of Independence."

"So it must be with every other American," she continued. "The amazing thing is that it has required so long a time for a people, most of whom know how to read, 'to get the hang of it.'"

In answer to the objection that "war time is not the proper time to consider the question of enfranchising women," Mrs. Catt reminded her audience that two neutral countries, Iceland and Denmark, and three belligerent countries, Canada, Russia and Great Britain,

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From Victory Unto Victory

THE slogan of New York State's victory celebration on the evening of December 12, was, "On to the goal of the Federal Amendment."

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"The prestige given the movement by the suffrage victories in England, Russia and Canada, the work that the European women had been able to accomplish in support of the war and the praise they had received from the men responsible for the conduct of the war.

"The open support of the President and the interest he displayed in our campaign not only added to the prestige gained by the foreign victories, but many of the leading Democrats were strongly influenced by it. The letter he wrote to Mrs. Catt saying that he hoped no voter would be influenced in his decision with regard to suffrage by anything the so-called pickets may have done in Washington, was a conclusive answer to the opposition to suffrage aroused by the pickets.

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Suffragists Are Cheerful Givers

MRS. ROGERS'S report as treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association showed that suffragists have been cheerful givers even in war time.

Individual pledges made at the National Convention of 1916 have never been more promptly and fully met than this year and \$10,000 worth of individual gifts in addition have come into our treasury at the simple request for added needs. Every state association has tried to do its full share in war service at this critical time in the life of the nation without neglecting its obligation to the suffrage cause.

"The national association set a splendid example by undertaking widespread activities in war service five weeks before the actual declaration of war, but in doing this it did not contemplate for a moment leaving its legitimate suffrage work undone, and nearly all of its affiliated members have redoubled their activities to include strenuous work for both suffrage and war service.

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Miss Columbia — "Haven't I Seen You Before?"



n't "Something More Modern?"

Kids' Luck

By Florence Young



ONCE on Hester street, in New York, I saw an eight-year-old boy reach for the tail-board of a wagon, miss it, fall to the ground, roll in front of a motor truck, twist eelwise from the rim of the wheel and bring up, irritated but safe, on the very edge of an open man-hole.

"Needn't be so scared," said the genial voice of a fat lady who sold pickles on the sidewalks. "Kids has luck, you know."

If they didn't have, heaven knows what would become of them in a land that can sob itself to sleep at night with gushes of sentiment over "the Child," and in the cold light of day skimp its appropriation for child welfare, while increasing its appropriation for hogs. The idea that something besides luck and gushes of sentiment is due to the children of the country as a whole has been coming in a succession of electric shocks, with Julia Lathrop as electrician-in-chief, ever since the year 1912. That was a banner year for American children. On April 12th, 1912, an act of Congress created a Children's Bureau whose duty it was to investigate and report on all matters pertaining to the welfare of children. Was it "kids' luck" that Miss Lathrop was appointed chief of the bureau? Anyhow, in her the children secured the services of an experienced executive whose breadth of vision, warm sympathies and tried abilities insured that their interests would be properly safeguarded. They are particularly happy in having such a chief at a time when war has multiplied their problems and rendered their condition more than ever dependent upon wise

supervision. Most of her activities in their behalf have been written and re-written, and are familiar to everybody, but there is a new story, that hasn't been re-written or even written, about the way the war has re-linked her to the children's service.

Unprecedented conditions are surrounding children at home and abroad because of the war. In spite of the fact that Miss Lathrop is, perhaps, one of the busiest heads of departments in Washington, she found time to give a brief summary of the work of the Children's Bureau in dealing with these conditions.

"Immediately upon the declaration of war by the United States," she said, "the Children's Bureau began a systematic study of the welfare of children in the belligerent countries with reference to its bearing upon the situation at home. We wanted to benefit, in so far as we could, by the experiences of other countries in handling the problems of the dependent families of soldiers. A special corps of translators and readers was engaged to report upon child labor, infant and maternal welfare and

juvenile delinquency and dependency in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia. There was a marked increase in juvenile delinquency and dependency in England and Germany, due to the extraordinary temptations, incitements and neglect inevitable under war conditions. Particular attention was given to a study of conditions in Canada as our nearest neighbor among the belligerents from whom we might get valuable suggestions. Canada's provision for the families of her soldiers includes the soldier's pay from which an allotment is paid directly to his family and, in addition, a flat rate separation allowance from the Government. The Canadian Patriotic Fund supplements the Government allowance according to the needs of the individual family, and certain cities insure the lives of soldiers.

IN the "soldier's insurance" law passed by Congress in October for the dependents of American soldiers and administered by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, these four elements, allotment, allowance, patriotic fund, and insurance, have been developed into a system for which the Federal Government alone assumes the entire responsibility. Surely this is the only just and democratic way for the nation to deal with the drafted army. Its beneficence depends largely upon whether the Government can administer the great trust which it has created with the nicety of human adjustment which is needed. We believe the Government can do it.

"Under the new law the wife of a soldier will receive from the United States Govern-

ment \$15.00 per month, a widow and child \$25.00 per month, a widow and two children \$32.50 per month and an allowance of \$5.00 for each additional child. A motherless child gets \$5.00, two motherless children \$12.50, three motherless children \$20.00, four motherless children receive \$30.00 and \$5.00 is allowed for each additional child. These allotments can be supplemented by other allowances permitted under the insurance provisions of the bill. The Soldiers' Compensation and Insurance Act enables a soldier to take out insurance based on the rates of the cost of insurance in times of peace. The United States grants insurance against death or total disability for not less than \$1,000 and not more than \$10,000, and the premium rates are the net rates, the Government assuming entire cost and risk of administration."

WAS she the mother of the insurance provision?, according to report, Miss Lathrop was asked. But she was quick to disclaim any special credit for the measure. "It was the work of many minds," she said. The Children's Bureau worked with other organizations and individuals to secure its passage. Much credit should be given Judge Julian W. Mack of the United States Circuit Court who supervised the drafting of the bill. The insurance feature should help materially in solving the problems of those children who are permanently deprived of the support of their fathers. They will not have to go to work when they should be in school."

"What has been the effect of the war upon child labor?"

"At first it was deleterious, but the latest reports from England, France and Italy show that the earlier granting of special war time exemption is already recognized as injurious to children and great efforts are being made to restore and even improve those regulations in force before the war. The reports of the British Commission on the health of the munition workers called attention to the injury to young persons of long hours and night work and the Board of Education has been concerned with the exemptions which have withdrawn children from school for work upon farms. The number of children dependent upon the state has, naturally, greatly increased with the war, and efforts are being made to secure them as normal an upbringing as possible. Instead of sending orphan children to institutions, they are now placed in the homes of private families, where possible, who can give them better care than they would receive in an institution. Striking evidence of the state's recognition of its duty toward dependent children is found in the French law of July 24th, 1917, making 'wards of the nation' all children of her soldiers and civilians killed, wounded or incapacitated for wage earning. Italy has passed a similar law."

AS to the effect of the war upon American children engaged in industry, Miss Lathrop takes comfort in the Child Labor Act which safeguards their interests from exploitation by

(Continued on page 58)

Workers

WHEN the history of women's war work is written there will be a considerable portion devoted to the valiant service rendered on behalf of the first and second Liberty Loans. In the Eleventh Federal Reserve District, which comprises the state of Texas, the northern half of Louisiana, the southern half of New Mexico, eight counties of Oklahoma and five counties in Arizona, the women quite distinguished themselves.

A conservative estimate of the subscriptions obtained by women and definitely traceable to their efforts in the Eleventh Federal Reserve District amounts to \$13,121,800. As the total subscription in the district was less than \$3,000,000 above the minimum quota of \$75,000,000 so the part the women played was most important. Mrs. E. B. Reppert of Dallas, appointed chairman of the district, is a charter member of the Dallas Equal Suffrage Association, as is also Mrs. D. E. Waggoner, appointed chairman of Texas. Mrs. R. W. Higginbotham, appointed chairman of Dallas county, who secured the largest amount in subscription, is also a member of the Dallas association. Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, president of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, and Miss Lavinia Engle, national organizer, gave three weeks' time to the Liberty Loan campaign, speaking in various Texas towns with much success.

ARKANSAS has been doing some lively work in the interest of war service, especially with the sale of the Liberty Bonds. Mrs. Brough, wife of Governor Brough, of Arkansas, as the state chairman for the bonds, had the assistance of the suffrage organizations throughout the state. Mrs. Frank Gibb had charge of the booth for the Arkansas Suffrage League.

Miss Henrietta Taylor, chairman of the Suffrage League of Pine Bluffs, Arkansas, has joined the Suffrage Roll of Honor which includes women active in suffrage work now devoting themselves to war service "over there." Miss Taylor is now in France serving as a Red Cross nurse.

TO the women voters of East St. Louis is given the credit for the commission form of government just made possible at the recent elections. By a vote of 4,784 to 2,454 this reform was inaugurated. Business men and professional men generally express themselves as contented with the results. In the overturn of their present administration they say the world will be shown that the race riots and other lawlessness charged against the city were opposed by the citizens.

IN the manifesto of Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister, in behalf of the Union Government to the people of Canada, he makes the following pledge to the women:

"Duty and decency demand that those who are saving democracy shall not find democracy a house of privilege or a school of poverty and hardship. The franchise will be extended to women, not chiefly in recognition of devoted and capable service in the war, but as a measure of justice too long delayed. If men die, women



KEEP TO THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD

suffer, if they are wounded, women heal, if they are maimed, women labor. And since there can be no separation in suffering and sacrifice, there should be none in citizenship."

A WEATHER report from the National American Woman Suffrage Association would read: Continued showers—showers of congratulations on the New York State victory. The federated club women of California send the following message to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt:

"The Los Angeles District Board of the California Federation of Women's clubs, in executive session, extends to you and to your co-workers hearty congratulations on your wonderful suffrage victory. Members of our board have relatives and friends who have been your speakers and earnest workers. We are glad to feel that through them we have been close to you and all the more interested in your successful campaign. We clasp you by the hand and bid you God speed."

BACK and forth across the ocean the suffrage shuttle is weaving the international fabric of woman's solidarity. As an evidence of the way women everywhere are standing together, take the recent action of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies of Great Britain and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, who have kept watch and ward over the American boys in khaki encamped in Great Britain.

These suffragists prepared and circulated a pre-election leaflet through all the New York voters "over there." On one side of the leaflet they displayed the suffrage map of North America and called upon the boys to "help paint New York State white." On the other side their message ran:

"You have come to Europe to fight for the liberty of other peoples. Now is your opportunity to vote for the liberty of your own people."

and Voters

NEW YORK CITY was estimated in 1917 to have a population of 6,504,185, a thirty-six per cent increase over the census figures for 1910. It had in 1917 approximately 3,242,785 females of whom census estimates show that 60.9 per cent, or 1,974,856 are 21 years and over. Of these about 43 per cent are foreign-born and 38 per cent of these are naturalized American citizens. This gives us, in the second greatest city of the world, 1,125,668 native-born women over voting age and 322,691 foreign-born, a total of 1,448,359.

Last year out of an equal number of possible male voters only 716,213 or approximately 50 per cent went to the polls. It remains for the New Voters of New York City to turn out in full quota next year and give a lesson in citizenship to the "Indifferent Male Voter" who has never yet had his due share of criticism.

The figures which formed the basis of an editorial, entitled "Why Worry," in the *Woman Citizen* of November 17, were from the 1910 census. It will be seen by comparison with those figures that New York city alone is now estimated to have 1,125,668 native-born females, as against an estimate of 1,684,623 for the whole state in 1910.

NEW ZEALAND and Australia, where woman suffrage is a long settled policy, and Canada, which has made more strides toward political equality of men and women since the war broke out than any other nation, are the only countries which, after three years of war, have no need to repent at leisure a waste of humanity because of relaxed protection of childhood.

These three countries, according to a brief review of Child Labor in Foreign Countries issued by the National Children's Bureau at Washington, have "maintained practically unchanged through three years of war strain their high standards of protection for working children."

Great Britain, now hurrying to repair the damage caused by relaxed school attendance laws, has introduced into Parliament, through Herbert Fisher, president of the Board of Education, a bill to fix compulsory school attendance at 14 and require that all working children under 18 spend at least 320 hours each year in continuation schools. But this was not done until Great Britain awoke to a recognition of the damage already accomplished.

In Italy and France also standards were relaxed at first and have had to be restored after serious evil effects. Russia is just reported to have withdrawn the permission given her minister of labor to grant exemptions to concerns doing war work from the laws regulating the hours and the employment of women and of children under 17.

"I don't object to your marrying that young representative, Emily, but I'm afraid he doesn't stand very high in the political world."

"Oh, yes, he does, mother. He's already been investigated by five committees."—*Boston Post*.

Direct Wires from the Forty- Ninth Convention

State Suffrage Hearings at Capitol

AMONG the events of suffrage convention week in Washington were the pre-convention hearings before each state delegation in Congress. Women from the East and the West and the North and the South, who were gathered in Washington in state groups, took occasion to present to their Congressmen the cause of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The Rhode Island women, for example, assembled on Tuesday morning in the office of Senator Colt to meet the entire Rhode Island delegation in Congress and ask their support for the Federal Amendment when it comes to vote on January 8. Fifty women from Massachusetts, delegates to the convention, headed by Mrs. Teresa A. Crowley of Boston, state congressional chairman, were given a similar hearing by the Massachusetts members of Congress. The senior Senator from every state had been asked to hold a hearing in his office for the suffrage delegates from his state. All the hearings, except that for Rhode Island, were held Wednesday morning. The suffrage delegates returned from the Capitol in time for the opening of the convention at 2 P. M.

The Congressional Committee expects these hearings to constitute a convincing demonstration to the minds of any doubtful members of Congress as to the wisdom and expediency of voting for the Federal Amendment. Every delegation was armed with its own particular arguments, but chief of these in every case was the political opportunity, and likewise the political disadvantage, that exists for the respective parties between now and the 1918 elections. It was pointed out, for example, that the eighteen states where women now vote for President hold the balance of power in national elections, and it is only by passage of the Federal Amendment at this session of Congress that all the women of the country can be enfranchised in time for the next Presidential election, and all the states acquire equal footing in the electoral college.



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MISS MARY GARRETT HAY,
National Chairman of Arrangements for the
Convention

Opening of the Convention

That women, like men, are realizing the full value of suffrage as a political issue to-day was manifest from the time the first arrivals to the forty-ninth annual convention set foot in Washington to the moment the *Woman Citizen* went to press on Wednesday of this week.

"Will the Federal Suffrage amendment pass?" "If the 65th Congress doesn't pass it, are we going into the Congressional Elections in 1918?" Those were the eager questions on everybody's lips. And the answer every time was "Yes" to both questions.

No one shows greater confidence in the fate to be meted out to the amendment by House and Senate during the present session than does Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. "Perhaps loyalty to and pride in my country play some part in determining my conviction," says Mrs. Catt. "But the fact remains that I am counting on the passage of the Federal Amendment with the utmost confidence. I cannot believe that America's national representatives will allow the Mother of Democracy to be finally outstripped in the race toward the enfranchisement of women, while Europe is hastening, country by country, to go on record for woman suffrage as a part of that right of self-government for which the world is fighting to-day.

"For fifty years we have been allaying fears, meeting objections, arguing, educating, until to-day there remain no fears, no objections in connection with the question of woman suffrage that have not been met and answered. The New York campaign may be said to have closed the case. It left nothing unsaid on behalf of the education of the public. It carried the question forever out of the stage of argument, and into the stage of final surrender. As the women of the country foregather for this convention nothing stands out more emphatically than the new stress that has been laid on suffrage as a political issue in the minds of women, as in the minds of men. It is as a political issue that the Federal Amendment must now be dealt with by Congress."

"But suppose, after all," persisted some one

more or less Argus-eyed, "suppose, after all, this Congress does not pass the amendment?"

"In that event," thoughtfully replied the National's leader, "in my opinion we shall have to admit the evidence that we must go into the Congressional elections in 1918 with the purpose of changing a sufficient number of votes to secure the passage of the amendment by the next Congress."

Wednesday afternoon saw the convention formally opened. Probably there never was so large an attendance at a suffrage convention as at the present one. Delegation after delegation has been seated with its full complement present. The audience literally went wild over New York.

It was early apparent that unprecedentedly good arrangements had been made to take care of the convention, both at Poli's Theatre, where the open meetings were held, and in the arrangements effected for the satisfactory housing of the delegates. In view of Washington's crowded condition the convention counted itself fortunate.

From Sunday morning, Dec. 9, to Wednesday morning, Dec. 12, every train into Washington came in loaded with delegates. They came through bitter cold, through snowstorms, through washouts, and through railroad wrecks. But come they did. Perhaps the worst experience befell the delegations from the South, who were in two racking railroad wrecks, one of which killed some of the crew of their train. Many delegates were delayed by the condition of the train service. Some who got in Wednesday, spent thirty-six extra hours over schedule time in reaching the capital.

HON. NEWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War; Mrs. William G. McAdoo, Chairman of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense; Miss Jane Delano, head of the Nurses Department of the Red Cross, and Mrs. George Bass, member of the Women's Liberty Loan Committee, spoke at Friday evening's session, which was devoted to American Women's War Service.

On Saturday evening, when Women's War Service Abroad will be the theme, Miss Helen Fraser of England, Mrs. Nellie McClung of Alberta, Canada, will be speakers. Miss Helen Fraser has been in close touch with the organization of women in England. She is the bearer of a message from Great Britain to the United States. Lord Anslow says of her: "I know of no lady worker better able to take our message to the United States, and I am sure her message will appeal to the hearts of our friends and allies across the ocean, as it has powerfully appealed over and over again to the people in our home counties."

EVERY state in the Union has sent delegates to the convention, and from several suffrage states, women state officials were among the delegates.

From Montana came Mrs. Margaret Hathaway, of the State Legislature; from Wyoming, Mrs. G. Bellamy, of the Wyoming Legislature. Colorado sent its State Superintendent of Schools, who is also President of the National Educational Association, Mrs. Mary C. Bradford. Mrs. W. Y. Morgan of the Kansas delegation, is the wife or the lieutenant-governor, and Mrs. W. E. Lindsey of New Mexico, is the wife of the governor.



Appropriate Gifts For Men

45. Man's Umbrella made of Silk Mixture; assorted handles 4.50
 46. Pocket Knife—10-kt. Gold; two blades. 5.00
 47. Man's Dressing Case of Black Leather; nine fittings 5.75
 48. "Favorite" Humidor — Mission finish; porcelain lined; fitted with moisture pad 5.00
 49. Caddy Bag of heavy White or Brown Canvas; 6 inches in diameter; leather bottom and trimmings; fitted with hood and large ball pocket 7.50
 Complete with clubs 17.75
 50. Men's Ice Skates 7.50
 Other styles 1.00 to 20.00
 51. Men's and Women's Ice Skates 7.50
 Other styles 1.00 to 10.00

52. Link buttons,—dumb-bell style; 10-kt. Gold 2.95
 53. Gray Mocha Gloves with self or black embroidered backs pair 2.10
 54. Game Set—mission finish; fitted with two packs of cards; 200 chips and leatherette cover. 5.75
 55. Watch,—for men or boys; 7-jeweled Waltham movement; 20-year quality gold-filled plain polished case 11.75
 56. Military Watch—Sterling Silver; luminous dial and hands; guaranteed 15-jeweled lever movement; Kitchener strap wristlet and unbreakable crystal 12.75
 57. Silk Dressing Gown in Black, Green, Purple and Blue 24.50
 58. Silk Half Hose in Black and Colors with embroidered clox pair 1.25

59. Silk Bath Slippers; assorted colors; Pair 2.00
 60. Military Brush Set,—Creme grain leather; real ebony back brushes 3.50
 61. Ash Receiver — nickel-plated; glass bowl. 2.95
 62. Silk Half Hose in Black and various Colors. pair 1.00
 63. Accordion weave Muffler — Black and White, Blue and Black and Red and Black 5.00
 64. Open-end Four-in-Hand Scarf—large assortment of stripes and figures 93c.
 65. Open-end Four-in-Hand Scarf—made of Foreign Silks and Satins 1.65
 66. Blanket Robe with shawl or notch collar. 7.50
 67. Khaki Colored Army Sweater 10.50

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Servant Question Solved by One Woman

"THE answer to the servant question," says one suffrage housewife, "is Miss Nannie Burroughs. And you may take it from me, for I've had three girls from the National Training School, and they proved the pudding, to say nothing of the bread and the biscuit, the sweeping, the washing and the ironing."

Miss Nannie Burroughs is a woman with a big vision which she has made come true in seven short hard years of work. Eight years ago, when she was a young thing of twenty-eight, she marched up to the convention of Colored Baptist preachers and told them about her big idea of training colored girls for domestic and other manual trades. She hadn't a cent of money and the Baptist brethren laughed at her. Colored men, like other men, laugh at women's visions from long habit.

She took her faith in her two hands and in 1910 she bought a five-room house with some land about it on Lincoln Heights, Washington, D. C., and started her big idea with five pupils.

She prayed and she paid, and did them both as she went along. Now she has seven buildings, six acres of land and 135 pupils. Last year she turned away 65 and so this year she is putting \$5,700 into a new 12-room house, so that she can be ready for 75 more pupils this fall.

The money to carry on this big enterprise has come almost entirely from colored people—much from colored women. Even the colored preachers have faith in the plan now, and would take it out of her hands and call it theirs—if they could.

Her largest donation at one time was \$500 from Miss Maggie Walker, a colored woman, president of St. Luke's Bank in Richmond, Virginia. This gift started Walker Hall, a dormitory with the sewing-class rooms below it.

THE Baptist Home Missionary Society of Chicago, one of the few white donors to the training school, started the Mary G. Burdette model house. Every graduate of Nannie Burroughs's School rounds out her course by keeping the model house just as it should be kept before she gets her final degree.

The courses are three and four years of work in domestic science, sewing, millinery, stenography, bookkeeping, budget housekeeping, with "schooling" all along the way. This summer Gertrude Banks, a model pupil and post graduate, was in New York studying sewing methods in Teachers' College Summer School, doing this at Nannie Burroughs's personal expense for tuition and travelling, and working out her own board by doing housework nights, mornings, Saturdays and Sundays. She will go back and teach next year. This is a

sample of the up-to-dateness of the school. Wherever there are best methods some one of the Training School force puts it in the way of acquiring them.

There are now 11 teachers—all women—many of them raised under Miss Burroughs's own hand. In the long vacation, Training School girls go out and take positions, putting into practice what they have learned. Many help pay their own expenses of \$150 a year for board, lodging and tuition, by their summer earnings.

THE Training School had six acres of land under intensive farming. This year it hired another six acres. All the vegetables used by the school are regularly raised by the pupils and canned and stored for winter use.

This summer, Miss Burroughs offered two months schooling to girls who would work the extra land for the food crisis. The firm of Anson G. Phelps & Co. paid the salary of a teacher of agriculture trained in Alabama, and scientific women farm hands were the outcome of that effort.

Pupils now are being snapped up for extension work. They go forth as teachers to spread the Burroughs gospel of "doing things right."

One is a social settlement worker in Jamestown, North Carolina, and goes from house to house showing colored housewives better ways of living.

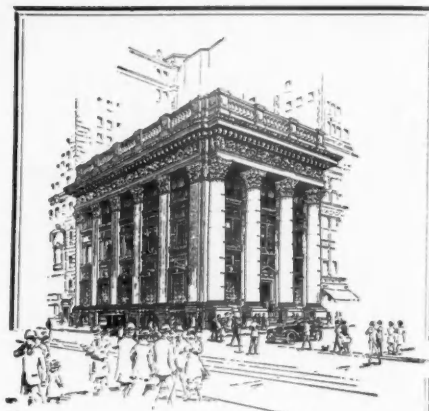
Some go to Africa as missionaries—some even come from Africa to learn how to live. Two are there now. Some are from Haiti and Jamaica, from seven foreign places in all.

WHAT fine Southern women conveyed to their house servants long ago had seemed likely to be lost. Now Miss Burroughs is reviving even that. Her girls speak with soft pretty voices, they move gently, they use their hands deftly. They have ideals of daintiness. Up in the morning early, at 6.30 every bedroom is inspected. If it is "perfect" a placard announces it, but woe be to the girl who leaves her room in a mess, or throws her clothes about when she goes to bed at night. She will not get "whipped" but she'd rather be than to fall under Miss Burroughs's displeasure.

And they sing all the time. As work goes on the old, old songs of the negro struggle upward make a chorus to which they march forward.

A new library building, which has cost \$7,000, is an outward and visible sign of the cultural aspirations of the school.

As to Miss Nannie Burroughs herself, she is the school. "L'etat, c'est moi." She was educated in Washington. She saw a compelling need. She is a good speaker—a bit of an ora-



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tor, in fact. By tireless devotion of body, soul, persuasive eloquence and personal purse, she is getting her vision built into stone and brick, and into the lives of hundreds of girls who will carry it on.

A suffragist? Well, *rather*. Didn't the men of her people scorn her ideals at first and then try to appropriate them when they proved good? That's one of the ways suffragists are made.

The College Career in War Time



M. CAREY THOMAS

THAT the world looks to the college woman of today for the intellectual leadership of tomorrow is emphasized by college presidents and others of thoughtful mind here and abroad. That women are responding to this new responsibility resting upon them to safeguard the civilization of the future is evidenced by the increased enrollment in all higher institutions of learning where women are admitted, many reporting the largest registration in the history of the institution. To meet this new condition Bryn Mawr this year broke a fixed rule that admits only as many students as the halls can accommodate, to admit a war class of 139 freshmen, 23 of whom are living off the campus. Dean M. Carey Thomas has urged the nation's need for women of trained intel-

ligence in the great reconstruction period after the war and stressed college training as a patriotic duty.

"It will be a dire loss to the country if young women leave college or let knitting and the rolling of bandages interfere with their studies through a mistaken sense of duty. So many men have left college never to return that the burden of intelligent leadership will fall upon college women, and the few college men who will take degrees within the next few years," she said.

The same strong appeal for college work as a patriotic duty has been made by President Mary E. Woolley of Mount Holyoke College.

"You are the hope of the world," said President Woolley, to her incoming students this year. "To you as well as to your brothers is coming the chance to shape the future and upon you in a peculiar sense rests this great responsibility. My appeal is to the girls, the young women of America, to realize their part and their opportunity; an opportunity such as the world has never before offered. The world turns its face toward woman as it has never turned it before."

From across the Atlantic has come the same vibrant message to women. England's need of educated women when the war is over has been voiced by Mrs. Lloyd George, who points out woman's great opportunity and advises wealthy parents, no less than their poorer neighbors, to take full advantage of the careers open to women.

"Never," says this distinguished woman, "has the cause of education been so much in people's minds; never has there been such a call to save to the uttermost the children of the nation, bodily, mentally and spiritually, and never were hopes centered so high as at the present time."

Institutions of learning abroad have been enrolling women students in increased numbers, as if by way of promise that the college girl will not perish from the face of the land.

Ask for Woman's Voice in Peace Negotiations

ILLINOIS suffragists, assembled in their 49th annual convention in Danville, in November, adopted resolutions directing that a petition be presented to the president of the United States and Congress asking that at least one woman shall be appointed to the commission which shall represent the United States, when this Government shall meet with the representatives of other nations to consider the terms of peace that will mark the conclusion of the war; that a petition be presented to President Wilson asking that he in his message to the next Congress, incorporate the request that the Congress shall give serious consideration to the Federal Suffrage Amendment; and pledging the unswerving loyalty and the service of the members of the Association to the Government through all the crises and the trials of the war.

The convention this year at Danville was one of the most successful in the history of the

Association. Delegates were present from all sections of the state and the reports they gave were most enthusiastic. The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association now has more than two hundred and thirty affiliated organizations and is perfecting an organization equal to the gigantic task of insuring the successful passage of the constitutional convention resolution at the polls in November, 1918.

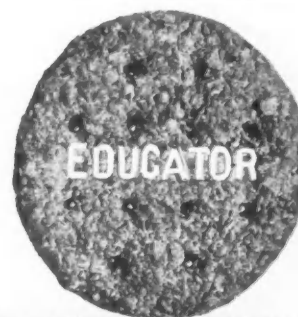
It is practically impossible to amend the constitution of Illinois and the women of that state can only hope for enfranchisement through a new constitution. So it was largely through the efforts of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association that a resolution calling for a constitutional convention was passed by the last session of the Legislature. This puts Illinois in line with the campaign states, and Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout in her address to the convention set before the Association the goal for women in that state: the adoption by the state

of the constitutional convention resolution in 1918; the selection of the right delegates to that convention in 1919; and the writing into the constitution the suffrage measure in 1920.

Enthusiastic demonstrations followed the unanimous reelection of Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout as president of the Association. The following officers and directors were elected for the coming year: Mrs. G. A. Soden, first vice president; Mrs. Judith W. Loewenthal, second vice president; Mrs. Edward L. Stewart, recording secretary; Mrs. Augustus Peabody, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Charles E. Nagely, treasurer; Mrs. Samuel Slade, auditor. Directors—Miss Katharine M. Porter, Mrs. Mabel Gilmore Reinecke, Mrs. Charles Frankenthal, Mrs. Lyman Walton of Chicago; and Mrs. Blanche B. West of Bushnell; Mrs. J. W. McGraw of Glencoe, Mrs. Mary E. Sykes of Monmouth, Mrs. E. B. Cooley of Danville, and Mrs. H. M. Stryker of Galena.

The convention closed with a luncheon at the Danville Elks Club. Here the delegates were addressed by members of the Illinois Legislature, who told them of the work of the suffrage lobby of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association in the fourteen weeks' battle for democracy in Illinois, during the last legislative session.

One of the features of the convention was the Liberty Scarf. Under the direction of Dr. Annie R. Raines, chairman of a knitting division, one hundred dollars was raised in the two days of the convention, by each woman paying for the privilege of knitting on this scarf. When finished the scarf will be sent to the gunner among Gen. Pershing's men who fired the first shot in America's fight for democracy. The proceeds will go to the Woman's Emergency League of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association.



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Governess: "Dorothy, won't you give your little brother part of your apple?"

Little Dorothy: "No. Eve did that, and has been criticised ever since."—*Judge*.

Recruiting Examiner: "Can you carry forty pounds?"

Mr. Muchmarried: "Let me see; that's about three triplets and a twin, isn't it?"—*Life*.

Forward! Women's Hospital Unit

THE mobile hospital unit, staffed entirely with women and backed by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, has found its location in France. Dr. Caroline Finley, its director, cabled Mrs. Catt on December 9 from Paris saying: "French Government accepts women's hospital unit for work in devastated area. Need for us there is urgent. The hospital will be situated very near the front with ambulance service to towns under fire. Strong necessity for immediate installation."

This cable reached Mrs. Catt as she was in Washington presiding over the forty-ninth annual convention of the national association.

At this convention the national association unfurled its first service flag. This shows ten stars for its first ten women serving at the front. Besides the four women doctors leading the mobile unit, Dr. Caroline Finley, Dr. Mary Lee Edwards, Dr. Anna von Sholly and Dr. Alice Gregory, the six remaining stars represent officials, only, in the National American Woman Suffrage Association or in one of its state branches.

Their names are:

Miss Heloise Meyer, of Massachusetts, first auditor of National American Woman Suffrage Association, scheduled for canteen work in France.

Miss Irene C. Boyd, of New York City Suffrage Party, serving in a United States base hospital with the American Expeditionary forces in France.

Dr. Esther Pohl-Lovejoy, of Portland, Ore., serving with the party sent by the "Fund for French Wounded."

Miss Mary W. Dewson, chairman of legislative committee of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, social worker in France at the call of Major Grayson M. P. Murphy.

Miss Lodovine LeMoyné, publicity chairman of the Fall River Equal Suffrage League, serving in a United States base hospital with the American Expeditionary forces in France.

Miss Elizabeth G. Bissell, of Dubuque, corresponding secretary of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, in the French Red Cross canteen.

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RUTH DEETER, D. O., Physician-in-Charge
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Two Bible Stories

(Continued from page 49)

got fifteen hundred men together and made for Jerusalem. Nehemiah explained the successful completion of the job in fifty-two days in these words: For the people had a mind to work."

Certainly those listening to the long catalogue of activities which have passed through Mrs. Shuler's hands, realized that she, at least, had been minded to work. The list, included war service, suffrage schools all over the country, a speakers' bureau, legislative work in many states, agitation and plans of organization.

At the close of her report Mrs. Shuler used another Bible illustration to urge home the need of close co-operation between the state and the national suffrage associations.

Straight Edge Industrial Settlement

II

I hire this column to discuss good citizenship from an unusual angle, expecting financial results in which any reader of this paper in common with thousands of others, may share. AVERY QUERCUS.

A GOOD CITIZEN is one who justifies his (or her) existence by some kind of useful service. A bad citizen is one who habitually and intentionally gets something for nothing.

Admitting that "there's a little bit of bad in every good little" citizen and that any definition has academic objections, nevertheless it separates the sheep from the goats sufficiently for my present purpose.

The amount and quality of service that justifies one's existence under varying conditions may be a subject for future consideration.

At present I am interested in the fundamental principle of industrial organization.

THE "working model of an industrial commonwealth" about which I am writing in this series of articles is organized for useful service, not in any abstract or mystical sense like religious service or social service, but to bake bread and build houses and raise garden truck, and such like, all under the initiative and responsibility of the workers themselves, who divide their combined earnings according to an equitable plan based on recognized efficiency, length of service and mutual agreement.

It has not sprung into existence over night or through somebody's generosity or benevolence or financial assistance, but has grown from the smallest beginnings by the tedious process of justifying its existence at every step through a long period of years.

MEMBERSHIP in the organization is not bought by the payment of an initiation fee or monthly dues or by the investment of capital, but is based on actual service that meets commercial tests. A member is one who—

1. Does necessary and useful work that adds to the efficiency of the organization, and as much of it as can be reasonably expected.
2. Puts in the time and energy necessary to do his work to the best of his ability.
3. Knows how to set himself to work and to keep at work without needless supervision.
4. Carries responsibility continuously, never throwing his work upon somebody else or leaving without arranging to have it done properly.
5. Requires no waiting on; is willing to do anything there is to be done.
6. Cleans up after himself, keeps his working place in order, is clean about his work and in his personal habits.
7. Takes care of the tools and utensils with which he works.
8. Works in harmony with others, shows respect for his fellow workers and consideration for their rights, convenience and comfort.
9. Watches the economies of the place, saves material and expense, makes and helps carry out helpful suggestions.
10. Has worked long enough to earn the proportionate share of working capital required on an average to provide an industrial opportunity.

On those ten qualifications the worker is graded by common consent of his fellow workers, and the points so awarded determine the worker's share in the profits.

Nobody is in position to boss the workers by reason of an investment of money. The man votes—not the dollar.

As I cannot in these articles go into the details of the working plan of the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement, I suggest that you write for literature about the enterprise. Address Straight Edge, 100 Lawrence Street, New York. If you enclose a dime, they will send you the booklet, "The Highest of All Arts," suggesting how the art of cooperation might be taught in public schools.



The Woodpecker: "I've nigh busted my bill on this here stub and ain't found a live thing yet!"

Southern Baptists Endorse Suffrage

THE Texas State Convention of Southern Baptists, in session at Dallas on November 24, passed a resolution in support of equal suffrage.

The resolution was presented by Dr. George W. Truett, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Dallas and one of the most widely known ministers of the Baptist denomination. More than 5,000 persons were present when it was adopted.

"We look with grateful favor upon the rapid conversion of the American people to the principle of the indefeasible right of women to express their convictions at the ballot box along with their brothers."

The Southern Baptists favor the conservative policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Kid's Luck

(Continued from page 52)

unscrupulous employers. The scope of the Children's Bureau has been enlarged, too, to include an administrative duty by a Congressional appropriation of \$150,000 for the enforcement of the child labor law and to establish a child labor division to enforce the law.

To the inquiry "Do you find women are particularly concerned with the enforcement of the child labor law?" Miss Lathrop answered: "Yes, I think that women are naturally interested in any laws relating to child welfare, and that is one of the reasons why I want them to have the vote so that they may cooperate with men in the interests of children. Men should not make all the laws for children and neither should women. Children have the right to the experiences and efforts of both parents. I am a staunch believer in the co-operative spirit. I feel that we shall not get our best results in government until men and women share equally in the responsibilities and in the rights of their government."

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the thousand wars of old
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the thousand years of peace*



Will this mother of France live to see the establishment of peace? She is no longer young. Her greatest need now is proper medical care. The Mobile Hospital Unit of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children is the gift of American suffragists to the women and children of France. Week by week, as it comes from "over there," the story of this hospital staffed entirely by American women will be told in

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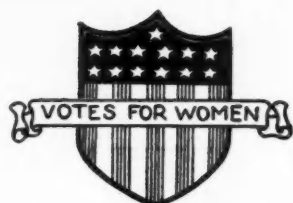
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and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue

New York

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It is to the New York Evening Post—a paper, which, it will be recalled, was standing at Armageddon, battling for suffrage, long before the place became a popular political resort—that the *Woman Citizen* is indebted for the loan of Mr. Cesaré's superb cover design, reproduced in this issue.

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2 and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No.1

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Con-
ferring upon Women the
Right of Suffrage.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915; yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington, and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Representatives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee
September 13, every member of Committee approving.

IN THE HOUSE:

Raker resolution to create a woman suffrage committee in the House adopted by the House September 24 by a vote of 181 to 107.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

December 22, 1917

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

An Aggressive Congressional Policy

SUFFRAGE conventions come and suffrage conventions go, but now and then comes a notable one the effects of which go on forever. Such a convention was the 49th annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association which closed in Washington on Sunday afternoon of this week. That which made it notable was the recognition on the part of the women assembled that the national road is now the open road to full suffrage victory, and that which will make it live was the precaution taken to insure that there shall be no long-continued opposition along that open road.

For years men have been returned to Congress who have a traditional and an emotional prejudice against woman suffrage. Argument, logic, the forward-march of nations, leaves their position unchanged on the suffrage question. They can admit the argument, they can concede the logic, they can see that America is not keeping up in the struggle for democracy, but—like the legislator of the last generation who has passed into suffrage history—argument or no argument, logic or no logic, democracy or no democracy, they would rather see women in their coffins than at the polls.

Suffragists have grown weary of dealing with that type of alleged mind. Instead of attempting to convert it to suffrage they will, in case the 65th Congress fails to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment after the Christmas recess, turn their attention to the defeat of such candidates to Congress in the elections of 1918. It was the action taken looking to this end that read enduring vitality into the proceedings of the convention just ended.

As adopted the resolution committing the association to an aggressive policy for 1918 is as follows:

"That if the 65th Congress fails to submit the Federal Amendment before the next congressional election, the association shall select and enter into such a number of senatorial and congressional campaigns as will effect a change in both houses of Congress sufficient to insure the passage of the Federal Amendment."

The selection of the candidates to be opposed is to be left to the Executive Board and the Board of the state in question. Opposition to individual candidates is not to be based on party considerations and loyalty to the Federal Amendment is not to take precedence over loyalty to the country.

So far as the last clause is concerned, as was pointed out dur-

ing the convention, loyalty to the country comprehends loyalty to the Federal Amendment. As the whole includes the part, so does loyalty to America include loyalty to nation-wide suffrage, sign and seal of American democracy. It was indeed with the sense upon them of the utter inadequacy of the national legislator truly to represent America, while showing by his opposition to woman suffrage that he did not and could not rise to the democracy of the hour, that the women decided to oppose his re-election to the national legislative body.

Civilized Europe today has recognized woman suffrage as fundamental to democracy.

America today, when Americans are pouring out their very life-blood in behalf of the right to self-government, must have in her national legislative body representatives who have a clear faith in that right and its full and free and immediate application within her own borders.

Today the national legislator who refuses to allow that right to women on the ground of principle, or tries to delay woman's coming into that right on the ground of political expediency, is manifestly a person of limited and dubious democracy and not to be relied on to further true American ideals. Today it is essential to America's well-being that candidates to Congress who oppose the woman suffrage amendment should be eligible to defeat in the 1918 elections.

It is believed that the 65th Congress will pass the Federal Amendment. It is apparent that the women of the National American Woman Suffrage Association know exactly what to do if the 65th doesn't pass it. They stand now pledged to the most stupendous political contract to which, as an association, they have ever been committed. It is no small thing for an organization of two million women to enter the congressional elections. They have pledged themselves to do so with a full understanding of the program involved and a steadfast determination to see that program through.

Status Quo of the Federal Amendment

ON December 15 the Federal Suffrage Amendment, reported out without recommendation by the Judiciary Committee, went on the House Calendar.

Just why the House created a suffrage committee remains an unanswered question. In opposing the creation of such a committee, the chairman of the Judiciary, Mr. Webb, of North Caro-

lina, had rested his opposition on the contention that it was discourteous to the Judiciary to take the jurisdiction of the suffrage measure out of the hands of his committee. True, all the courtesy the measure had ever received from him was a consistent effort to keep it bottled in committee, yet the stress of his emotion when confronted with the loss of jurisdiction had been so acute as to enlist sympathy from those to whom the prestige of the Judiciary is one of the vital parliamentary terms. In opposing the creation of the Suffrage Committee on such grounds, Mr. Webb necessarily conceded jurisdiction of the suffrage measure to the Suffrage Committee once it was created. Moreover, by every precedent such jurisdiction was conceded. Ordinarily there is no question as to a measure's passing over to a committee specifically formed to take care of it.

But there is nothing ordinary in the character of Mr. Webb's opposition to suffrage.

The proceedings on the floor of the House on December 15th gave to visiting suffragists from all over the country an intimate revelation of what that opposition amounts to. Although Judge Raker tried to secure to the Suffrage Committee jurisdiction for the suffrage measure, and although that committee had been formed by the House for the express purpose of taking over the measure, although Chairman Webb had opposed the creation of the committee on the ground that it would take jurisdiction from the Judiciary and although no ruling had been interposed at the time to set forth that this would not and could not be the procedure, on December 15th Speaker Clark ruled in favor of the Judiciary's undisturbed jurisdiction, the Judiciary's report got into the basket.

The point of the whole procedure was that Mr. Webb, who knew that he could no longer prevent the suffrage amendment from getting to the floor of the House, was insuring that it get there under the least favorable auspices. The Judiciary's report was without recommendation. The Suffrage Committee's report would have been with favorable recommendation. And the anomaly of the whole procedure was that the House should have been allowed to create a committee to handle a measure which had to remain in the jurisdiction of the Judiciary.

Having gotten suffrage on the calendar without recommendation, Mr. Webb's next endeavor was to drive it to vote on Tuesday of this week. Congress adjourned on Tuesday. Many members waited through Monday to vote on the prohibition amendment and left Washington Monday night. Not a handful was expected to be present Tuesday. Mr. Webb knew this, of course, and played for the defeat of suffrage through the absence of its friends. That move was defeated.

On Tuesday Judge Raker made another effort to get the suffrage question into the hands of the Suffrage Committee and Speaker Clark found a way out of the tangle by ruling that if the various suffrage amendments that have been pending before the Judiciary Committee were re-introduced, they would be automatically referred to the Suffrage Committee. On January 3rd, then, it is expected that hearings will begin on the suffrage resolution before the Suffrage Committee, in spite of the fact that the

Judiciary Committee has reported the suffrage amendment to the House. The Suffrage Committee will draft a report and submit it to the House, presumably with a strong recommendation in favor of the passage of the amendment. Judge Raker, chairman of the Suffrage Committee, who has had in hand the management of the suffrage program on the floor of the House through the last critical week, believes that the Rules Committee will direct a vote upon the resolution reported from the Suffrage Committee. A prime advantage to be gained by the acceptance of the report from the Suffrage Committee lies in the fact that it would insure control of the time for debate by members of that Committee rather than by members of the Judiciary Committee.

As the result of a compromise, a vote in the House on the amendment on Thursday, January 10, has been assured.

A New Spirit

THIS year the 49th annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was pervaded by a wholly new spirit. The breath of nation-wide victory was in the air.

We have had conventions before that were full of the joy of victories, but these were state and local triumphs; never before have we found ourselves actually upon the verge of the passage of the nation-wide amendment through Congress. As the women from the different states came back from interviewing their Senators and Representatives, and reported the outcome, the belief grew steadily stronger that this would be the last convention we should have to hold at the national capital.

We have had many brilliant conventions in the past, with distinguished speakers; but never before one where so many members of the Cabinet and their wives gave us aid and encouragement; never before one where a woman member of Congress was among our speakers; never before one where the whole weight of a tremendous war situation was pressing our cause forward; above all, never before one that had as a background so many millions of enfranchised women. The New York victory has more than doubled the number of women in the United States who possess full suffrage; it has more than doubled the number of members in Congress, who have women among their constituents. The present year has also seen an unprecedented growth in the number of states that have given women the presidential and municipal vote. Even the common or garden variety of politician can now see that equal suffrage is bound to come. The political leaders saw it long ago.

The present situation is wholly new; and the new spirit in the convention could not fail to be recognized by those who have seen a long series of these annual gatherings. The present writer has attended twenty-eight; but the convention of 1917 was a new experience.

Other new experiences are before us. If every woman does her duty—if during the next few weeks every one of us works heart and soul, works for all she is worth—we shall soon have the new and happy experience of finding ourselves enfranchised citizens.

A. S. B.

Consider the Facts

CONGRESS and as much of the rest of the world as could be reached have been circularized by Mrs. James W. Wadsworth with an invitation to consider the facts with regard to the suffrage victory in New York. From the facts Mrs. Wadsworth is able to deduce the conclusion that it was by virtue of the Socialist and pro-German vote alone that suffrage won.

On the other hand, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City, waiving aside this private and particular conclusion, merely reverts to the facts and suggests that the case be allowed to rest on them.

"There were only three assembly districts in Manhattan where the suffrage vote did not poll over a thousand more votes than the Socialists polled. Even in these three districts suffrage got an average of 600 more votes than the Socialist candidate got. In the 4th suffrage had the advantage of the Socialists by 551 votes. In the 6th it got 600 more votes than Socialism got. In the 8th it got 656 more. In the 12th assembly district, a typical district, where the Socialists got only 1,822 votes, suffrage got 5,480. In my own district, the 9th, suffrage and Fusion ran almost neck and neck, suffrage polling 5,911, Fusion polling 5,578. The Socialists polled only 977. In Brooklyn the 14th, 19th, and 23rd assembly districts are accounted the Socialists' strongholds. In all three suffrage ran ahead of Socialism. In the 14th suffrage polled a yes vote of 4,052, the Socialists 3,142; in the 19th suffrage polled 3,608, the Socialists 3,037; in the 23rd suffrage polled 5,060, the Socialists only 3,992."

Considering the suffrage vote in Greater New York in comparison with the mayoralty vote, suffrage polled a yes vote of 335,959. The Socialists polled only 142,178. The Fusion candidate polled 149,307. The Republican candidate polled 53,678. The Democratic candidate, and the successful one, polled 297,282. Suffrage, therefore, polled 38,677 more affirmative votes than did the successful candidate. No candidate was in the class with suffrage, though all were for suffrage.

A Novel Feature

A NOVEL feature of the National Suffrage Convention was the large number of women from the South who reported that their Senators and Representatives in Congress were going to vote for the Federal Amendment for woman suffrage. The women of several Southern States announced that their Congressional delegations were solid for it; others reported large majorities in favor.

Some of the old objections have become boomerangs. One Southern woman said—not in the convention, but in conversation outside:

"We say to our men: 'Do you want to force our Southern women to make their appeal to the Negroes—the few Negroes whom you allow to vote—or would you rather have us make our appeal to the educated white Legislatures?' They see the point, and they have promised us their support for the Federal Amendment."

A. S. B.

Nation-Wide Prohibition for America

BY a vote of 282 to 128 the national prohibition amendment won in the House vote on the measure last Monday. As the amendment had already passed the Senate, the parliamentary procedure was complete save for some minor concurrences later adjusted between House and Senate. Suffragists, who keep out of all politics, save suffrage politics, are yet unable to restrain their jubilant satisfaction in the presage of victory for the Federal Suffrage Amendment to be found in the triumph of the prohibition amendment.

If it worked to no other advantage, the mere fact of establishing the precedent for reform legislation must alone be counted of inestimable value. But there are other advantages. In spite of argument, in spite of the non-commitment of suffragists to prohibition in any official way, the two have somehow gotten linked together in the average appreciation, and victory for one is somehow accounted victory for the other. Moreover, in their effort to insure the passage of the prohibition amendment Southern Democrats have hammered their own state's rights arguments so flat that it will be impossible to make them do duty against the suffrage amendment when it comes up in January as it is scheduled to do.

All told, suffrage gains immeasurably by the affirmative House vote on prohibition.

Gently Referred to Company K

SOMEBODY, camouflaging as "anti," arises to complain of the anonymity of a communication from some National Guard men to some antis in Pittsburgh anent the National Guard's disinclination to receive a proffered flag from women who fight the extension of democracy at home as do the antis. "Anti," resting evidently upon the assumption that everybody will recognize in the signature the fine Italian hand of the professional publicity agent of the other antis, points out that it isn't fair to take the communication as representing the soldier sentiment on the suffrage question unless a signature is forthcoming.

We don't know the signatories of that letter, although we certainly did enjoy reading it. But we do know the signatories of another letter that set forth the pre-election soldier sentiment. It was written by Company K of the 71st New York Infantry. It was signed and counter-signed. There was Sergeant Lounsbury and Sergeants Donovan and Edwards and Rosholdt and Taylor and there were Corporals O'Shea and Hahn and Sherman and there was Strackfus, the cook. And "Company 'K,' of the 71st wished to go on record as saying that its every member is in favor of woman suffrage." And they up and told the "swivel-chair polishers of the Man Suffrage Association that the real red blood of this country, the men who are today in khaki, are better able to judge whether or not the women of this country shall share the privilege of the franchise."

Let "Anti" get in touch with Company K.

Let him also consider the soldier vote in New York State. See page 72.

What the 49th Annual Convention

(Special Correspondence from Washington)

THERE never was a convention of suffragists that accomplished so much as the one just ended at Washington, D. C. First and foremost, the decision of the Association to go into the 1918 congressional elections to oppose individual candidates who oppose the Federal Amendment, was of the utmost significance. While there is a strong current of conviction that the Federal Amendment will be passed by the 65th Congress, there is an equally strong determination to fortify the amendment in the 66th Congress if, by any chance, failure should be its portion at the hands of the 65th. As finally phrased, the resolution passed by the Convention reads that "if the 65th Congress fails to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment before the next Congressional election the Association shall select and enter into such a number of Senatorial and Congressional campaigns as will effect a change in both Houses of Congress sufficient to insure the passage of the Federal Amendment."

The selection of the candidates to be opposed is to be left to the Executive Board and the board of the state in question.

Opposition to individual candidates shall not be based on party considerations and loyalty to the Federal Amendment shall not take precedence over loyalty to the country.

It was around this resolution that the keenest interest of the convention centered from day to day until its passage, and although from the beginning it was a foregone conclusion that it would be passed, concern in it steadily mounted until it reached the floor of the house on Friday morning. Once it had been presented there was very little discussion on it, the entire resolution going through without a dissenting vote or one adverse speech.

A feeling of security with regard to the fate of the amendment at the hands of the 65th Congress was indicated by resolutions that set forth:

1. That a compact of State Associations willing and ready to conduct campaigns for ratification of the Federal Amendment be formed.

2. That in the event of the passage of the Federal Amendment the question of subletting the Washington House and opening headquarters elsewhere be referred to the Executive Board.

3. That the Board of Directors be authorized to call a mid-year meeting of the Executive Council in a centrally located city for the purpose of consideration of plans for the ratification of the Federal Amendment if it shall have passed Congress, or plans for the congressional elections, if it shall not have passed.

The suffragist of today has a sort of up-and-coming reaction to today's problems and opportunities if one may judge by some of the other resolutions passed. For years there has been a steadily growing sentiment against laws that make a woman's nationality depend upon that of her husband. It culminated at the convention in a resolution that read as follows:

"That an American-born woman should not lose her nationality by marrying a foreigner, and we urge a change in this respect."

Another significant resolution said that "In view of the fact that a large share of the work of the Red Cross is done by women, the National American Woman Suffrage Association requests that women be given adequate representation on the War Council of the National Red Cross Association."

The feeling of gladness inspired by the victory record of 1917, found expression in the following:

It decided that the Association should go into the congressional elections to oppose individual candidates who oppose the Federal Amendment.

It urged changes in respect to the nationality laws whereby a woman's citizenship depends upon that of her husband—so that an American woman married to a German becomes a German instead of an American.

It took up the question of the crowding out of women in the management of the National Red Cross Association, and requested that the women be given adequate representation on the war council of that body.

It pledged unqualified support to the campaign for the sale of war savings stamps and thrift stamps.

It amended the constitution of the Association so that the number of officers was increased by a net gain of eight, the two auditors being dropped, eight directors being added, and the number of vice-presidents increased to five.

It received a number of interesting contributions from five- and ten-minute speakers on such alert subjects as "The Friends and Enemies of Presidential Suffrage," "What My State Will Do for the Federal Amendment," "What Is the Biggest and Best Thing Woman Suffrage Has Done for My State?" and "Should We Work for Woman Suffrage in War Time?"

It received enlightening greetings from fraternal delegates from Canada, Great Britain, France and Russia.

It provided a forum for the discussion of women's war service and for contributions to that forum from experts at home and from various countries, and it extended and intensified the program of war work for the suffragists of America.

"That we rejoice this year in the most important victories yet won in the history of the cause. Since January 1, 1917, women have been given full suffrage in New York, practically full suffrage in Arkansas, presidential suffrage in Rhode Island, Michigan and Indiana, presidential and municipal suffrage in Nebraska and North Dakota, state-wide municipal suffrage in Vermont, local municipal suffrage in seven cities of Ohio, Florida and Tennessee, and nation-wide suffrage in Canada and Russia; while the British House of Commons has gone on record in favor of Parliamentary suffrage for women by a vote of 7 to 1."

Loyalty to the cause of country surged uppermost in the resolution declaring that:

WHEREAS, Our country's success in its great task can be accomplished only by the patriotic and generous support of the people and their firm resolution to forsake all courses of waste and extravagance; and

"Whereas, The Secretary of the Treasury

of the N. A. W. S. A. Accomplished

has offered for sale \$2,000,000,000 of War Savings Certificates, bearing 4 per cent interest compounded quarterly, and backed by the resources and power of the United States; and

"Whereas, Investment in these securities will not only help our country in war but will inaugurate a movement of thrift and economy that will be of lasting benefit; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we pledge our unqualified support to the campaign for the sale of these War Savings and Thrift Stamps and urge our members to aid it in every way."

A just tribute paid the press, read as follows:

"WHEREAS, The press of America has been of inestimable service in its recognition of woman suffrage as a fundamental principle of democracy and in its insistent effort to create favorable sentiment; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the cordial and grateful appreciation of this Association be hereby recorded and the hope expressed that the press will continue to use its best offices to further the Federal Suffrage Amendment."

Of all these the Red Cross resolution perhaps caused the most discussion. A strong current of dissatisfaction with the manner in which women seem to have been crowded out of the Red Cross management got to the surface almost immediately, and grew stronger and stronger as the discussion progressed. It was in vain that some of the women associated with Red Cross work tried to defend the organization from the charge of sex discrimination. Fact after fact was cited to show that the management of this great institution, due to a woman's initiative, and for years man-

aged wholly by women, had been virtually taken out of their hands by men. It did not seem to make the case any better that the reason for this usurpation stood out as due to the fact that under the management of women the Red Cross had become the most likely agency through which the Government could collect relief funds to be applied in the conduct of the war. It was apparent that women are eager to serve the Government through the Red Cross and that they do not understand and keenly resent the discrimination charged against the Red Cross.

The discussion of amendments to the constitution, as usual, ate into the order of the program to such an extent that it took from Thursday noon until Saturday afternoon to catch up with the day's events.

Interesting contributions were made by the five- and ten-minute speakers who talked on "Friends and Enemies of Presidential Suffrage," "What My State Will Do for the Fed-

(Continued on following page)

eral Amendment" and "What Is the Biggest and Best Thing Woman Suffrage Has Done for My State." Perhaps Mrs. John Raker put most into the nutshell provided when she said, speaking to the last subject, that woman suffrage "had strengthened and broadened woman's influence in the home circle." Admitting that the women in her state who "lived close to God's wonders" had profited by that proximity to the extent of not having to suffer from the effect of some of the old inhibitions and prejudices, she pointed out that home life must be founded on justice, and that the state as the public administrator of justice is sadly in need of woman's influence. Speaking for Utah, Mrs. Emily Richards said that woman suffrage had given to the women and to the state the full benefits of liberty, equality and responsibility. Suffrage, she said, had quickened woman's mentality, her power of self-expression, her self-respect, and given to her the confidence of men.

Mrs. John S. Cunningham, of North Carolina, dwelt on the economic advantages that accrue to women through their possession of the suffrage, and cited instance after instance to show how women suffer in their economic opportunities through not being voters.

The convention was signally favored by the Administration in the men who represented it on the suffrage platform at the evening meetings. Honorable Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, who spoke on Thursday evening, took occasion to point out that suffrage had a particular advantage in having the support of President Wilson. Honorable Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, dwelt upon the new democracy and woman's relation to it.

SATURDAY evening's program brought forward women speakers, each of whom made a special contribution to the proceedings. Miss Helen Fraser, representing Great Britain, touched her hearers deeply through her own first-hand knowledge of what war really means to Europe to-day and what woman's connection with it means to Great Britain. Madame C. Simon, representing France, brought out the added strength of the bond between France and America due to the aid that has come to France not only through the American government and American soldiers, but through American women. Madame Boumistrov, member of the Russian Relief Council, brought greetings from Russia. Nellie McClung, representing Canada, kept her hearers wavering between laughter and tears as she hid her own emotion behind a proud veil of stoicism and laughter.

As ever, Dr. Shaw's eloquence was a marked feature of the week's proceedings. Sometimes she was the able advocate of loyalty to the country, sometimes she rose to heights of supplication for an applied democracy which shall and must include women, sometimes all the mischief that is in her bubbled to the surface. As, for instance, when she prefaced Mrs. Catt's "Address to Congress," on Thursday evening with a little commentary of her own: "I had always thought," she said, "that I should be willing to die as soon as suffrage was won in New York. I had always thought that I should never be interested in politics or in the making of tickets. But five minutes after midnight, on November 6, I had picked my ticket and now I don't want to die until my ticket is elected." Then she introduced Mrs.

Catt and bided her time.

WHEN Mrs. Catt rose, the house rose with her. It was a packed house, and as the people settled back into their seats, there was manifest a hushed tension that massed on itself almost unbearably. Everybody was aware that the message in Mrs. Catt's hand was the vital message of the Convention. Everybody wondered what would be its main focus. Nobody quite understood why an address to Congress should be delivered at a mass meeting.

The latter point the speaker quickly cleared up. Once before in suffrage history, she said, there had been an address to Congress. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton had made it. It had been one of those vivacious circumventions of precedent by means of which women manage to keep life lively from generation to generation. She was but doing over what they had done a half century ago. She would deliver her address to Congress from that platform to that audience, and leave it to the printed page to carry the message on into the sacred halls themselves.

Then for half an hour, with Senate and House visualized by the directness of her appeal to them and by the sharp limning of her argument, she pleaded for democracy, arraigned the obstructionists of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, showed up the harsh inconsistencies, the waste of time and energy and money asked of women in state referenda, clarified the reasons for establishing suffrage by the Federal route, and brought the whole case into high relief by resting the responsibility where it belongs—on the Congress of the United States.

SOME of the speech itself has been printed in these columns. For the whole speech our readers are referred to the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co. In delivering it the speaker, never ornate in rhetoric or delivery, seemed to withdraw her personality utterly, so that there was left only the mental and spiritual content of her message. To hear her was like listening to abstract thought, warmed by the fire of abstract conviction. To see her was like looking at sheer marble, flame-lit. Many an orator sways an audience's mind by emotional appeal. Hers the crowning achievement to sway an audience to emotion by the symmetry and force of her appeal to its mind. Again and again, salvos of applause stopped her for a moment, but again and again the steady rhythm of her strong voice regained control of the commotion. At the end her grip on attention was so acute that a little hush followed the last word.

It was Dr. Shaw's chance again—"The head of my ticket," said Dr. Shaw. And, with a storm of handclapping, the audience rose once more as one person in approval of her selection.

War Baby Adopted

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association at the convention held in Washington, D. C., decided to bear the expense entailed in the organization of a hospital unit, staffed entirely by women, to be sent immediately to France. Fifty women, including doctors, nurses, bacteriologists, ambulance drivers, electricians and plumbers, will be connected with this staff.

The hospital unit has already been organized under the direction of Dr. Caroline Finley, of New York, and has been accepted by the French Government for immediate service in France.

The unit is to be stationed in the Chauny villages in France in the devastated Aisne district.

Other Resolutions Adopted by the Convention

That we pledge our unswerving loyalty to our country and the continuance of our aid in patriotic service to help make the world safe for democracy both at home and abroad.

Whereas, the war is demanding from women unprecedented labors and sacrifices, and women by millions are responding with utmost loyalty and devotion; and

Whereas, Abraham Lincoln, writing of woman suffrage, declared that all should share the privileges of the Government who assist in bearing burdens; and

Whereas, it is important to a country in war, even more than in peace, that all its loyal citizens should be equipped with the most up-to-date tools; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we urge Congress, as a war measure, to submit to the states an amendment to the United States Constitution providing for the nation-wide enfranchisement of women.

Whereas, the war is bringing an ever-increasing number of women into industry; and

Whereas, President Wilson has pointed out the tendency in some quarters to take advantage of the patriotic zeal of our women and the preoccupation of the public with the war, to lower the standards of labor;

Resolved, that we urge the establishment of the economic principle of equal pay for equal work as vital to the welfare of the nation, and that we urge our members to be on the watch in their respective communities for violations of this principle and for attempts to lower labor standards in other respects, and to use their best efforts to bring about a remedy.

Officers Elected for the Year 1918

President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York City.

First vice-president, Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Boston, Mass.

Second vice-president, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York City.

Third vice-president, Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Nashville, Tenn.

Fourth vice-president, Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York City.

Fifth vice-president, Mrs. Helen H. Gardner, Washington, D. C.

Corresponding secretary, Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, New York City.

Recording secretary, Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, White Plains, New York.

Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, New Haven, Conn.

Directors: Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, New York City; Mrs. Nonie B. Mahoney, Dallas, Texas; Dr. Mary A. Safford, Orlando, Florida; Mrs. Horace Stillwell, Anderson, Indiana; Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Yonkers, New York; Miss Esther Ogden, New York City; Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, Little Rock, Arkansas; Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, Wichita, Kansas.

La Legende Doree

"I CALL this statuette La Legende Doree from two old French ballads, since Madame Yvette Guilbert calls them so," said Miss Alice Morgan Wright, the sculptor, creator of the statuette of Madame Guilbert. "One of the ballads is about the Nativity of Christ and the other his crucifixion, and when Madame Guilbert sings them she wears a costume like this one in the picture of the statuette, red and black and richly embroidered with gold. The pose is characteristic of both songs. In the first she expresses extreme joy with her arms outspread, and in the second she expresses the cross. I have painted the hands and face gold because they look right that way. It was not difficult to model the statuette from memory as I have seen Madame Guilbert many times in this guise both in France and in America.

"I have heard that Madame Guilbert has spoken for woman suffrage abroad; but without that information I should have known that so great an artist could not be failing in the sense of structure and must therefore be instinctively aware that the principle of the balance exists in all enduring work; that justice and equality are essentials and hence that the structure of government can be achieved only upon the sound foundation of honestly equal representation."

This is the concept of a sculptor, who sees all life as an affair of balance and proportion. To an artist's sense of civic structure a social state in which only masculine ideals are expressed becomes a monstrosity. It is out of line and without balance.

But balance and proportion determine all art values. It takes both men and women to make harmony out of society. It takes the right tempo to make any musical composition fall into its proper phrasing and rhythm.

Music is the most individual of all the human modes of speech. It is also the most social. It is the great democratizer because it is a mode of speech which only those who can interpret are eligible to understand. The fairy who deals out the gifts of life has gone mockingly about taking the seal off from the ears of this one and that without regard to the social register, or to creed, or to race, or to sex.

It would be almost unthinkable if a musician who had given her life to the task of freeing her spirit for perfect expression of musical concepts, should close her soul to other forms of freedom.

Two women musicians of great fame have here given some of the reasons why they are suffragists. And the process shows different modes of progress, but the pathways emerge at the same point. Dreams of independence brought Madame Yvette Guilbert into the conviction that woman's voice is needed to frame society's standards. She had seen woman duped by her sensitive responsiveness. She had seen her poisoned by customs which left her only one loophole of escape, the way of allurements, the way of half truths, of down-dropping eyelids and beckoning passion. And she cried out fiercely: "Let us aid the woman of to-day that she may not die of hunger, but above all, let us aid her that she may not live by love. Herein is her rescue." Thus she indicates the tempo at which woman's life shall be set, "a little graver, nobler, purer than it has hitherto been, with more emphasis put upon her individuality and less upon her beauty."

THE RESCUE

"Woman dreams of making her own living—in this she is right," said Madame Guilbert, "And of no longer exacting from man that he should work only for her—in this she is wrong. If woman is resolved to defend her body, in love, as actively as she will defend her share of bread, in the factory, then she is right. But if her independence and liberty are to consist simply in living by her own efforts, instead of by man's efforts, then, truly, she is wrong.

"Wherefore, liberate man from the very

virtue which prevents him from adding to his vices? It is work which forces upon him certain hours of dignity. Reduce this work, and it will mean his collapse and that of humanity.

"Since the war, however, the impressive lesson maternity has received has changed the character of woman's illusions. I tell you the time is come to reflect. All that has been undertaken with a view to attaining equality—the independence of feminine labor, the equality of wages, the equality of human consideration—through a desire, in short, to render justice to women—all this great feminist movement, must now, through the action of the war, alter its course. At the present juncture, it is not so much the defence of woman's wages which is the great and momentous question. It is the defence of her body! It is the defence of her youth, her health, her maternity. It is the defence of her Country!

"In Heaven's name will not somebody, one day, establish an 'Academy of Life,' where women, who form centuries of ancestral mothers, corrupted through man and for man, may emerge? They will be clothed with modesty and grace; they will converse with men with a gracious and noble gravity. To their growing sons they will impart, maternally, humanly, the knowledge that the physiological disturbances of adolescence are not love, arising, as they do, from 'the body.' And with simple directness, they will put an end to the noxious, criminal traditions. Then will arise a generation of men of a more civilized mold, and in this, woman will have accomplished a truly great and feminine achievement. Then woman shall have her vote; throughout the wide world she will have the right to vote. And those women will speak of us as ancestors, to whom men accorded but scant consideration. They will not despise us, for it is we who shall have prepared the way for the resurrection of our sex, and they will have reduced the power of man to its rightful value. Those women will be the saviors of humanity!"

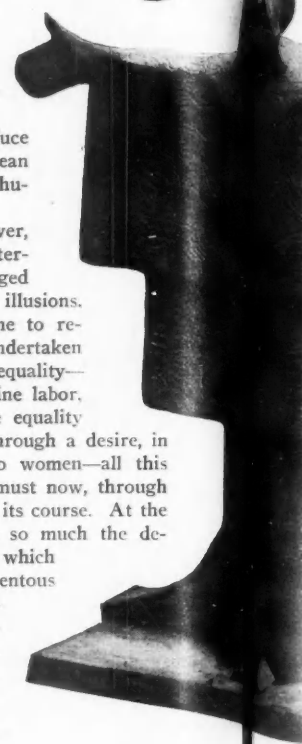
What the War Showed
Maud Powell

IT was by an altogether different sequence of ideals that Madame Maud Powell came to be one of the world's great spokeswomen for freedom in art and freedom in political



MISS MAY PETERSON, the young Metropolitan opera star is a strong suffragist. One of her first public appearances after she came back to America in 1915 from her studies abroad was as soloist at the Woman's Appeal-for-Liberty pageant on Bedloe's Island, July 4, 1915, when the New York State Woman Suffrage Party's protest against further disenfranchisement was read at the foot of the Statue of Liberty by Margaret Wycherly. Miss Peterson sang the National Anthem and made a part of the picturesque tableaux arranged for that occasion

Striking the Right

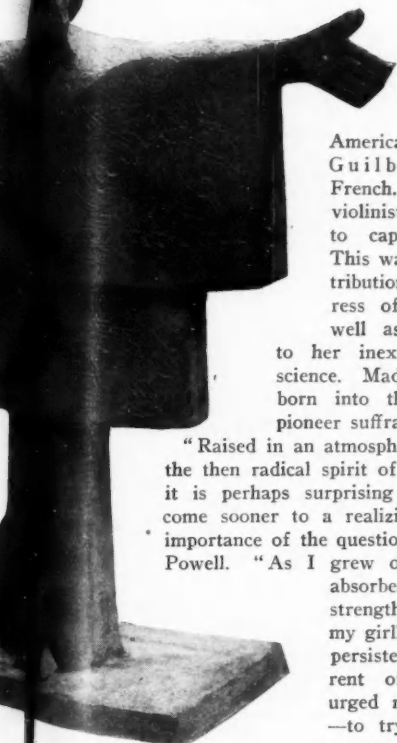


"La Legende Doree" from the "Statuette of Madame Yvette Guilbert," by Alice Morgan Wright



Madame Maud Powell, a world's great spokeswoman for freedom in art and freedom in political

Tempo for Citizenship



Do from the Statuette of
the, by Alice Morgan

fought my battle against prejudice, even as Camilla Urso—revered be her memory—fought the battle before me. In my early days, the names of Mrs. Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were household words. I remember with affection the gentle, honest nature of that good woman 'Susan B.,' who took a real interest in my future career, even giving me my first nest-egg, a gold sovereign, toward buying a 'Cremona' violin. Both women wanted the little American girl to show the world that a woman could 'fiddle as well as a man.'

"Years passed. The battle of life and the persistent struggle toward an ever higher artistic goal consumed my energy. Curious as it may seem, a public life was foreign to my nature. It seemed to take all my courage to pursue my own little path toward recognition, leaving no surplus vitality to be devoted to the big general cause of 'woman's rights.' I honestly felt that I was doing my share toward advancing the cause by developing to the utmost the talents that nature had given me. I believed that sheer force of example would raise standards and fire enthusiasm in other girls, and that on the heels of equipment and efficiency, success would follow. I knew that equal suffrage was right; but that other women had greater gifts of speech and of disposition to work actively in the cause than I, I felt sure.

life. Madame Powell's progression is as truly

American as Madame Guilbert's is truly French. The American violinist set her spirit to capture perfection. This was to be her contribution to the progress of womankind as well as her obedience to her inexorable art conscience. Madame Powell was born into the elect of the pioneer suffrage movement.

"Raised in an atmosphere charged with the then radical spirit of woman suffrage it is perhaps surprising that I did not come sooner to a realizing sense of the importance of the question," said Madame Powell. "As I grew older my studies

absorbed my time and strength. Yet, through my girlhood years there persisted an undercurrent of thought that urged me ever onward—to try to prove that a woman could do her work as thoroughly, as capably and as convincingly as a man. Indeed throughout long years I



Madame Maud Powell, "the Little American Girl" Susan B. Anthony Hoped to See "Fiddle As Well As Any Man"

tasks that hitherto had been performed chiefly by masculine hands, masculine brains. They commanded the respect and admiration of the whole world. I, for one, reversed my judgment of that same hysterical element, and forgave.

"And what is it we are working for, paying for, our men fighting for? A world democracy, to be sure. But the word democracy gives the woman suffragist pause, for it is borne in upon her consciousness of right and justice that

THEN THE WAR

"When more recently, the English suffragettes introduced militant methods I was repelled and ashamed. What I abhorred was their lack of sportsmanship. They didn't 'play fair.' Witness the famous House of Commons incident, in which they did not keep their word.

"Then came the war. The women of England, including the hysterical suffragettes, faced the situation squarely and bravely. They gave up their men-folk, and turned heroically to the

democracy is not altogether what it purports to be when such a large proportion of the adult population has no voice in the conduct of the government—is denied representation in fact. Now this representation and all it implies should be thrust upon us as a matter of duty, not handed over in gingerly spirit as a mere privilege. Then we must be educated to our new responsibilities. We must learn, learn, learn, in order to meet intelligently new conditions arising out of this frightful world-upheaval. By the way, talk with almost any Englishwoman and with all her pretty, feminine ways, one is abashed before her knowledge of state affairs. With new duties, new emergencies we shall acquire undreamed of strength and prowess. For such is woman's nature. And we shall be the better mothers, the better home keepers for our larger vision and wider capabilities. We shall bring up better men children, demanding from them, as from our husbands, higher ideals and cleaner activity. Goodness knows, the world of politics needs a house cleaning. Let us live up to the proverb of the new broom. Moreover let us not fail to renew the broom whenever it shows the least sign of wear.

"Thus it is that the war and some of its consequences have brought about my complete conversion to woman suffrage. Women are fitter than some of us thought. There is no turning back now, for we are being swept onward by a great tidal wave of world change, a change that makes for bigger thought, deeper feeling and more rugged action."

"War and Some of Its Consequences"

TO that last word from Madame Powell there fits with poignant aptitude the latest word to reach the *Woman Citizen* from England. Through Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, head of the National Union of Suffrage Societies of Great Britain, comes the message that all Britain is mourning the death of Dr. Elsie Inglis, to whose initiative was due, in great part, the founding of the Scottish Women's Hospitals, which, under the control of the British suffragists, have proved so material a contribution to Britain's war service. "Twice," writes Mrs. Fawcett, "she saved the Serbian people from despair, once when they were in the grip of a terrible epidemic of typhus and once when their country was over-run by the Austrians and Germans. Her devotion to them was unbounded and they have repaid it with an undying gratitude. Her funeral service in Edinburgh was a wonderful demonstration. The streets were lined by silent sorrowing spectators. It seemed as though all Edinburgh had assembled to do honor to her. Of course, the N. U. W. S. S. was represented. Lady Frances Balfour and Mr. and Mrs. Strachey were there, among others."

Mrs. Fawcett's letter does not say to what immediate cause Dr. Inglis's death was due, apparently taking for granted that the detailed word has already reached the suffragists of America. There is little doubt, however, that Dr. Inglis broke down under the strain of her war work and that she is one more of the many British suffragists whose lives have been forfeited to the service of country.

Along the Federal Amendment Front

Leaders Holding Their Sectors

"IF my vote is needed to pass the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment, I will vote for it." This is what Speaker Champ Clark said on December 12 to a delegation of Missouri women, headed by Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of Columbia, retiring vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The statement indicates Speaker Clark's unequivocal support of woman suffrage by the federal method, since the Speaker of the House never casts his vote on any question unless it is needed as a determining factor. The Missouri women also reported, in addition to the support of the Speaker, a congressional delegation nearly solid for the Federal Amendment.

Other evidences of congressional support poured into the convention as one delegation of women after another came back from hearings before their state congressmen.

New York's delegation, numbering 100 women, was received in the office of Senator Calder. Mrs. Catt, head of the national suffrage body and now an enfranchised citizen of New York State; Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, chairman of the State Woman Suffrage Party; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the New York City Suffrage Party, and Mrs. Raymond Brown, presented their arguments before New York State congressmen.

Mrs. Catt said in part: "When we went into the world war and announced that our purpose was to make the world safe for democracy we may have thought at home that it was simply a fine sounding phrase to stir patriotism, but it has been regarded with sincerity in the other countries. We are the model democracy for the world, and we have given the world its precedents of all forms of man suffrage.

"But Canada has given the vote to most of its women, the measure in Great Britain has passed the Commons and goes to the House of Lords this month or next. Iceland and Denmark, since the war began, have given universal suffrage to men and women. The only vote denied to women in Sweden is that for Parliament. Viviani, when he returned to France, said that the first duty of his country, as soon as civil government was restored, was to enfranchise its women. In Prague, the capital of Bohemia, the City Council has voted to establish a new form of government based on equal and universal suffrage."

Most of the representatives were present, even Senator James Wadsworth appearing for a moment. All the congressmen responded. Some of those newly pledged to the amendment offered assistance in securing the votes of their colleagues.

"A Very Nice Party"

AMONG the 20 women delegates from Ohio who were received by Senator Harding, was Mrs. Newton D. Baker, wife of the Secretary of War. Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, president of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Roger Perkins, president of the Cleveland League, were the speakers. Mrs. Upton expressed her satisfaction with the way the Ohio congressmen had received her delegation by saying, "It was a very nice party."



MRS. TERESA CROWLEY
Heading the Fifty Women of the Massachusetts
Congressional Delegation



MRS. T. T. COTNAM
Whose Arkansas Delegation Had an Audience at
the White House

BUT the proudest delegation of women was the one headed by Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, of Little Rock, Arkansas. These women had the unique experience of being received by the President at the White House.

When this delegation, which claims solid support of the Federal Amendment from its representatives in Congress, returned from the audience with President Wilson, Mrs. Cotnam seemed jubilant.

"It would not be etiquette for me to give out what our President said," she declared, "but he was perfectly charming and wholly satisfactory. We are confident that President Wilson will do what is right in regard to the amendment."

In addition to Mrs. Cotnam the women personally received by the President were: Mrs. Rutherford Fuller, Mrs. Frank W. Gibb, Miss Gertrude Watkins, Miss Josephine Miller, Miss Mary Raymond and Mrs. J. F. Weinman.

Other Southern and Western delegations of women reported gains at the points they are holding for the Federal Amendment. Kentucky has gained new Congressional support. So have Nebraska and Iowa. Southern women made massed drives on their congressmen during their stay in Washington and some of the largest delegations of women were from the South. Virginia's group was as large as New York's. Maryland and Massachusetts tied, each sending fifty women to plead for national enfranchisement. Mrs. Catt spoke at both the Virginia and Alabama hearings.

That Pro-German Soldier Vote and the Federal Amendment

THE Federal Amendment will go through the 65th Congress on the force of the general suffrage momentum, according to Miss Mary Garrett Hay, who these days, keeps in one hand Mrs. James W. Wadsworth's quaint little circular that essays to make the point that it is only pro-Germans who voted for woman suffrage in New York. In the other hand Miss Hay holds tight to the soldier vote of Greater New York, which was counted on Tuesday and by the count added 8,386 to the Greater City's already perfectly ridiculous suffrage plurality.

Every now and then Miss Hay puts Mrs. Wadsworth's quaint little circular on top of the soldier vote for smiling purposes. "They don't seem to fit at all, do they?" she muses, "unless you can argue that those boys in khaki, bound for somewhere in France to wind up this Boches business are really pro-German. 'Only pro-Germans, for suffrage,' says Mrs. Wadsworth, yet our soldiers who are fighting the Germans have voted for suffrage two to one. The truth is everybody is for suffrage these days. That is why I say the 65th Congress will readily fall in line when it gets back to work in January."

The soldier vote on woman suffrage throughout New York City was proportionately better than the vote cast for the amendment at the civilian election. The result showed practically a 100 per cent gain for the amendment among the soldiers. The soldier vote by boroughs on the suffrage question was:

	Yes.	No.
Manhattan	6,762	3,387
Bronx	2,186	1,141
Brooklyn	6,422	3,225
Queens	1,442	811
Richmond	327	189
Total	17,139	8,753

The November vote showed 334,011 yeas to 241,315 nays, the total vote now being: Yeas, 351,150; nays, 250,068.

(Up-state returns on the soldier vote are not available at the moment of going to press.)

Suffragists and Loyalty



MRS. GUILFORD DUDLEY
of Tennessee, State Representative of the Woman's
Liberty Loan Committee, Who Seconded the
Resolution

Service Flag Now Has Twelve Stars

ONE of the incidents at the formal opening of convention week in Washington was the presentation of a service flag in honor of the twelve active members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association who are now serving in France.

The presentation was made by Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw to the president and the convention, just after the delegates were formally seated, and the flag hung over the stage in Poli's Theatre throughout the session.

It shows a center field of white surrounded by a deep blue border and contains twelve stars.

The two new stars in addition to the ten reported in last week's *Woman Citizen*, stand for Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, member of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, now upon a governmental assignment in France, and Miss Susan P. Ryerson, former corresponding secretary of the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association, now bacteriological expert in a base hospital at the front.

The Thirteenth Star

Miss Henrietta Taylor, chairman of the Suffrage League of Pine Bluffs, Arkansas, has joined the Red Cross as hospital nurse in France. Miss Taylor's appointment will make necessary a thirteenth star in the National's service flag.



MISS HANNAH PATTERSON
of Pennsylvania, Resident Director in Washington
of the Woman's Committee of National Defense,
Who Presented the Resolution of Loyalty

Loyalty Resolution of National Suffragists

A RENEWED pledge to the government of loyal support was one of the first acts of the 49th annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association assembled in Washington last week. A loyalty resolution, offered by Miss Hannah J. Patterson of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, resident director in Washington of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, and seconded by Mrs. Guilford Dudley, of Nashville, Tennessee, was adopted by a unanimous vote. The resolution read as follows:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, assembled in executive session last February, pledged the loyalty of the organization to the country in the event of war and forthwith placed a plan of intensive service at the government's command in view of the impending peril, and

WHEREAS, America since then has entered into the dread actuality of war and is in greater need of women's loyal service than our readiest anticipation could visualize last February, and

WHEREAS, The suffragists of this organization are already in compact formation as a second line of defense for husbands, sons, fathers, and brothers somewhere in France, therefore

Be it Resolved, That we delegates assembled for the 49th annual convention of the National Suffrage Association, representing a membership of 2,000,000 women, reaffirm this organization's unswerving loyalty to the government in this crisis, and while struggling to secure the right of self-government to the women of America, pledge anew our intention gladly and zealously to continue those services of which the government has so freely availed itself in its war to secure the right of self-government to the peoples of the world.

Waacs in England and America



MISS HELEN FRASER
of Great Britain, Who Has Come to America to
Tell the War Story of the British Women

THE WOMEN'S ARMY AUXILIARY CORPS, or Waacs, as they are familiarly called in England, is something of a ladies' quartermaster department, according to Miss Helen Fraser, who is in this country on a very special mission approved by the English Government. She is to tell the women over here what they may expect to face sooner or later. Sooner rather than later, Miss Fraser would say. She is booked to tell women in colleges, women in organizations, and women wherever she can find them in the United States, how the efficient forces of British women working behind the lines came into being.

One of her first large audiences in this country was in Poli's Theatre, Washington, at the Saturday night session of the National American Woman Suffrage Association's convention.

Perhaps no one who addressed the convention brought so moving a message, or told it more simply yet thrillingly than did she.

That British men have begun to appreciate women is evidenced by the letters English officials have written about Miss Fraser, whose immediate position is as an officer of the British Treasury for which she has formed many war savings committees in towns and villages of England.

James Parker of London, Junior Lord of the Treasury, says that she did "splendid service" in this capacity. Lord Anslow, chairman of the Bucks County Council Tribunal of the Red Cross, says, "no lady worker better able than Miss Fraser to carry the message from Great Britain to the United States could have been chosen. The efforts of our women in this murderous war have been greater and

(Continued on page 78)



MRS. LOUISE C. MacKINNEY, M. P.,
Of Alberta

SOLDIERS and "sisters" working together overseas elected Miss Roberta Catherine MacAdams as their representative to the Provincial Parliament of Alberta. They elected her not because she was a woman, nor in spite of her being a woman, but just as a matter of course. Miss MacAdams rather indignantly repudiates the idea that hers was "a freak candidature."

She explained this to the British Press at the time of her election, which made no inconsiderable stir in conservative England. As she was the first woman elected an M. P. on British soil, she was as much of a novelty as a new type of airplane or a special sort of tank.

Probably British traditions were as completely bowled over by the simplicity with which Canadians took the nomination of a woman to one of their legislative assemblies as they would have been at the sight of German land troops marching on London in kilts and playing the pipes.

Women are beginning to be people in England but they are not yet sufficiently "people" to be members of Parliament. Therefore the fact that Canadian men—and Canadian soldiers, at that—tall, strong, masterful men, with records of courage behind them, should have voted for a woman to be the political representative of fighting forces, flouted all the Englishman's habitual thoughts about his womankind.

AS a writer in one British paper put it: "In Alberta, manifestly, women have established their claim to share the burdens and responsibilities of citizenship and men do not regard this claim as unreasonable or as the assertion of a novel right which has to be limited and safeguarded by all sorts of checks and balances. To those who have watched the slow progress of the women's cause in this country, this straightforward and very matter-of-fact recognition of woman's citizenship is refreshing. By contrast, our timid and half-hearted 'concession' of a truncated franchise for women looks ridiculous—and the bitter struggle that the

A Curiously Democratic Election

women of this country have had to wage to get even this small measure of justice can be seen in its true light as a tragic waste of energy."

Miss MacAdams's election jostled uncomfortably a number of well-established class traditions.

"The fighting men and nursing sisters of Alberta did not elect me because I was a woman," said Miss MacAdams to her interviewer, "but because I was a human being whom they could trust to look after their interests in Parliament."

Exactly—and away went tradition number one, the tradition that men can always represent women. Why, here is a woman representing men and by their own choice, at that, and all because they believe she knows their special needs.

"I am not a politician and no question of party politics arose in the election. In fact, I think that every one of the twenty-one candidates in this soldiers' election was, nominally at least, independent of political parties," she continued. "The soldiers and the sisters chose me as their representative exactly as they selected Captain Pearson, who headed the poll. They did not think they were doing anything very startling in voting for a woman. Why should they think so? If they thought about it at all they probably thought it was quite as natural for a woman to be a member of Parliament as a member of a nursing corps. I regard the result of the election chiefly as a tribute to my uniform and to the corps to which I am attached."

AND therewith tradition number two, the long cherished notion that politics is something intricate with the key to it belonging only to the initiated or to those with the hall mark of a party on them, also went by the board. Representation in Parliament lost its abracadabra and its shibboleths and got down to the common sense basis of deputing some one to look after interests common to a group.

Miss MacAdams was not at all a woman's candidate. She was a soldiers' candidate. There were 38,000 troops and 75 nursing sisters in her electorate. Two positions in the Alberta Legislature were to be filled by members from the front and there were twenty-one candidates in the field. Of these, Captain Pearson, known as "the fighting parson," received 4,286 and Miss MacAdams 4,023.

"The whole proceeding strikes one as a splendid example of democracy in action," is the comment of a British weekly.

Officers, non-commissioned officers and private soldiers were among the candidates, including several lieutenants, four captains, a major and a lieutenant major. A great many of the 14,000 ballots actually cast were marked in the trenches.

The third name on the list of candidates was



MISS ROBERTA CATHERINE MacADAMS, M. P.,
Of Alberta

that of Private Harper, who received 3,328 votes. At the bottom of the poll stood an acting staff sergeant.

THIS curiously democratic election knocked political theories all about, and nearly buried out of sight the notion that a political campaign has to be an elaborate affair of electioneering. There could be no canvassing prior to the election as the electors were spread all along the fighting front. There were no meetings; no political advertising; of speeches, next to none. Nurse MacAdams did make a simple pre-election address, conveying to the men her assurance that if she were returned, she would look after the interests not only of the soldiers but of their mothers, wives and sweethearts.

One may read between the lines that no other pre-election promise could have appealed as this one appealed.

MISS MACADAMS is the daughter of a Canadian county newspaper editor and the sister-in-law of Mr. W. J. Hanna, the Food Controller, who holds much the same position in Canada as Lord Rhondda does in England or Mr. Herbert C. Hoover does in the United States.

She, herself, is a trained nurse, a dietician, and has held a position as supervisor of household arts in the public and high schools of Edmonton. She was also at one time Superintendent of Women's Institutes in Alberta under the Provincial Department of Agriculture.

In a recent letter to THE WOMAN CITIZEN Nurse MacAdams said: "I have been the recipient of the honor of election by Alberta overseas forces as their representative in their provincial Legislature. As yet I have done nothing. I think you will agree with me that the time for talking is not yet; that I must first make good, and justify their confidence. My election therefore would be quite insignificant were it not for the accident of my being a woman. I am most unwilling to stress the fact of my sex."

(Continued on page 78)



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A Curiously Democratic Election

(Continued from page 74)

MISS MACADAMS lays great emphasis upon the fact that there is no such thing as an organized women's movement in her province.

"It is not necessary that there should be a separate women's organization, for men and women are not fighting against each other for different political ends. Frankly I do not understand the importance some people appear to attach to this differentiation of the sexes in dealing with public affairs. Women are not anxious to do the work of men. They only want to do their own work, leaving men to do theirs. It is our experience in Canada, at any rate, that men and women can work together at their own tasks and we think these jealous exclusions of which we hear so much in other countries are quite absurd."

In the Alberta Legislature, Miss MacAdams will not be the only woman. Mrs. Louise C. MacKinney of Claresholm will also take her seat at the same time, probably in February.

Nor is it only Nurse MacAdams who holds a modest view of her own powers and elevates accordingly the position of trust into which she has been placed.

"I have no wise or brilliant views on politics," said Mrs. Louise MacKinney, Alberta's other woman M. P. "I feel that there are things to be done for women and children by other women; for when we reach the women we reach the fountainhead."

"Tall and strong and quiet and serene"—it took all four of these adjectives to describe the impression the "Lady from Claresholm" made upon her interviewer in Ontario when she came to the Eastern province to speak for the Dominion elections which occurred on December 17.

Over a cup of tea she spoke to a few friends in Toronto, knitting steadily and swiftly as she talked. Elected as a Non-partisan Leaguer, she announced no party program, but it was easy to gather that her mind was full of plans for reconstruction of society after the war. She is a win-the-war leader, loyal to that government for Canada which shall give reinforcements and strength to the overseas troops.

JUST after the New York elections she wrote to THE WOMAN CITIZEN offering her congratulations.

"New York," she said, "where so much of the really hard work—the testing, trying work, was done, that all through the years has helped to mould sentiment and win victories in parts of the country where winning was easier—New York has, at last, come to her own. I was, and I still am, so glad for you and with you. I'm sure that before election you almost felt that if you should win you would be ready to say, 'Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation.' But when victory became an actual fact you changed your mind and you said, 'No, Lord, I want to live to see what we can do with it.'"

What they can do for humanity with their new powers is the passionate aim of women on both sides of the borders of these two countries, Canada and the United States, where women win citizenship neck and neck, and work for a common form of "democracy in action."

Intensive Circulation Campaign for the Woman Citizen

ONE of the lively moments of the convention came when subscription pledges were taken for THE WOMAN CITIZEN. Blocks of one hundred were underwritten by the state associations as fast as they could be taken down. In the result over 2,000 subscriptions were pledged by the states in the few minutes given to this feature. In addition each state took out subscriptions to be sent to members of Congress from that state. Tennessee undertook to look after New Mexico's congressmen besides its own, and other states played missionary in the same way.

The pledges made at the convention follow:

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.....	100
Florida Equal Suffrage Association.....	100
Indiana Woman's Franchise League.....	100
Iowa Equal Suffrage Association.....	100
Kentucky Equal Rights Association.....	100
Louisiana Woman Suffrage Party.....	200
Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association..	100
Maryland Woman Suffrage League.....	100
Michigan Equal Suffrage Association....	100
Equal Suffrage League, Wayne County..	100
Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association..	100
New Hampshire Equal Suffrage Assoc..	100
New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association..	200
New York City Woman Suffrage Party..	100
South Dakota Universal Franchise League.	100
Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association....	100
Texas Equal Suffrage Association.....	100
Virginia Equal Suffrage League.....	100
Wisconsin Equal Suffrage Association...	100

2,100

PROBABLY there was thus secured the highest record of subscription-taking in the shortest time known in suffrage annals. But even at that, we cannot rest on our laurels. We have launched an intensive circulation campaign that must go on and on without a halt until we have reached the mark of 100,000, which we have set as our stint for the first year in the WOMAN CITIZEN's history. The plan of underwriting blocks of subscriptions by the state associations is an admirable one; so admirable that we believe that every state suffrage association in the country will fall in line, and we also believe that those associations that pledged themselves on December 14th to blocks of 100 each will find it easily possible to increase the number of subscriptions of which they can take care.

ON the floor of the theatre that day, there was indeed a murmur of contempt from some of the more up-standing organizations at the smallness of the number assigned them. One stalwart was heard to remark: "Why our association can easily make itself responsible for 500 subscriptions." To all such associations we need hardly point out that the number fixed is very elastic and will be expanded to meet the ambitions of the most ambitious state association. New Jersey and Louisiana, even at the moment, did not rest satisfied with their pledge of 100, but promptly pledged 100 more apiece. Any state association that already stands committed to 100 subscriptions can double its pledge and welcome.

In order to underwrite these subscriptions in the shortest and easiest way, we are adopting the following plan of organization:

(A) The Central Woman Citizen Circulation Committee. This committee is to be made up of one member for each state, appointed by the president of the state association. Presidents are earnestly requested not to make a perfunctory appointment in this case, but to deputize to a place on the committee some woman who has a sincere and eager interest in the WOMAN CITIZEN as the official organ of the N. A. W. S. A. and who will make it her particular business to look after the WOMAN CITIZEN's circulation in her state. As soon as these appointments are made, notice should be sent to the WOMAN CITIZEN's office, 171 Madison Avenue.

(B) This Central Committee woman will take in hand the intensive organization of her state for the circulation drive. It is suggested that she appoint some woman from each county association to supervise the circulation work for the local clubs of the county. This woman will be known as the County Circulation Chairman.

(C) Each woman whom she shall appoint to represent each local club will be known as that Club's Circulation Chairman.

IT is the intention to permit 30 per cent. of all subscriptions underwritten to go into the local or state treasury, as may be determined upon by the state association itself. Premiums will be offered, and in an early issue of the WOMAN CITIZEN the premium schedule will be set forth. With the Circulation Chairman of the local club as the ultimate unit of the supervision work, teams are to be formed in each town, or rural district, and these teams are to go over their territory in a vigorous canvass for subscriptions.

Literature that sets forth the "talking points" of the WOMAN CITIZEN will be issued from headquarters.

MEANTIME, conceded talking points are the fact, which is to become ever more emphatically a fact, that it is only through the WOMAN CITIZEN that the individual suffragist can get the national interpretation of suffrage as the N. A. W. S. A. understands the word; the fact that the propagandistic value of the WOMAN CITIZEN is susceptible of high stress; it can go out as a missionary into the darkest anti-suffrage spots; it is working toward a general interpretation of politics for women such as is presented by no other magazine in the country; it is interested in and sets forth women's domestic interests, wherever those interests are touched upon by civics and politics; it is a connecting link between the woman at home, the Government at Washington, at the State Capitol, at the City Hall; it is striving to be a criterion on woman's war service; and it stands on guard with the N. A. W. S. A. in the effort to insure to women adequate recognition on war service boards and adequate protection from exploitation in industry.

The Book Stall

Heroines—Old and New

SINCE the prototype of the woman movement in every country and every age will always be Brunhilde and the Walkyrie, those mystic prophetesses of half-divine powers, it will not be amiss to call attention to two books of old legends: *Asgard and the Gods* and the *Epics and Romances of the Middle Ages*. These are adaptations by M. W. McDowall from the collected works of Dr. W. Wagner, a great authority on myths and legends.

The world owes a debt to these collectors who, for the past four or five decades in Denmark, Norway, England and Germany, have diligently toiled to save the splendor of the legendary world to future readers. If it had not been for the Celtic revival and its cognate efforts in other countries, it is more than likely that the color and sumptuousness of that storied past would not have been kept alive. After this war, such a wealth of material of vital interest to the present generation will be let loose that no one will think of starting societies to resurrect the past. Yet what would not the modern world have missed if it had not revived the Nibelungen Lied and the Mabinogion?

Asgard and the Gods. Epics and Romances of the Middle Ages. From the work of Dr. W. Wagner, adapted by M. W. McDowall. E. P. Dutton, N. Y. Each volume \$2.00.

MOTHERS everywhere feel the need of a simple biological study of sex for their own education. They are called upon to answer puzzling questions concerning which they may or may not have a basis of scientific knowledge.

Such mothers will be glad to know about *The Way Life Begins*, by Bertha C. Cady and Vernon M. Cady. It is recommended as accurate in a foreword by Dr. William F. Snow, General Secretary of the American Social Hygiene Association.

"The book," says Dr. Snow, "tells the truth about reproduction, with regard to its moral significance, seeing in reproduction, both of human beings and of animals, one of the most interesting stories in the world; a story that every youth should learn from competent persons."

An accessory for interesting youth in the story of life will be found in the beautiful colored plates which abound throughout the book.

The Way Life Begins. Bertha Chapman Cady and Vernon Mosher Cady. Serial Publication No. 85 of the American Social Hygiene Association, 105 W. 40th Street, New York City.

THE English imagination has always cherished the picture of the seeking woman. Woman desirous, hunting her lover until she wears away his reluctance to be caught, was the favorite conception of the early ballad writers, of George Meredith, of Thomas Hardy and of Eden Phillpotts. The idea so persisted that it seems as if it must have had some basis in fact; at least so much basis as to be a revelation of the British man's ideal of woman. A perfectly new writer whose first novel appears anonymously, but is heralded as

the work of an "Ex-Mill Girl," demonstrates that this conquering type of feminine creature is also the ideal—or an ideal—of the British woman.

Helen of the Four Gates is a book which might have been written by a young Thomas Hardy. It shows an England of moors and lonely spaces; an England of tragic peasantry, of scowling beauty and persistent, unyielding love. It has the distinction of being commended by Hardy himself, who calls it "an extraordinary first book." As a first novel and one written by a factory worker, it shows promise, although it is almost too tense and unrelieved for charm. Its author is impassioned over the physical beauty of the English landscape, which she describes with finely selective phrases, betraying more subtlety than one would expect from an inexperienced workman.

Helen of the Four Gates. By an Ex-Mill-Girl. E. P. Dutton. \$1.50.

THE last chapters of Gertrude Atherton's *The Living Present* are speculative of woman's status after the war. In view of the breath-snatching advance of women in every country, but most especially in France and Russia and Great Britain, there is a certain futility in these speculations under which the reader grows restive. Questionings about the program of industrial woman after the war is over have so much less vitality than the plain recital of what she actually achieved during the war that the first chapters of Mrs. Atherton's book are undeniably the most worth while.

This is a story of resurrections and reincarnations. It is a history of women, who had been wrapped cocoon-like in soft perfumed webs of their own spinning, suddenly bursting their bonds and demonstrating the hardness of the peasant, the passionate loyalty of the maid of Domremy, the endurance of the haute noblesse who used to practise walking to the guillotine that they might not falter when their time came to die.

The very shop girls of Paris who once made artificial boutonnières until they were livid and jaundiced and meagre from indoor work are now tossing 40-pound shells from hand to hand in the Usines de Guerre.

The most characteristic incident related by Mrs. Atherton was told her by Madame Paquin, the famous dressmaker.

Madame Paquin lives at Neuilly. For years she had noted the great wagons, filled with produce, which passed at dawn on their way to the Halles in Paris.

On the seats were always three or four burly men to unload the goods at the market. All of these men were reservists. On the Monday morning after mobilization took place, the wagons came past, creaking and groaning as usual. But on each cart large, stolid peasant women were sitting.

"They had mobilized themselves as automatically as the Government had ordered out its army." And Paris was fed, *comme tous jours*.

The Living Present. Gertrude Atherton. Frederick A. Stokes, New York.



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Tribute to Mrs. Colby

THE Reverend Olympia Brown has written a much-wanted and richly deserved biographical tribute to the late Clara Bewick Colby, an early review of which by "A. S. B." is promised for these columns.

Alien Wives and Alien Husbands

HONORABLE JEANNETTE RANKIN, Representative from Montana, explaining to the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association the bill she has recently introduced into Congress to adjust American naturalization laws for women so that they shall no longer be unjustly discriminated against, said:

"We who stand tonight so near victory, after a majestic struggle of seventy long years, must not forget that there are other steps besides suffrage necessary to complete the political enfranchisement of American women. We must not forget that the self-respect of the American woman will not be redeemed until she is regarded as a distinct and social entity, unhindered by the political status of her husband, her father, or her associates; but with a status peculiarly her own and accruing to her as an American citizen.

"The American woman must be bound to American obligations not through her husband's citizenship, but directly through her own. Her dignity will not be revealed until she is freed to serve humanity as a separate and distinct individual, provided with such political rights as it is in the power of the United States Government to confer."

The question of the nationality of married women became acute in Europe after the war broke out and led to an international congress of women's organizations for discussion of the subject. War conditions have focused attention on the status of women in this country who are married to alien husbands or who, as aliens, are married to American men.

Previous to the establishment of the Immigration Bureau and the reorganization and amendment of the Naturalization law in 1907, no law existed providing that American wives of aliens should take the nationality of their husbands. Sections 3 of the law passed in that year, and still in force, states: "Any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband."

The bill introduced on December 13 by Representative Jeannette Rankin, provides:

1. "That any American woman who marries a foreigner shall retain her American citizenship unless she shall formally in writing renounce such citizenship. If residing in the United States, she may renounce such citizenship in any Court authorized to naturalize American citizens within the District in which she resides. If residing abroad, she shall file such renunciation with a consul of the United States.

2. "That all American women now married to foreigners residing in the United States may after the passage of this act resume their American citizenship by filing a declaration with any Court having authority to naturalize American citizens within the jurisdiction in which she resides."

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STRAIGHT EDGE

Industrial Settlement

III

I hire this column to discuss good citizenship from an unusual angle, expecting financial results in which any reader of this paper in common with thousands of others, may share. AVERY QUERCUS.

ONE OF THE MOST important functions of good citizenship is right use of property. A thoughtless or obstreperous woman, for example, can express a lot of bad citizenship with a hatpin—more, probably, than she can ever correct at the ballot box.

And yet hatpins belong to the class of intimate private property that even the most radical socialist would scarcely relegate to public ownership. When it comes to property used for industrial purposes and for serving a large number of people, good citizenship (or democracy) requires that it be administered in the interest of the public.

Bad citizenship (or autocracy) fences it about with a claim of "ownership" and maintains that "it is mine to do with as I like."

BETWEEN the extreme anarchistic view that "all property is robbery" and the extreme plutocratic view of unlimited ownership, the common sense of mankind has long been trying to formulate the real truth about property, not merely in words, but in a practical working system.

Without claiming to have reached the absolute and final solution of all the problems involved in property ownership, the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement has undertaken to embody in its "working model of an industrial commonwealth" the more obvious principles of good citizenship (or democracy) with reference to property that are already established and recognized in law.

COMMON OWNERSHIP of property, as exemplified in schools, churches, clubs and various other institutions not formed for private profit but for public and mutual benefit, is a well established principle of law.

In such associations, the *man* is the fundamental unit.

In the business corporation, formed for private profit, the *dollar* is the fundamental unit.

Perhaps this fact may have some relation to the difference between the attitude of the average college man, for example, to his alma mater and the attitude of the average industrial worker toward the organization by which he is employed and the plant through which he earns his living.

The founders of the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement chose the former method of holding property, and started in to accumulate, for the use of cooperative workers, an industrial plant that should be held, not for private profit but for mutual benefit; that could not be hypothecated or used as a basis of credit, but should remain a perpetual nucleus to which the workers could add in return for the use of the property.

BY THE HELP of several hundred "Founders and Friends," who contributed or invested, up to January 1, 1917, \$27,301.12 in the form of gifts and loans, this plant has been gradually built up to the extent of employing a hundred workers, organized in three distinct companies, who are now turning back to the Settlement from their earnings about sixteen hundred dollars a month for the further extension of their working plant and to repay obligations that have been incurred for such extension in the past.

The ordinary worker throughout the industrial world has to earn for the owner of his tools on an average \$312 a year. The average Straight Edge worker for about one-half that amount *buys* his tools and equipment, and becomes automatically a member of the association that owns them and holds them perpetually for the workers as a body.

It will be a help to any reader of this paper who becomes interested in this series of articles, in getting into the spirit of the Straight Edge enterprise, to read a booklet which I wrote several years ago and which is printed by the Straight Edge Press, entitled "The Honorable Charles Rockingham Ducketts," being a few of the reasons why those who have riches find it hard to enter into the common life of humanity, which is the kingdom of heaven. Enclose a dime for it in a letter to the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement, 100 Lawrence Street, New York. If you don't happen to have a dime, send for it anyhow, and I will see that you get it.

Waacs in England and America

(Continued from page 73)

more effective than the supporters of women's franchise could possibly have anticipated."

Miss Fraser is an illustration of the British suffragist in war time. She was chairman of the Executive Committee of the Cardiff and District Women's Suffrage Society, a branch of the non-militant National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and built up her own association to 1,100 members.

Before the war she was a lecturer, economist and suffrage organizer. Her suffrage training made her see just where and how women could be marshaled for effective war support.

An American problem of immediate importance is one which Miss Fraser knows something about experimentally. She was one of the workers in the British Food Control Campaign. "Much of the women's war work in Great Britain is under government control," said Miss Fraser. "The Woman's Auxiliary Army Corps has its commissioned officers, either appointed from the ranks or especially designated by the government. It now has a force of 40,000 women, and is growing at the rate of 10,000 a month. These women are enlisted members of the service.

"The Waacs cook behind the lines, keep the books and perform all sorts of clerical tasks. Many of these women," she explained, "were those whose professional and business careers were smashed when the war began. England, unlike the United States, immediately stopped spending money, ceased buying things. Consequently, all sorts of trades and professions found no market. Professional and salaried classes were hard hit, and are still having a hard time financially. The concert singers and the artists were affected and until the situation readjusted itself we had to look after the suffering ones. Now most of them have found all the work they want in fields where they are much needed."

Unofficial Waacs in America



Miss Charlotte Delafield of the New York City Suffrage Party's War Committee, Who Managed 1,000 Booths for Red Cross Enrollment Last Week.

INDICATIVE of the share of war work which falls to the lot of that highly specialized creature, the suffrage leader, is one task just completed by New York City suffragists.

Ten million dollars may be a small sum in these days, but the fact still remains that 10,000,000 people constitute quite a large fraction of the human race; yet the enrollment of this number of members of the Red Cross is just drawing to a close. Under the leadership of Miss Charlotte Delafield, representing the War Service Committee of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party, many suffrage workers pledged themselves ready to do their bit in the Red Cross drive which began last Monday.

New York's quota of the 10,000,000 members was a big one and the suffragists undertook responsibility for 1,000 enrollment booths.

*Ring out
the thousand wars of old
Ring in
the thousand years of peace*



Will this mother of France live to see the establishment of peace? She is no longer young. Her greatest need now is proper medical care. The Mobile Hospital Unit of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children is the gift of American suffragists to the women and children of France. Week by week, as it comes from "over there," the story of this hospital staffed entirely by American women will be told in

THE Woman Citizen

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And here is your good luck, looking you right in the face. For one dollar we will send to any address you indicate, together with a Christmas Card bearing your name as the giver, the liveliest woman's magazine in America, the **WOMAN CITIZEN**. A new magazine with a new message, bringing a fresh reminder each week that the year 1918 will be for the women of the world the Happiest of New Years! Fill out the coupon and send it in.

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171 Madison Avenue, New York City

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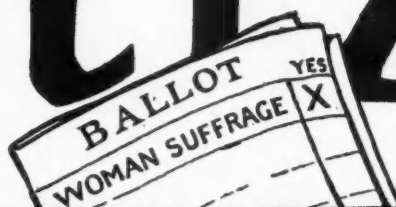
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THE **W**oman **C**itizen

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New-fashioned Women, Suf-
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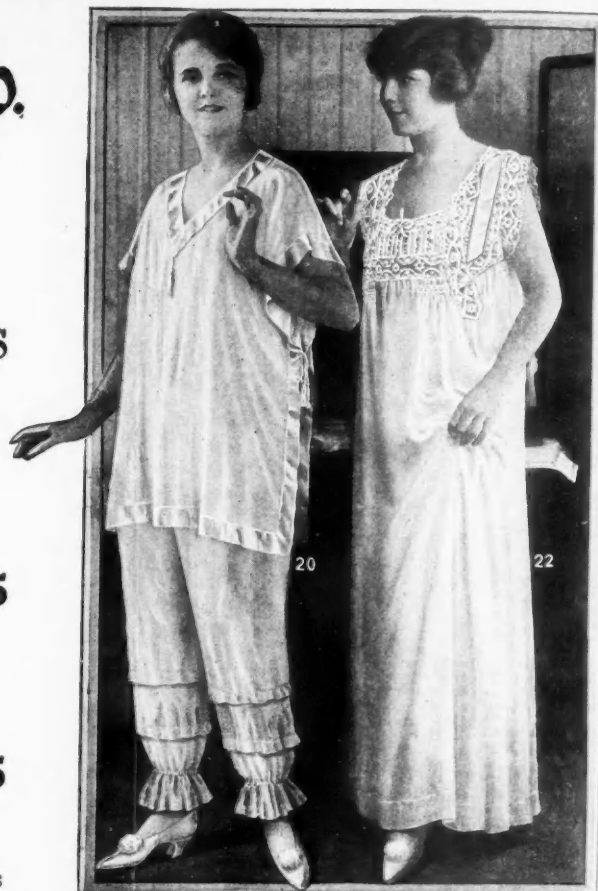
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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By **LUCY STONE** and
HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the **WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY**

and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Head-quarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue

New York

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Have You Been Enfranchised Lately?

Do You Know What You Can Do with Your Vote Now That You Have It?

Do You Want to Know?

If You Are a Woman,

If You Are a Young Man Just Turned Twenty-one,

If You Are an Immigrant Taking Out Your Last Naturalization Papers,

Follow The Vote and the Voter in the Woman Citizen from issue to issue.

You will be met more than half way with what you want to know about voting.

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2 and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Con-
ferring upon Women the
Right of Suffrage.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915; yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington, and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Representatives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee
September 13, every member of Committee approving.

IN THE HOUSE:

Raker resolution to create a woman suffrage committee in the House adopted by the House September 24 by a vote of 181 to 107.

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(for details see page 98)*



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Will you pledge Three Hours a Week
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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

December 29, 1917

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Republicans Want the Credit

THE Republicans are making a bid for the honors if the Federal Suffrage Amendment passes. That the Republican side of the House will give a two-thirds majority with votes to spare is the statement of Representative Mondell of Wyoming. It seems that the Republicans not only don't want the blame if the amendment is defeated but do want the credit for its victory. Only a solid Republican vote, according to Republican opinion, can take from the party in power the glory of such a victory.

Republican leaders are pointing out today that when the last suffrage amendment vote was taken, in 1915, it would have passed if the proportion of Democrats voting for the measure had been as large as that of the Republicans.

As a War Measure

THERE are a few of America's national legislators left who profess to believe that insuring the right of self-government to women is not timely during a war to insure the right of self-government to the world. There are a few American editors left who still maintain that the right of self-government for one-half the American people is a minor, a negligible, object at a time when self-government for Europe is holding attention.

Meantime, country by country, Europe is recognizing woman suffrage as a war measure and has either put it into effect or is insuring the

HUNGARIAN WOMEN TO VOTE IF DIET PASSES THIS BILL

LONDON, December 23. — The Minister of Justice has introduced an electoral reform bill in the Hungarian Diet giving the vote to every Hungarian citizen, male and female, twenty-four years of age and able to read and write. It provides for secret voting and the conveying of voters to the polls by railway at state expense. The Minister is preparing a re-districting bill.

facilities for putting it into effect, by parliamentary procedure. Count on the list since the war began England, Canada, Russia, France, Italy, Denmark, Iceland—and now Hungary.

Why is America so laggard?

Right as Usual

DR. SHAW, as chairman of the Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense, has issued a Decalogue of War for women that challenges renewed attention to this noted citizen's ability to hit the nail plunk on the head. These are the war commandments defined by Dr. Shaw:

"Do not chatter. Keep to yourself the news you hear.

"Do not listen to alarmists or slackers.

"Be moderate in your spending, neither lavish in gifts nor sordid in your economies.

"Encourage national industries, avoiding imported ones.

"Do not look upon the departures for the front of those dear to you as an abandonment. Be with them constantly in thought, as they are with you, particularly in the hour of danger.

"Do not complain of the difficulties, annoyances and privations caused by the war.

"Multiply your activities in your home as well as outside.

"Exhibit day by day and hour by hour the same courage a man shows upon the field of battle.

"No matter how long the struggle may last, await victory with strength and patience.

"If you are stricken in your dearest affections bear your sorrow nobly, that your tears may be worthy of the hero whose death you mourn."

The Soldier Suffrage Vote

COMING "pat betwixt too early and too late," the soldier vote established several things. Its isolation, after the first vote had been counted, staged it so dramatically that its import can not be lost upon the most prejudiced or the dullest mind. It capped with ridicule the anti-suffrage hysteria about suffrage in New York being a pro-German, Socialist, or even a Democratic victory.

The antis have tried to work a patent, reversible, fit-any-case argument, their ulterior aim being to correlate the suffrage strength with any party which might be immediately obnoxious to the persons whom they desire to reach, and their immediate aim being to demonstrate that only traitors and slackers voted for woman suffrage. To make their case on these grounds they

have had to show that there are 690,000 disloyal men in the state of New York, pseudo-information which must be most acceptable to the Kaiser's pro-German tools in this country. This form of giving "aid and comfort to the enemy" by strengthening anti-war prejudices has not troubled the consciences of this little group of alleged thinkers who acclaim themselves as the only original patriots in the United States.

It took the soldier vote to quash, finally and completely, their intention to discredit suffrage. And this not only because it utterly disproved the charge of pro-German, Pacifist alliance, but because it gave added emphasis to the non-partisan quality of suffrage sentiment. If any proof were lacking to show that the chief political parties recognize the non-partisanship of the vote for suffrage it would be found in the statement of ex-Republican County Chairman Frederick C. Tanner in his appeal to Manhattan Republicans concerning the right of New York County women to have equal voting opportunities with men.

"An unquestioned majority has spoken on the subject and that should put an end to all discussion," said Mr. Tanner. He said also that the soldier vote of two to one should effectively refute the suggestion that woman suffrage was won by either the pro-German or the Socialist vote. The eagerness with which the right hand of Republican fellowship was outstretched to women voters was a clear showing that New York Republicans are the last men in the world to admit that credit for the women's victory must be wholly given to voters outside of the Republican ranks.

Women Police in Great Britain

WHEN the war broke out, training camps for soldiers were immediately established in many parts of Great Britain and the usual temptations and moral dangers were much in evidence. To meet this situation, the Council of Women organized a Woman's Patrol Movement. It was at once officially recognized by the Government, but received no financial support. In the main the patrols were volunteer. In 1915 there were 1,916 women patrols. The aim was to keep young girls off the street at night, particularly in the vicinity of military camps, with a view to preventing the increase of immorality. Its method is to provide superior attractions in the form of clubs and entertainment.

Miss Damer Dawson organized the Women Police Volunteers. An eight weeks' training for recruits comprised practical instruction in police duty, the study of civil and criminal law and the study of police court procedure. This movement was quite independent of the Government. In August, 1915, however, the head of the Women's Police Service received the assurance of the Government that no objection would be raised "to the employment of women on police duties of the kind they are naturally qualified to perform whenever a responsible local authority considers such a course desirable."

In August, 1916, a resolution was passed providing that women who are doing the work of constables be treated as constables and paid as constables. Women, therefore, came on the regu-

lar police staff with equal standing with those of the same rank. Women police patrol in uniform.

Their work consists in patrolling, attending police court, inspecting halls of entertainment, lodging houses, etc. Women police have been officially appointed in twelve towns. Their training, however, is still dependent upon the "Women Police Service," which is supported by voluntary contributions only.

As along other lines, the women proved their efficiency and usefulness by voluntary service. And as along other lines the Government admitted the value of the service after the demonstration, and in February, 1917, appealed to the Women's Police Service for 300 efficient women to work in the areas in which Government work was being done by women and specified that constables, sergeants and superintendents were wanted.

Later the Government appealed for 10,000 such women police. As an evidence of the remarkable and complete change of view of the public mind, a writer has pointed out that the same people who with supercilious comment professed to be shocked and disgusted with the first women police in uniform, were noisily finding fault with all womankind because the entire 10,000 "efficient women" were not immediately forthcoming when the Government asked for them.

Has the policewoman come to stay? It is an interesting question from which time as yet withholds the answer. C. C. C.

School Registration Increased

IN Boston, 21,624 women registered to vote before the current school election. This is the largest number that have registered at any time during the 38 years since the right was granted. At the first election, in 1879, only 989 women registered, and 934 voted.

The number voting has fluctuated up and down, and whenever it fell off, even a little, the anti-suffragists have always called attention to the fact. Therefore we call attention to this year's big increase. A. S. B.

The Federal Amendment—Why?

ONE of the most inspiring features of the National Suffrage Convention was the evening when the New York victory was celebrated. Everybody was in an exultant mood, and with reason. One of the most important and difficult states in the Union had been carried, and carried by a big majority. One after another, women who had borne their part in the struggle told of the campaign. To listen to them was not only an inspiration, but an education. They told us how New York was won. It was won by doing more things than can be enumerated here. Only a few of the high lights can be chosen.

Mrs. Raymond Brown said: "The women of New York state followed out a logical plan of campaign, begun by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. Mrs. Catt said, 'If you can get the women interested, and interested enough, and enough of them interested, they will put it over.' We got enough interested. A vast number of women worked for the victory."

Miss Hay said of New York city, "It was not the five borough leaders but the 2,080 precinct captains that carried it." There

was splendid team play, all pulling together. Mrs. Willis G. Mitchell went so far as to say that in a campaign "it is better to do the wrong thing all together than the right thing separately." It was done by a long pull. Tribute was paid to the brave women who had worked at the task for the past seventy years. Above all, it was done by intensive organization. Miss Hay said: "We won, first, because of a continuous campaign in New York city, begun eight years ago. On election day in 1915, about midnight, when we knew that suffrage had not carried, we decided to have a new campaign, and we began forthwith. We won, in the second place, because of organization along district political lines. No state need ever go into campaigns again unless the women are willing to organize along political district lines, and to stick to it."

The campaign represented an immense amount of work, in many different fields. There were 11,085 meetings reported to the state officers, besides many that were never reported. Women of all classes labored together. "If you want to reach the working men," said Rose Schneiderman, "remember that it is the working women who can reach them." The campaign cost \$682,500. This sum, which lasted for two years and covered the whole state, was less than half the amount spent in three months in New York city to elect a mayor. The largest single gift to the women's campaign was \$15,000. Most of the money was given in small sums, and represented innumerable sacrifices—like that of one inmate of an Old Ladies' Home who was allowed ten cents a month to go to the movies, and gave up her only bit of amusement to contribute to the cause.

Mrs. Whitehouse, who had led the whole victorious campaign, said in closing the magnificent meeting: "Our advice is not to have state campaigns. They ask too many sacrifices of women. Work for the Federal Amendment." A. S. B.

Consider Some More Facts

OPPONENTS of woman suffrage who try to show that only enemies of the country masquerading as Pacifists and Socialists, voted for woman suffrage in New York on November 6 have been bowled over so completely by the two-to-one pro-suffrage soldier vote that it is like offering sugar to a fly drowning in molasses to ask them to consider any more of those "facts" by which Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, for instance, has sought to sustain their case. Yet there are some well worth considering before any more such hazardous suggestions are allowed to emanate from the anti camp.

For instance while you are considering, consider the 10th in Manhattan, where Mitchel, who is alleged to have carried the vote of the patriotic, led by 1,200, and suffrage won by 2,900. Consider the 7th, where also Mitchel led by about 1,100, and suffrage won by about 1,300. Consider the 9th, where Mitchel led by 1,700, and suffrage won by approximately 1,500.

Consider the 21st in Brooklyn, where Mitchell received the highest district vote cast for him and suffrage received one of the highest pluralities recorded for it, namely, 1,966. And side by side with it, consider the 20th, where Hylan's pro-German vote is alleged to have elected him and note that here suffrage won by only 750.

Consider the 1st Assembly District in Queens, with an industrial and largely German population, note that the Hillquit and Hylan vote together totaled 8,363, yet here was rolled up one of the heaviest votes against suffrage in the whole state, 4,235 voting No. It won by only 816 votes. Jump over into A. D. 4, Flushing, a residential district and not German, and note that while Mitchel was polling 3,720 votes, as compared with his 1,808 in the First, suffrage was rolling up a plurality of 1,300.

We have quite a collection of these facts for the opponents of suffrage to consider as from issue to issue we deal them out.

In England

IT is expected that the British representation of the People Bill, which includes the famous woman suffrage clause, will receive the Royal assent some time this month. Under the provisions of the original clause women over thirty, married and single, were admitted to the parliamentary franchise. As amended in the last weeks of 1917, the provisions of the clause were extended to include municipal suffrage to wives whose husbands are municipal electors, these wives having been previously excluded from municipal suffrage, though single women and widows have had it for years.

In New York

ONE of the first tasks of the New York Legislature in the 1918 session will be, it seems, the enactment of suitable legislation to take care of the registration of the 2,000,000 women admitted to the electorate on November 6, 1917.

As the case stands, New York women have been enfranchised, but have not been registered, some special elections are pending and unless the necessary registration facilities be provided between now and spring they would be excluded from the polls because there had been no anterior registration. When you exclude electors from electing you are nearly sure to have trouble.

At Washington

WHEN Mrs. Catt planned for the state delegations at the suffrage convention to wait upon their congressmen with pleas for the federal amendment she put suffrage in the way of more immediate and more definite results than all the stunts and all the spectacles and all the mass meetings of ten years could accomplish. Assembled in senators' rooms or representatives' rooms, the women brought an unmistakable word from "back home." In the result thirty-five House votes swung over from the "no" into the "yes" column. Victory for the measure seems assured when the House reaches it on January 10, the date now set for the vote.

Real Fearless!

"THE anti-suffrage women of the country—and they are the great majority—still believe in American men; and they are confident that the men in whose hands our government rests will be as fearless in facing Lucy Burns and even Mrs. Catt herself as our soldiers in facing the Crown Prince and von Hindenberg."—*Anti-Suffrage Notes*.

The House Situation Reviewed

Special Correspondence from Washington

THE House of Representatives will vote on the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment January 10. That is the agreement which has been reached by the Rules Committee, and suffragists are building their expectations accordingly.

And those expectations are the highest. There is a general wave of confidence that the resolution will pass—a wave which is not felt by suffragists alone. Even those hostile or pessimistic newspapers which two weeks ago were publishing adverse polls and proving in various ways that both prohibition and suffrage were bound to fail are now showing signs of conversion to the widespread belief that the woman's hour has indeed struck, and that woman will come into her own, so far as the House of Representatives can give it, on the 10th of January.

The two most tangible factors in the confidence of friends of suffrage are the passage of the prohibition amendment and a discussion and vote in the House a few days ago on a minor suffrage issue. The victory for prohibition inevitably breaks ground to some extent for the suffrage amendment by depriving certain members of Congress who voted for it of a leg to stand on when they come to our amendment. But the victory is, in a far bigger way, a factor because it is indisputably a sign of the times which men cannot escape. Mrs. Catt puts it thus:

"The time has come when our legislators are seeing things nationally. Even southern members who have professed to stand on a state rights platform have yielded their position on the prohibition amendment. To do this and hold out against the suffrage amendment would be to confess that they use the state rights argument only as a convenient pretext. We have thought it indefensible in any case not to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment, but now to submit another amendment and not submit ours would be doubly indefensible."

CONSIDER, for example, the case of the Hon. E. Y. Webb, of North Carolina, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, author of the prohibition amendment in the House, and arch opponent of woman suffrage. Here is an extract from his speech on the floor of the House during the prohibition debate:

Mr. Webb: First, gentlemen, this is not a prohibition vote. It is a question of referendum. Will you balk on submitting to states of the nation this great question whether or not liquor as a beverage shall be banished from the country? Are you afraid to trust the states? The states made the Constitution, reserving to themselves the right to amend it, and that is when two-thirds of both Houses of Congress deem it necessary that an amendment should be submitted. I submit to you gentlemen, "wets" and "drys" alike, that you should be willing to stand by your states in giving them the opportunity to amend the greatest instrument ever struck off by the pen of man, and submit to the 48 sovereign states the ques-

tion whether liquor as a beverage should be banished from the land. [Applause.] There is no question of state rights in this proposition. It is the right of the states to have the opportunity to determine whether or not they shall vote to amend the Constitution. That is a sovereign right of which they should not be deprived, and which they provided for in that great instrument. If three-fourths of the states say that the manufacture and sale of liquor for beverage purposes shall be stopped, then it is the highest sovereign prerogative left to the states to say that, and there is absolutely no violation of state rights when that question is submitted to them in that way.

WOULD you believe it? But Mr. Webb will probably be one of the few men willing to put themselves in the category Mrs. Catt defines, so watch for the *Congressional Record* of January 10 and Mr. Webb therein. The gentleman from North Carolina will doubtless be found contending that for the national government to grant political liberty to one-half the people of the nation would be a violation of the sacred rights of the states guaranteed in the national Constitution. (No such guarantee is contained in the Constitution, of course. Senator Walsh disposed of that heresy in his speech at our hearings before the Senate Committee last April.) But Mr. Webb is one of those politicians who will never be consistent until too late.

THE other tangible forerunner of success of January 10 is the result of a vote in the House the other day on the question of referring Miss Laura Clay's measure, the Federal Elections bill; from the Committee on Privileges and Elections where it now lies, to the new Committee on Woman Suffrage, of which Judge Raker, member of Congress from California, is chairman. This motion was carried by a vote of 235 to 107, which was 21 votes more than two-thirds of the members present and voting. Because the Suffrage Committee is known to be friendly to the Federal Amendment by a good majority the vote was interpreted by many observers as a test of House sentiment on the amendment itself.

Representative Raker subsequently made a motion to re-refer four of the resolutions embodying the Federal Amendment from the Judiciary Committee to the new Suffrage Committee. As the Judiciary Committee, however, has already reported without recommendation an identical resolution, House Joint Resolution No. 1, which is now on the calendar, the Speaker ruled Mr. Raker's motion out of order. At the Speaker's suggestion, however, a new resolution, identical with House Joint Resolution No. 1, was introduced and duly referred to the Suffrage Committee. This will be favorably reported and both will then be on the calendar.

THE Rules Committee will decide which resolution shall be voted upon by the House. The friends of suffrage prefer that the new resolution, favorably reported by the Suffrage Committee, be decided upon, for the reason that the debate on the floor of the House when the measure comes to vote will then be controlled by a friendly committee. This decision is not regarded as vital to the passage of the amendment, however.

Thanks to the good work that will be put in by our state congressional committees between now and January 10, we expect to go through with a safe majority.

The Rotary Lobby's Busy Week

Converging at Washington

FIRE by the proximity of the action of Congress upon the Federal Suffrage Amendment all other active work in the several state suffrage associations falls into second place to permit the combined state forces to be massed on Washington next week.

What is known as the Rotary, or Traveling, Lobby will be at the height of its activity by the first of the year. A certain number of women will constantly report for duty at the Washington headquarters and a steady march of well-drilled participants will go forward. They will be on call to fill places vacated by those who must return to their homes.

The system works like the divisions of an army. At the head of the Rotary Lobby remains Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the permanent Congressional Committee stationed in Washington. The personnel of this Committee is made up of seasoned workers who have the status of the Federal Amendment at the tips of their skillful fingers. They can cite to a dot and a comma the record of every man in Congress. This is the central committee composing the famous "Front Door Lobby"; for there are no back-stair forces among the suffragists.

THE second line of reserves is formed by a congressional commanding officer in every state. She is not only in touch with her congressmen when they are "back home," but she is the immediate contact point through which the current of influence is kept flowing from Washington to the uttermost parts of the nation.

Each of these women has her own staff of congressional aides spread throughout her state. They are women sensitive to the political sentiment in various sections of the state. They make a last reserve to be called upon for service. Perhaps the work asked of them is skirmish service in the home field. Perhaps it is massed action in Washington. Perhaps it is highly skilled political service at the national capital.

THERE are in all about 250 women, all veteran campaigners, in this Rotary Lobby. New York's twenty-five aides is the largest state group. It is one of the most intensively trained groups, as New York women have not only inherited the longest suffrage history, but have just been through two consecutive campaigns for the vote, thus gaining four strenuous years of experience.

Georgia with 14 aides, Illinois, Massachusetts, West Virginia, and Iowa, with from eight to ten each, can be called upon for quick action. Forty especially picked women from all over the United States have agreed to be on hand early in January for the reopening of Congress. They will remain in Washington until the House votes on the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Have You Been Enfranchised Lately?

Do You Know What You Can Do with Your Vote Now That You Have It?

ALL over the world to-day there is a stir and a rustle, a parting of old curtains of tradition and a stepping forth of women who are about to vote. In some lands, in some states in this land, the curtains have already closed softly back of the women and they are already advancing toward the polls with eager question, the old inhibitions forgotten and forgiven, the new opportunity engrossing attention.

New York's suffrage triumph alone has put forward an electorate of 2,000,000 women, and it is in this great body of emergent voters that the interest of America directly centers to-day, all the suffrage problems of the nation being imminent in them. But back of them stand some 6,000,000 other women voters who have already emerged, and beside them stand all the young men who have become twenty-one since the last election, and all the immigrant host that has been naturalized since the last election.

The enfranchisement of woman, the coming of age of the young man, the naturalization of the immigrant—there you have the three agencies through which the electorate of America is to be kept in a state of action instead of in a condition of being.

AS emergent voters the woman, the young American man of twenty-one, and the immigrant face the same fundamental questions as to the new responsibility and what it means to the man or woman possessing it. The only difference in the three cases is that the woman is asking all the questions that the other two ought to ask but don't. Of course it would be the woman who would ask the questions. For one thing, it doesn't go so hard with women to admit their ignorance as it does with men. For another, woman has had to fight for suffrage while the young man was acquiring it as he acquired his moustache, by the simple expedient of getting older, and the immigrant man was acquiring it by the simple expedient of living in America long enough to take on some of those American ideals and commitments into which the woman, if native, was born; and having fought for the suffrage the fight has informed woman with a special sense of the value in the thing fought for. It has become a thing so vividly desirable to suffragists that they alone would start the questions, but it is not suffragists alone who want the answers. The antis mean to vote, the indifferent mean to vote.

SO woman comes now, en masse, asking every conceivable question, timely, intelligent and fool, pulling the abstraction down to where a person can get her, or his, hands on it and stick a pin in it and hold it long enough to take in the practical significance of it. Through the answers she promises to make it all concrete and near, and an interesting personal matter.

In vain the texts on civil government have, for long years, set forth that "the functions of government may be classified as legislative, executive, and judicial, or as essential and non-essential." In vain these same texts have dug back into tribal lore as the first trench from

which to hurl such heavy projectiles as this: "It is only when a given people have tastes and ideas sufficiently similar to allow them to co-operate with one another and to be in substantial agreement as to the character of political control which they desire that they can have a united life under the same government."

Is there anything in that, told like that, to vitalize you or me?

That is not where the emergent voter begins at all. Especially the emergent woman voter does not begin there. The woman voter begins like this:

"HOW soon can I vote? Will there be any special election before the next general election and will I be eligible for it? Do I have to do anything before I can vote? Does the Legislature have to do anything? How will New York, where women have just won, take care of her 2,000,000 new voters at the next election? Will the women go to the same polls as the men? Will there be more polls, or will more voters be allowed to vote at each poll? How did Illinois, how did California handle the matter when their women were enfranchised?

"There's a new mayor about to take office in New York City—he chooses people to help run the business of the city—is he going to choose any women? Is he going to choose the right men? What offices does he pick people for? What does each of these officials have to do? Do I care whom he chooses? Will any of them have anything to do with me or my home or my family or my purse or my business or my husband's business?

"What city officials can I vote for?"

"Can I vote for the assemblymen and the state senators up at Albany? Who is my assemblyman? Who is my senator? What kind of men are they? What's their record on legislation at Albany? Do I want them to represent me again? Do they stand for the things I stand for?"

"I HAVE gotten my vote by the action of my state, but if I go out of my state I'll lose it. I don't want to lose it. Why can't this Federal Suffrage Amendment be passed so that I can vote in any state? Can I do anything with my vote to help that along? Just what is my connection through my vote in my state with the Federal government at Washington?"

What the *Woman Citizen* is setting forth to do in the department initiated herewith is to connect with civil government at the exact point where the emergent voter finds herself to-day and to follow her as she asks the question and jots down the answer; pick up with her the trail of voting as a current issue, the news story of the day, and with her, follow it on back, if she goes so far, until she finds herself, perhaps to her own surprise, in an enlightening interest in any and all abstractions of civil government and political philosophy.

Probably we shan't be entirely orderly about it. Probably our sequence will not be nearly so neatly irreproachable as that of the civil government texts. Still by linking up directly

with the inquiring woman herself we do expect to make with her a journey from municipal to state to federal government that will be a sort of tribute to the sequence of the texts on civil government, if you like.

THE first number on our program, scheduled for the issue of January 5, is the answer to the query as to just where the victory on November 6 put New York women, just what remains to be done to make them eligible to use the suffrage granted, just when they will get the first chance to use it, just what machinery has to be put in motion first, just what limitations are laid on a woman if she is not native-born. New York is taken as the first instance, because of the current interest of its case, but the question will be handled with a view to meeting the situation as it will arise all over the country.

Republicans Arrange Associate Committee of Women

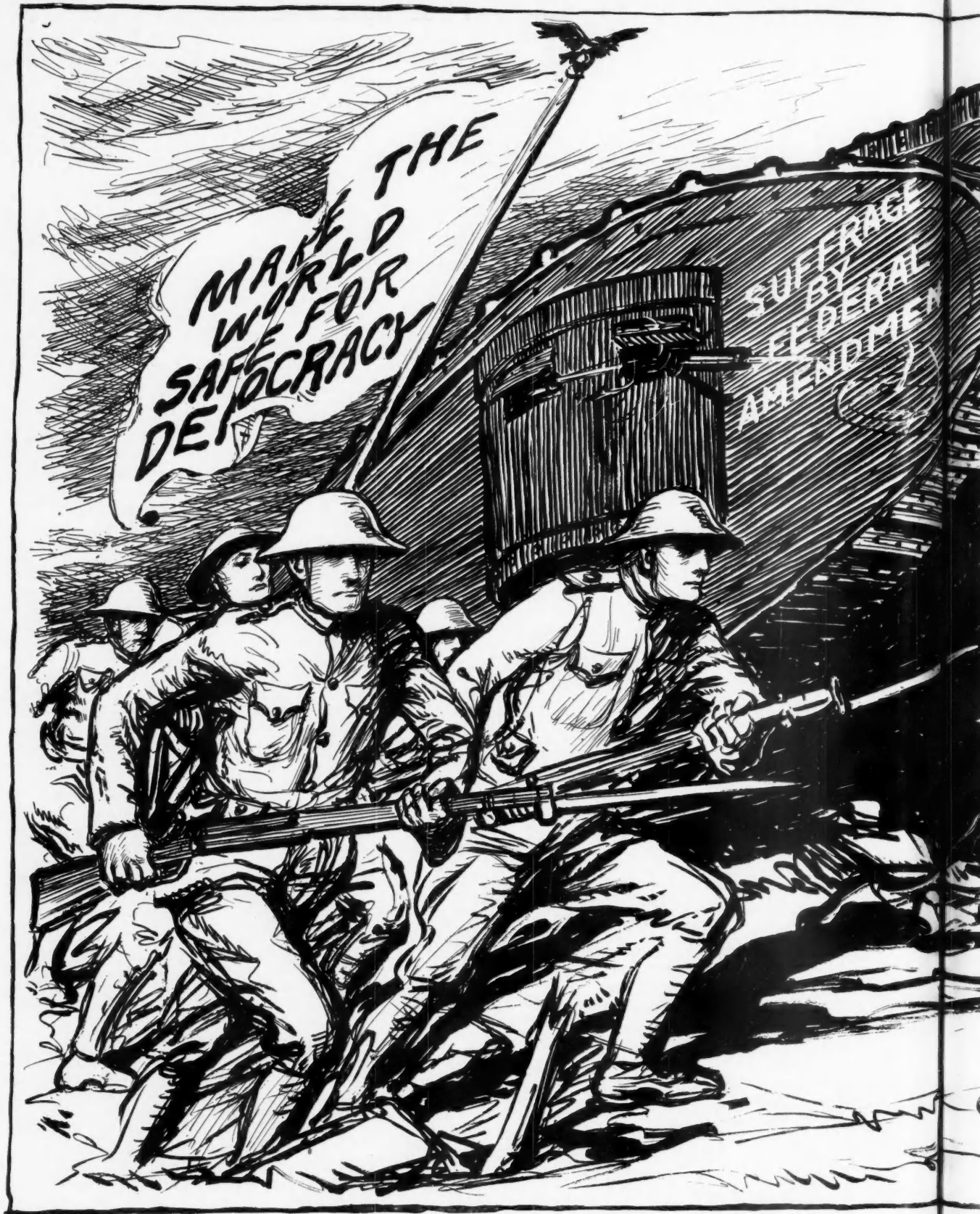
THE report of a special committee, headed by Mr. Frederick C. Tanner, has submitted to the Republicans of Manhattan a series of recommendations concerning the new women voters of New York state. Under this plan a women's division of the Republican County Committee was formed to parallel the existing committee's executive board. Republican County Chairman Samuel S. Koenig, who was empowered to appoint this associate committee of women upon the recommendation of the Women's Conference Committee said that in all probability thirty-six women would be named.

What the Republicans prided themselves upon and proclaimed as an advance over the position taken by the Democrats of Manhattan was stressed by Chairman Koenig and by ex-Chairman Tanner. Chairman Koenig brought it out in his emphasis upon the co-operation of his special committee with the Women's Conference Committee and Mr. Tanner explained it later.

"It is worthy of note," he declared, "that the Republican Party took the first step in giving representation to women on its County Committee. The Democratic County Committee has not as yet made any report on the subject. The Democratic State Committee has given representation to women on its Executive Committee, but instead of letting the women choose their own representatives, the Chairman of the State Committee is picking them himself. Your subcommittee asks the County Committee not to make the same mistake. Our proposition is that women shall choose their own representatives and that they shall be named on the committee, not as a handpicked choice, but as the choice of the women themselves."

Equality of opportunity for women was again emphasized in the terms of the recommendation itself which further stated that the present plan of a segregated woman's division should be merely "a temporary measure" to continue until appropriate legislation be passed and party rules amended so that men and women may vote on equal terms.

"The trend of these recommendations," Mr. Tanner said in urging his report, "is to give in the broadest and fairest terms entire equality of opportunity to men and women in party affairs. This was the intent of the referendum vote, and it should be done without any conditions or reservations. An unquestioned majority has spoken on the subject and that should put an end to all discussion."



Over the Top with the Tank—New York's Boys in Khaki Fighting for Suffrage for the Women Who Watch



Fighting for Democracy Somewhere in France Voted Two to One for
Who Watch and Work and Wait

YOU know, as well as the rest of the world, that there has been a great freeing of women's energies during the first two decades of the twentieth century, a great mounting of woman's ambition, a great releasing of her spirit. Eyes open and head lifted, breasting the times, women have discovered the widened horizon, the broadened opportunity. And in the exaltation of spirit that has come along with the discovery, they have discovered, too, that they have bodies that they can wiggle quite agilely at the elbows and knees and move a little at the hips—and for the rest just an iron clamp, something stiff and heavy and laggard that represses the spirit. They have discovered, in short, that they haven't the right sort of bodies to match the victorious spirit of twentieth century womanhood, the sort of body that can carry the spirit on past youth's all-conquering period of vitality, into and through middle age, into and through all life.

CALL to mind, by way of example, the body of the average American woman past forty, compact of flesh and bone. Say she is a club woman—she usually is a club woman these days. To her rousing civic interest and activity she brings the "frozen torso." She stands on the platform and swings you far forward with her theoretical humanitarianism and her practical schemes of application—or would, if she did not delimit the sweep and breadth of it all by screwing her elbows to her sides and trying to stir up the world by thrashing around with her fingers and her wrists. Consider the middle-aged school-teacher and that precisian's body of hers, how truly and how terribly it can assume the impress of the mental routinism so approved by boards of education. Consider the bodies of mothers how they settle upon the hips, as if in need of crutches.

And that is not the worst of it. That is only the external appearance of it. Within these bodies are housed acute and chronic pains, bodily languors, nerve tensions, headaches and backaches and mental reactions, feeblenesses and indigestions that cripple the soul and cripple the work of the soul.

YET now comes Elise Dufour, rhythmic dancer and terpsichorean philosopher, insisting that these are the bodies that should by right be most satisfactory to the souls within them and most expressive to the world without, because they are the bodies of women who have lived most and know most. And, true to the word, in Elise Dufour's dancing classes you find middle-aged women, in a riot of vibrant, colorful, floating chiffon, running and leaping, posturing and swaying and swinging through the rhythms of the natural dance. "With them," says Miss Dufour, "the response to the



THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES

Twentieth Century Bodies to match Twentieth Century Souls

joy of rhythmic movement is incredibly swift. You see, they have lived and yet in living have more or less denied themselves the right of the proper use of their bodies. Put them into some chiffon rags, bare their feet, start the music and there is a wonderful liberation. A look of expectant joy lights their faces, as if they were about to enter a beloved country from which they have been excluded for a long time. No matter how awkwardly this type of pupil may start off the interest is so great that all self-consciousness is soon lost. Sometimes a woman will say, 'Do I dare feel as happy as this?' 'Is it right to feel as happy as this?' What she has done to make her feel as happy as that has been simply to force vertebral pressure from the nerves of her back."

SPEAK of the dancing flair of the last few years to some people and you summon to their minds memories of over-heated rooms, air heavy with the odor of lobster and musk fastidiously commingled, small tables, fat-paunched people—the environment native to

our best restaurant classes—and, centrally featured a painted, gliding, pretty girl, advancing, retreating, "doing the new steps" to the perennial bedazzlement of putty-faced elderly gentlemen. Speak of it to Elise Dufour and you strike fire from a glowing hope of a people physically buoyant, flashing through sun-lit out-of-door places in the fashion of the ancient Greeks, bodies balanced and controlled, minds open to beauty in art and in life. For, as she sees it, the new dances, whatever else they have done, have aroused a popular interest in dancing such as modern peoples have never before known and once given that interest, says this philosopher of the dance, dancing has a wide and wonderful application to everyday living.

YOU'VE got to go back to the old Greeks if you are any sort of philosopher at all and, true to form, she goes back to the old Greeks for proof that the philosophy of dancing is a detail of the philosophy of life. "They proved, those old Greeks, that a whole people can use dancing as a medium of expression of the highest feelings people can have. They had real breadth of feeling toward the dance. High and low, young and old, cultivated the art. It was an essential element in education and culture. Plato said that the man who found no pleasure in dancing was no more than a rude, unpolished clown. We can get back to that attitude toward dancing if we will. We can train the body; we can make it a perfect instrument for the expression of the loftiest and purest thoughts. Our conventionalities have so bound us that we are now deprived of freedom of body, freedom of expression. The body must be plastic so that it can re-

spond to the rhythm of nature, or of music. In its response it will awaken the creative faculty without which all lives are incomplete. Sights and sounds of nature come to us in pulsations, that is rhythmically. The blowing of the wind through the trees has its rhythm. Falling water has its rhythm—the tones and pitch of Niagara have been recorded musically. The pounding of the waves on the beach is in constantly recurring rhythms. A lot of their fascination is due to the series of pulses in which the sounds come. The wind blowing over the wheat fields does not merely bend the blades, it sways the field in waves, approximately equidistant, rhythmical."

"MY big dream is to make the human body, the race's body rhythmic, so that it may enjoy a harmony within itself which a rigid torso, stiff knees, limbs that express themselves entirely in movements of the extremities are powerless to feel. Modern life is one of details. Small prejudices have stamped our

(Continued on following page)



"GETTING INTO HARMONY WITH THE IMPERSONAL"

bodies. The will to have our way, no matter what natural laws we may violate, informs the rigid torso. The sinking down into the pelvis shows it. The stiff knees show it. It is shown by the hard calves of the legs, which seem bursting with determination. Stepping out of prejudice frees the body even more than physical technic can do it. To have body rhythm we must give up. The stubborn head must bend in harmony with the spine; the head is always insisting upon leading, upon putting a control, a limit, on all movements; it usurps the body's God-given power just to be."

The glades are so full of rhythmic dancers today, that's it's rather a disappointment not to find one bounding down every alley of trees into which one turns: the streets are full of studios and classes, the teachers are full of pleasant aesthetic insistences; but among them all Elise Dufour stands rather alone in the correlation that she makes between the art of dancing and the art of living.

"The rhythms that dancing specializes in are to be taken into everyday life, so that we may live with our bodies in unison with natural laws and forces." In her efforts to socialize dancing, Miss Dufour has carried her rhythms to working-girls and one profoundly significant night class is made up wholly of them. They come to her from machines and from counters and from typewriters, and she refinds for them and with them that springiness of body and soul which the economic pressure of their lives has all but robbed them of. Their response is so eager as to pierce the whole social fabric with accusation because all this impetuosity, this

fine feminine fire of life should get so little chance of expression. With her they renew the body's joy in just being. They forget machines and counters and typewriters and run and leap and swing with a recovered body freedom that frees their aspirations and their courage. "I'm never going to be a victim, not of despair, nor of poverty—I'm never going to be the victim of anything!" cried one girl who had somehow danced her way to the spirit's heights. Free-limbed, free-souled, she could, you see, call a challenge to the world and go on back to her machine laughing and strong of heart.

You would expect that little children would be natural rhythmic dancers—and you would



LEARNING HOW TO BE "LEAVES CURLING IN THE WIND."

be quite wrong. "It is curious that children, who should be naturally rhythmic, seem to come into the world cramped," says Miss Dufour. But is it curious? Sons of their mothers, aren't they? In the long run shall water rise higher than its source? "A child's run is often as heavy as lead. Children do not know how to skip. They must be taught. Frequently they are crippled by self-consciousness." To overcome this Miss Dufour takes them back to flowers and animals and lets analogy and example have their perfect work. They are shown how to become leaves curling in the wind, or they are changed into seals on a rock, sinuously turning this way, and that. Or the magic wand of imagination changes them into poppies coming up out of the ground and sway-

ing in the breeze, then caught in a wind that sweeps them into an ecstasy of make-believe. They are bears and swing loosely from the hips; or panthers with great loose shoulders and flat padding feet; or apes springing and clutching with their feet and swinging from bough to bough. "From apes with the clutch of the toes and the reach of the arms, one passes on to the heroic and reaches for the sun."

"Toe dancing," says Miss Dufour, "is a matter only of legs and arms; it expresses no real emotion, only joyous movement. To point the toe one stiffens the spine. The natural movement of the foot is to fold and unfold. With Pavlova the thing people enjoy most is her Bacchanal dancing in which she returns to the natural movements which permit her to express real emotion. It seems strange that one could ever hope to express sentiment standing on a distorted foot, on the tip of the toe, one leg elevated, one hand on the heart, the other stretched out toward the audience. In dances that are natural and inspirational the move-



"OR A POPPY COMING UP OUT OF THE GROUND."

ment must start from the seat of the emotions, the vital part of the body. Each vertebra of the spine must move. When the exercises which awaken the spine and the large muscles of the torso are applied in a glorious dance, one is carried beyond the confines of custom and enriched by the power to harmonize work and pleasure, duty and happiness, activity and beauty, body and spirit. Women, in partic-

ular, are swept out of their intensely personal attitude in a great run in which one gives up the whole body. In such a run one seems to be flying out to get into harmony with the impersonal. It loosens a sensitive egoism which is a heavy burden."

It is no new thing, this keen-visioned insistence that women's bodies must be developed into a sounder competency

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"CARRIED BEYOND THE CONFINES OF CUSTOM."

Men and Women

EDITOR WOMAN CITIZEN:

One of my admirers among the suffragists recently sent me a copy of your very interesting publication, with the evident intention of converting me to suffrage.

Looking through such issue I failed to find anything that might change my views on the subject. The same old mushy arguments—if they be arguments—are presented; the same old illogical reasons that have confronted us for 20 years and more.

Just to show why some men oppose suffrage I shall herein present the issue as men view it—I mean the real men, not the emasculated type too commonly met with, too glad to be led by the nose in any direction by one of the "gentle sex."

I shall not especially refer to the important issue of hysteria and sickly sentimentalism that is bound to come to the fore when women vote in all the states. We have had a surfeit of that in the recent presidential election, and more is promised when women become fully enfranchised. It can not have escaped your notice that President Wilson captured all but two of the suffrage states on the issue of hysterical women that "he kept us out of war." And it was implied and understood that he would continue to keep us out of war whatever might be the provocation. That means, if it means anything, that the present brand of women voters have such a fear or horror of war that they would willingly sacrifice everything we Americans hold dear rather than make the sacrifices incident to a justifiable war. Thank God our President proved more of a man and American than silly voting women thought him; that he saw his duty and did it, despite the sickening pacifist clamor raised by shrieking women.

Rev. Anna Shaw holds that the American flag is nothing more than "a rag on a stick." We men believe that flag is the most sacred of symbols; that it is a privilege to suffer for the flag and that which it symbolizes. And until women generally adopt more of an American spirit and less of a "safety first" attitude they are not fit for American citizenship.

As an "unanswerable argument" for suffrage you present: "The war is for democracy. Suffrage is the very sign and seal of democracy." Let us see whether the suffragist believes in democracy.

According to Webster "democracy" means "political or social equality." I know you women clamor for political equality, but are you prepared for the social equality that goes with it? You well know you are not; that you want to hold on to every privilege you have while you clamor for the few that men have.

In some few of the states women hold property in their own right, while men hold property in common with their wives. Women can dispose of real estate, even if it be given to them by their husbands, without the signature of their husbands, while it is necessary to have the signature of the wife before his real estate can be disposed of.

Unless a woman leaves a will her property goes to her people. (I know of a case in the District of Columbia where a man gave his house to his wife; she died without leaving

a will and the house that the man had slaved for went to her sisters, that the man detested.) If the man dies, he can not, if he would, deprive the wife of her legal share.

Man is compelled to support his wife; while if sickness comes or if the man meets with misfortune woman can turn him out of doors. He has no claim on her or her fortune that the law recognizes. (The only woman presidential candidate, in answering that a few years ago, stated that no "real woman would turn a man adrift under those conditions." I say in reply that no real man refuses to live up to his obligations when he assumes the marital relation; but the law has a legal halter around the neck of one of the contracting parties and not around the other.)

Man is compelled to pay a woman divorced from him alimony or join one of the branches of the "Alimony Club," with headquarters at one of the city jails. If he refuses to pay or has decided objections to a jail as a domicile, he becomes until the debt is outlawed a fugitive from justice, liable to arrest as a common felon whenever he sets foot in his state.

And you know there is, or was until recently, a clamor raised for a "bachelor tax," applied to men only. The "democratic" women would force the unwilling man into matrimony or pay an indemnity to the state for remaining single.

It is no answer to state, as you will, that there are some states that discriminate against women and in favor of men. We grant that, and will help you to the limit to remove every disability from women where such exist. But will you reciprocate and remove the many disabilities from the men in those states that especially favor women?

This is the issue, as I see it: Whether we are to have a government where logic rules or where sentiment is to have the upper hand. Whether men and women are to rule or women to be the dominating force. (Here the statement had again been made by suffragist leaders that "Men had ruled from time immemorial, and had absolutely failed; it is about time that woman tried her hand at government, she can do no worse.") Whether men and women are to have the same laws applied to them—I recognize that women must be protected under certain conditions—or woman is to retain every legal privilege she has and get a few more.

If you fight for democracy, be logical and consistent and fight for democracy all along the line. Do not stop at the issue of the suffrage. Be honest and demand nothing more for women than men have, and be willing to renounce, to be consistent, every privilege you have gained at the expense of man.

Are you honestly in the fight for democracy, for equality of the sexes? It is "up to you" to make good your boasts. Democracy calls for renunciation, for sacrifice. Are you women who shriek in season and out for suffrage willing to renounce any of your legal privileges for democracy? Honestly answer this or forever hold your peace.

Please be consistent, if you can. Do not demand at one and the same time indepen-



ROOM FOR BOTH

dence while clamoring for dependent legislation. If women are to be equal as they demand, they can not consistently demand unequal privileges.

Yours truly,
SAMUEL SALOMON.

December 20, 1917.

148 Adams street, Washington, D. C.

Mr. SAMUEL SALOMAN,
148 Adams street,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In your letter of December 20th there are two or three points which I think are open to discussion, the rather as you cannot be more anxious than suffragists are to have woman's case for political equality rest on a sound foundation of economic equality.

With regard to your strictures on the war situation—it cannot have escaped your notice that even if President Wilson was voted for by women at a time when he, and they, hoped that this country could be kept out of war, he has had no more loyal supporters in the conduct of the war, to which the country was finally forced, than these same women voters and the would-be women voters of America. It was the suffrage states that were first in the field with their full quota of recruits and it was the suffragists that were first in the field with a definite program of war work, which they offered to the Government last February, even before war began, and which the Administration has freely utilized ever since.

I cannot let your paragraph about Dr. Shaw go unanswered for the reason that I am sure that it would not be your wish to commit yourself to a story told by anti-suffragists in outrageous perversion of the facts, a thrilling tribute paid by Dr. Shaw to the American flag having been so distorted as to constitute one of the keenest reflections on anti-suffrage methods of propaganda into which even the antis have ever blundered.

When the country's fighters in the trenches commit themselves to woman suffrage in the proportion of two to one, it is clear evidence that women are conceded by those most directly involved in this war for American ideals to have plenty of "American spirit."

There can be no argument between us on the subject of discriminatory legislation in favor of women. Favoritism to one sex at the expense of the other works to no better advantage in economics than in politics, and the goal of the suffrage effort is to do away with these unevennesses all along the line.

Even though it is true that there are offsetting discriminations against women along the exact lines that you cite against men, it remains none the less true that any discriminations against

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Men and Women

(Continued from page 94)

men in favor of women can only react to the hurt of women as well as men. I think that most women have learned this, or are rapidly learning it. Almost all such discriminatory legislation against men is to be attributed either to a sort of make-shift effort to atone to woman for the political disability under which she labors, or to the fact that society is prone to consider discriminations in favor of women as being added safeguards for itself. Look at the text of the legislation and the comment on the subject of woman's economic claim on man, as defined by the law, and you will find that it is the welfare of society that is featured as the basic consideration, not the welfare of women. It is, to put it another way, the potential motherhood of woman that society is trying to protect by law. It is not woman as woman who can claim any special consideration.

Alimony, I consider, permits of the supremest travesty of justice to be found anywhere in our social institutions, and I am convinced that the woman who cannot fall back on political disability, and cannot be exploited industrially, will be easily educated into a pride of economic independence which she cannot know under existing social and political limitations. Meantime, it must be evident to all that as society is at present organized extreme hardships can be entailed on wives and mothers who, through no fault of their own, find themselves outside of the marriage bond, the best years of their lives

gone in a fruitless home-making effort, and their earning capacity nil.

I find myself in thorough accord with your suggestion that women be willing to renounce every privilege gained at the expense of man. Women who are not willing to renounce such privileges have not the welfare of the race at heart, for neither sex can profit at the expense of the other with advantage to the race. Men and women who are truly democratic are trying to move forward to-day to a plane where both sexes can function fully and freely without either encroaching upon the other.

In view of the fact that the men leaders, not only of the Administration, but of all political parties, are committed to woman suffrage; in view of the fact that the men leaders in education, in religion, in the judiciary, in the professions are committed to woman suffrage; in view of the fact that the men in the trenches are committed to it, I don't see how you are going to sustain your contention that "real men" oppose suffrage—unless you go so far down the line as to take as real men only those ambiguous individuals whose meagre 51 per cent of masculinity is so afraid of their 49 per cent of femininity as to keep them in a state of constant stew and turmoil, lest the latter triumph over the former.

Believe me, Sir, there is room for both men and women in the world and whenever both quit shoving the world will quickly become adequate for both, and for their children.

Very truly yours,

THE WOMAN CITIZEN.

December 21, 1917.

When writing to advertisers please mention the WOMAN CITIZEN

Death of Another Noted British Physician

WITH the death of Dr. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson on December 17, British suffragists have undergone a second severe blow within the past month, the first having been in the death of Dr. Elsie Inglis on November 26. Dr. Anderson was another woman physician, one of the most famous in Great Britain.

When she studied medicine, the prejudice against women physicians was so great that the College of Physicians and Surgeons refused to give her a degree. Her doctor's degree was conferred upon her by the University of Paris.

But when the war broke out in England, the country that had refused to recognize her professionally was glad to claim her help in its time of need. Shortly after the beginning of the war, Lord Kitchener asked her to establish a military hospital of 500 beds in London, the British Government bestowing the rank of Major upon her in connection with these duties.

Dr. Anderson was a sister of Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, the president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies of Great Britain. As young girls, both sisters worked with John Stuart Mill and John Bright for the enfranchisement of women of the British Isles.

Dr. Anderson was the first woman in her native land to be mayor of a town. She was elected mayor of Aldeburgh, Suffolk, in 1908. American women join with British women in mourning her loss.

That Question of Election Cost

By Mary Sumner Boyd

IN the suffrage campaign of the last two years the opponents of woman suffrage have rung the changes on financial conditions in the equal suffrage states. Bankrupt of other convincing evidence that woman suffrage has any effect whatever on state finances, they have surpassed themselves on the item of election cost in a city's budget, an item which runs in various cities from a fraction of one per cent to two per cent of total city expenditures.

There is no gainsaying the fact that this item must become larger as the number of voters becomes larger, though the increase is by no means the "double" which the opposition talks about.

Cost of elections will be used against us time and again in our campaigns. Next year we shall be charged with New York's extravagance also, so it would be well to know at the start just how New York and Chicago, the next greatest suffrage city, compare.

The suffragists during the New York campaign used an "Economy Flier" which compared the cost of elections in New York and Chicago in 1915, vastly to the advantage of the latter, both in cost per capita and in cost per vote. This was prepared several months before the figures of the 1916 vote were available. An anti-suffrage advertisement brought out the figures for the 1916 election which show Chicago costing considerably more than New York, and accused the suffragists of willfully suppressing these figures. This of course was not the case. Furthermore, the statement in regard to the cost in 1915 is as good now, and proves as much for the suffrage city as if the 1916 figures did not exist.

A VOLUME on the cost of elections, issued in 1915 by the Chicago Election Commissioners, brought out the many elements besides the number of voters which entered into the cost and showed by figures back to 1906 that Chicago in some years before woman suffrage paid more per vote than in the years 1914 and 1915; paid lump sums in some of these earlier years quite out of proportion to the lump sums under woman suffrage, and in one year, when men alone voted, paid over \$100,000 more than in the year 1915, though the number of voters in this earlier year was almost 2,000,000 less.

A table of ten large cities in this report shows that in the years compared, 1914 or 1915, Chicago was one of the most economical in its election expense; only one of the ten cities, all but one of which had male suffrage, actually costing less *per vote* than Chicago, and four costing more than Chicago *per capita*. These figures show that in New York a vote cost \$1.60, as against 57c. in Chicago; that in New York less than 950,000 votes were cast at an expense of over one million and a half, as against more than 1,370,000 in Chicago at an expense of only about \$785,000. Thus, more than 400,000 less votes in New York cost that city very nearly twice the amount spent in Chicago. Further, the *per capita* cost of the elections compared was 27c in New York; 32c in Chicago. This means that on Chicago's population, the New

York election would have cost no less than 60c *per capita*. To analyze further in terms of registered voters, the cost per registered voter in New York was \$2.29; the cost per registered voter in Chicago, was \$1.09. This was in a year in which Chicago and New York had the same amount of election activities.

Comparing now the figures for 1916: New York at an expense of \$1,634,450 had in this year two primaries and a general election, in all three election activities. Chicago at an expense of \$2,500,000 had no less than eleven.

Into the Chicago election report just quoted and written by Dennis J. Egan, Clerk of the Election Commissioners of Chicago, Mr. Egan (on p. 55) showed that *one element* in the high cost of elections in 1916 would be the woman voter, and he estimated that she would *increase the expense one-third*, which is exactly the amount that a recent letter from him shows her to have increased it.

HIS second reason for the large cost to be expected in 1916, is a statute requiring a complete reorganization of the election machinery of Chicago. This cannot be charged to the women voters, for they had voted for two years without it. They were simply a big piece of reorganization such as may not happen again for a decade or more. Place this over against the small number of election activities in New York in that year, and the reason for the disproportionate expense in Chicago will be evident at a glance.

Election officials from various cities and states have estimated that the actual additional cost of the woman voter is from a little under to a little over one-third, and this is what Mr. Egan's figures, both in his estimate and in a report after the election, show that the women of Chicago actually cost; that is 800,000 out of a total bill of two million and a half. This third is what the women will cost New York city next year. On the basis of the 1916 expense this will mean a total election bill of a little over two million and a half. This third is very different from the anti-suffrage claim that the woman's vote "doubles the cost of elections."

WHATEVER use our opponents may make of Mr. Egan's voluminous report of election cost, he himself never intended it for a criticism of woman suffrage, for he says in a passage curiously eloquent for a document so dry:

"It is customary in our day and age to weigh the value of an enterprise in dollars and cents. Sometimes it is a just determination of values, sometimes not. The distinction between just and unjust lies in whether you test by this standard the cost of election which *must be in high proportion to the democracy of the suffrage*, or cost of conducting elections, which must be reduced as far as possible." He holds that the former cost is entirely justifiable, for, "to swell the expression (of the popular will) to the fullest possible volume is the duty of public officials and law-makers and one of the foundation stones of American civil government."

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Miss Barnum served on the Federal Industrial Relations Commission and is a member of the National Women in Industry Committee, advisory to Council of National Defense.

Twentieth Century Bodies

(Continued from page 93)

if the full potentiality of the so-called woman's movement is to be realized. Brainy women of the last century foresaw that development as a crying need, not alone for woman, for the race, and put it poignantly forward. Writing in the woman's political paper of the seventies, *The Revolution*, Elizabeth Cady Stanton said: "We ask our readers to look through their whole circle of friends and see if they can find one mother of a family healthy, vigorous, high-toned in mind and body. . . . If we would change our homes from what they now are, mere hospitals for the diseased and dissatisfied retreats of joy and rest, our wives from fretful invalids to vigorous companions in the world of thought and work, we must lay the foundation now in the physical education of our girls."

WE have made progress since then. Today almost any of us can look through her whole circle of friends and find one happy, healthy, vigorous mother, high-toned in body as in mind. But there are still not enough. And the demand for more is wider-spread today, and better understood as relevant to the whole woman movement. Not only are teachers like Miss Dufour, and great exponents of the dance like Isadora Duncan, insisting upon it; women leaders, exponents of the thought of the times, have taken it up as part of their evangel. Charlotte Perkins Gilman has long been stressing it. Beatrice Forbes Robertson-Hale, herself a roundly efficient woman, is laying special emphasis upon further physical development for women, along with a dress reform that shall conduce to it.

Perhaps Elise Dufour's special contribution is her practical application of the idea. She sets it to poetry and music, it is true, but she passes it on to you as concrete as you are, for you to take into your philosophy of life, along with your food and drink.

One can't be sure how far it will work. The twentieth century finds us pragmatists here below. But meantime one can't quite escape that liberated look on the faces of the women who are trying, under Miss Dufour's supervision, to find twentieth century bodies to match their twentieth century souls.

Bread and Butter Philosophy

Cottonseed Flour Yeast Bread

$\frac{3}{8}$ cup water, 1 tablespoon sugar or 1 tablespoon molasses, 1 tablespoon fat, 1 teaspoon salt, $\frac{1}{2}$ cake compressed yeast, softened in some of the liquid, 1 cup cottonseed flour, 2 cups wheat flour.

Combine ingredients. Mix into dough and knead. Let rise until double original bulk. Knead again. When again double in bulk, bake about 45 minutes.

(A Texas contributor, Mrs. Elenita T. Kirkpatrick of Paris, Texas, who sends the above recipe, writes that cottonseed flour bread, as yet in its infancy in the South, seems destined to grow into great popularity under the stress of war time economy.)

Rye Yeast Bread

1 cup liquid (milk and water), 2 tablespoons sugar, 1 tablespoon fat, 1 teaspoon salt, $\frac{1}{2}$ cake compressed yeast, softened in 2 tablespoons water, $2\frac{1}{4}$ cups rye flour, $2\frac{1}{4}$ cups wheat flour.

Combine ingredients. Mix into dough and knead. Let rise until double original bulk. Knead again. When again double in bulk, bake about 45 minutes.

Yeast Oatmeal Bread

1 cup liquid (milk and water), 2 tablespoons sugar, 1 tablespoon fat, 1 teaspoon salt, $\frac{1}{2}$ cake compressed yeast, softened in $\frac{1}{4}$ cup liquid, 1 cup rolled oats, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cups wheat flour.

This proportion makes one loaf of bread.

Scald liquid and pour over rolled oats, sugar, salt and fat. Let stand until lukewarm. Add yeast softened in warm water. Add flour and knead. Let rise until double the bulk. Knead again and place in pans. When light bake 45 minutes to 1 hour in a moderate oven.

Hoe Cake

2 cups cornmeal, 1 teaspoon salt, 1 teaspoon soda; hot water to make a batter like the usual cake. Mix well and pour on a hot, well greased griddle. Bake over a moderate flame until the bottom side is nicely browned. Turn with a pancake turner, or by turning out on a plate. put the top side down and bake until brown. More grease should be added when the cake is turned. Another way is to make the batter thinner, place by spoonfuls on the greased griddle and bake until quite brittle.

Oatmeal Bread

$\frac{1}{2}$ pt. oatmeal, 1 heaping teaspoon of salt; pour over this 1 pt. of boiling water, allow it to cool. Add a scant $\frac{1}{2}$ cup of molasses, with a pinch of soda stirred in; 1 teaspoon of butter or lard; $\frac{1}{2}$ cake of yeast, dissolved in luke warm water; 1 quart of flour (either whole wheat or white), mix well and set to rise over night. Mold quite stiff and put in two ordinary bread pans. Let rise and bake half an hour. Wholesome and good for children.

Butter and Butter Substitutes

The Department of Public Health of the American Museum of Natural History has come to the defense of oleomargarine. "The name 'oleomargarine' to most persons conveys something which is to be shunned, yet they cannot give any reasons. These prejudices have been handed down from the days when unscrupulous manufacturers tried to pass off oleomargarine as real butter, and were none too careful of the ingredients."

From a public health standpoint the department does not hesitate to say that oleomargarine is safer to-day than butter. "Under the United States Internal Revenue laws not only do all products entering into its manufacture have to be passed by a Government inspection, but every step in its manufacture is under strict sanitary supervision, and all utensils, apparatus and individuals coming in contact with the product must be kept clean. The same cannot be said of butter manufacture, where cream from any source may be used and the process conducted in some instances under circumstances far from ideal."

The following ingredients are generally used in oleomargarine, though the composition varies:

Oleo oil	20.25%
Neutral lard	40.45%
Creamery butter.....	10.25%
Milk, cream and salt.....	5.30%

A heavy tax is imposed when this is colored to imitate real butter, hence its pale color in the markets, which on many persons has a psychological effect. Denmark, Norway, and Holland use huge amounts of oleomargarine. Even Great Britain uses eight times as much as the United States. The consumption per capita of oleomargarine in 1909 was:

United States	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
Great Britain	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Holland	20 "
Norway	33 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Denmark	43 "

Oatmeal Cookies (Rocks)

1 cup sugar, $\frac{1}{4}$ teaspoon salt, 1 cup fat, 2 eggs, $\frac{3}{8}$ cup sour milk, 2 cups raw rolled oats, $\frac{1}{2}$ cup cut raisins, 2 cups flour, $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon soda, $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon cinnamon, $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon cloves.

Mix sugar, salt, melted fat, and eggs. Add sour milk, rolled oats, and raisins. Add flour, soda, salt, and spice sifted together. Drop from a teaspoon into oiled pans, leaving an inch space between cookies. Bake in a hot oven.

Rice Batter Cakes

2 cups boiled rice, mixed soft with milk; 3 eggs, $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of flour, teaspoon salt, 1 teaspoon melted butter. Fry in a very little lard in a skillet, say about three cakes at a time.



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¶ Every subscription to the *Woman Citizen* carries it a little farther on its way to the 100,000 names we are driving for in 1918.

¶ The National American Woman Suffrage Association has a membership of 2,000,000. If 5 per cent. of these members will come forward in 1918 and pledge themselves to support their official magazine its future is assured.

¶ Class magazines of every description, from those printed in the interest of iron and steel to those concerned exclusively with religion, are supported by the persons vitally interested in the subject discussed. The *Woman Citizen* can be no exception to the rule.

¶ The yearly subscription price is \$1.00, a smaller price than is paid for most text books. If the magazine is read in the coming weeks only for the help it will be in matters political, the dollar spent for it will be well invested.

¶ If your subscription is about to expire do not let it lapse but *renew it now*, and thus help the *Woman Citizen* to hold its own. If your subscription has been renewed, interest your next door neighbor or some other acquaintance or friend in the magazine and get their subscriptions for it.

¶ If you will send us two (2) *new* subscriptions and will renew your own for one year we will give you the three (3) for \$2.60. The price of the new subscriptions is \$1.00 each, which makes your renewal cost 60 cents and is equivalent to the regular discount of 20 per cent. paid to agents for new subscriptions. *No discount is allowed on renewals except when accompanied with two (2) or more new subscriptions.*

¶ We told you last week about the "Intensive Circulation Campaign for the *Woman Citizen*" which was planned at the Washington convention, and is to be started immediately by the state associations to help in the work of getting 100,000 subscribers to the magazine in 1918.

¶ There will be localities which the state work will not cover, and it is from persons living in these places that we expect to secure most of our co-operating subscribers.

¶ If 100 suffragists will pledge themselves to become co-operating subscribers to the *Woman Citizen*, each agreeing to take ten (10) subscriptions to the magazine or to get ten (10) of their friends to subscribe to it, 1,000 new names will be added to our subscription list. One hundred represents only .0005 of our 2,000,000 membership. We know from experience what suffragists can do when a big piece of work is to be accomplished. Suppose we had 1,000 co-operating subscribers. Think what that would mean! Ten thousand new subscriptions! A goodly number when considered in terms of *new* subscriptions! Not alarmingly large when we remember that it means only one-half of one per cent. of our membership!

¶ Pledge cards for the use of co-operating subscribers are being printed and literature concerning the plan is in preparation.

¶ Send in your name at once for a pledge card and become a co-operating subscriber.

STRAIGHT EDGE

Industrial Settlement

IV

I hire this column to discuss good citizenship from an unusual angle, expecting financial results in which any reader, this paper in common with thousands of others, may share. AVERY QUERCUS

DISTRIBUTION of the proceeds of industry is another problem of good citizenship that goes hand in hand with the ownership of industrial property, discussed in my last article. The dollar-unit represented by the plant, and commonly known as "capital," takes precedence over the human unit, the "help," in the distribution of surplus earnings.

This is not necessarily the case, for the "help" has the right and the opportunity to organize and own property and administer it democratically, and have the proceeds, if it is willing to pay the price.

But "help" is usually ignorant and shiftless and timid, depending on "capital" for initiative and responsibility, while "capital" is shrewd and efficient and arrogant, and expects "help" to keep its hand out of the management, and to be content with its wages, no matter what the surplus earnings may be.

A PLAN of organization that will enlist the workers in the management and keep "capital" in its proper sphere, with no power to dictate to the workers, but with proper assurances that its interests will be safeguarded, is being worked out by the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement.

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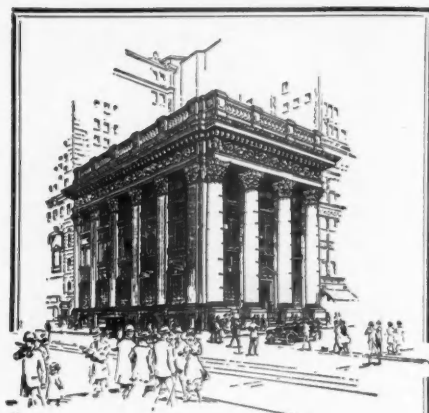
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Besides this industrial division, \$290 was placed in the hands of an Emergency and Insurance Committee, to be disbursed at their discretion, either in the form of loans or as outright gifts.

It will be a help to any reader of this paper who becomes interested in this series of articles, in getting into the spirit of the Straight Edge enterprise, to read a booklet which I wrote several years ago and which is printed by the Straight Edge Press, entitled "The Honorable Charles Rockingham Ducketts," being a few of the reasons why those who have riches find it hard to enter into the common life of humanity, which is the kingdom of heaven. Enclose a dime for it in a letter addressed to the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement, 100 Lawrence Street, New York. If you don't happen to have a dime, send for the booklet anyhow, and I will see that you get it.



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¶ Unless we can count on an expanding circulation, the association cannot indefinitely reap the benefit of having an official organ without cost to itself.

¶ Count it one of your suffrage obligations to renew your subscription and renew it at once!

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GIVE HER OF THE FRUIT
OF HER HANDS, AND LET
HER OWN WORKS PRAISE
HER IN THE GATES.

GIVE HER OF THE FRUIT
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January 5, 1918

THE Woman Citizen

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

January 5, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Hail and Farewell

WHEN the world gets far enough along to view it in perspective, no doubt 1917 will stand out as one of the great years in freedom's history. It will take its place in the long chain from Runnymede to the dethronement of Nicholas of Russia. In 1917, the principle of democracy was reaffirmed by President Wilson. In 1917 the fallacy that nations live by trade alone was destroyed, and America's entrance into the world war has announced that war is no struggle for bargain counter supremacy, but the noblest as well as the most colossal of all human battles against autocracy.

Will 1918 see the last stand of autocracy? Its back is now against the wall. Will another twelvemonth see it vanquished?

Women's victories of 1917 are worthy to stand side by side with those of the men of '48 in Europe, with those of '76 in America, with those of '93 in France. The principle of government by the people, and without sex discrimination, has been established in the most populous state of the Union and one of the most affluent and prosperous commonwealths in the world. It was carried by a triumphant and overwhelming vote in the second greatest city on two continents. Whatever antipathies and antagonisms there are left against a real democracy including women as well as men, stand shamefaced now before the bar of history. Its enemies are no longer open enemies; they are masked bandits striking in the dark, for no men can afford longer to align themselves openly with such theories of government as have stamped out the free will of peoples like the Belgians and Serbians.

Stamping on human rights, rights of little peoples, rights of men and rights of women, won't do any more. It simply won't do. The end of 1917 rang out that thousand year old wrong. The year of 1918 will ring in the thousand years of freedom. One of its first acts will be the passage of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment, freeing the last disfranchised class in the greatest of all world democracies.

The Right of the States to Amend

SUFFRAGISTS are not asking Congress to decide that any state or states shall have woman suffrage. They are asking it to let each state decide the matter for itself. They are not

asking Congress to take away any of the sovereign rights of a state. They are asking it to give heed to one of which no state should be deprived.

Hon. E. Y. Webb, of North Carolina, sponsor for the prohibition amendment, answering the state rights objection for prohibition, answered it for woman suffrage.

"Are you afraid to trust your states?" asks Mr. Webb.

"There is no question of states rights in this proposition. It is the right of the states to have the opportunity to determine whether or not they shall vote to amend the Constitution. That is a sovereign right of which they should not be deprived, and which they provided for in that great instrument."

The Lower House will have its opportunity on Thursday to trust the states by giving them the chance to amend the Federal Constitution if they want to amend it.

"The Casual Parent" and the Wadsworthians

MRS. WADSWORTH and her forces are retiring in fierce indignation from something—press reports are at the moment confused as to whether it is from the National Council of Women or National Council of Defense. Perhaps the Wadsworthians themselves are as confused about what they are resigning from as they are about the occasion of their withdrawal.

They say it is because Jeannette Rankin's bill to give married women the right to choose their own nationality is "feministic" and casts aspersion upon paternity.

This bill which was drawn up by Dean Ellen Spencer Mussey of the Washington Law College provides that upon marriage to an alien an American woman may retain her own nationality or she may renounce her nationality in a court competent to grant naturalization.

Nothing about that to disturb even an anti-feminist, unless she is willing to allow that the old way of counting nationality only from the husband was a reflection on maternity.

The bill is not new. It was introduced last May in the House of Representatives by Miss Rankin. It has apparently taken the anti six months to discover its existence.

The Committee on Immigration in the House gave a hearing on the bill on December 13th and 14th. Miss Rankin opened the

hearing with the declaration that a woman should have a right to choose her own nationality independent of her husband's. Afterwards the hearing was conducted by Dean Mussey. Such women spoke as Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, national president of the Florence Crittenden Homes; Miss Mary Wood, chairman of the Committee on Legislation of the General Federation of Clubs, and Mrs. Myra Kingman Miller, president of the College Women's Federation. Mrs. Miller, especially, spoke from the standpoint of safeguarding American standards. As a patriot she objects to having women aliens called American citizens because of their husbands' nationality.

The phrase about the father as "casual parent" bears no relation whatever to the bill. It was a remark quoted by Mrs. Thomas of Chicago in the course of being cross-questioned by the Committee. "The question was asked by a member of the Committee," says Mrs. Mussey, "if there was a child of a marriage where the mother and father had different nationalities, which nationality would the child follow? Mrs. Thomas replied very promptly that she believed it should follow the nationality of the mother because she was the more permanent parent, and said that in Chicago they referred to the father as the casual parent because it was so often very hard to find him."

This phrase seems to make the sole foundation for the high dudgeon of the Wadsworthians and for their withdrawal from whatever it is they are withdrawing from. The idea of the casualness of paternity started some time ago and was not originated either in Washington or Chicago. Hagar's testimony seems to indicate that Abraham rather merited the adjective.

Time to Win the War

THERE are many wars going on in the world at this time—wars visible and invisible. Among the good resolutions of the New Year should be one to put through to a finish every righteous conflict in which every soul is individually engaged. This fight for equal suffrage is a righteous cause if ever there was one. It is just touching its climax. Our women should pull today for all they are worth—they should all pull together.

At the National Convention, Mrs. Shuler told about the great things done by Gideon, when he made each of his soldiers take in his right hand a trumpet, and in his left a pitcher containing a lamp, and then at a given signal they all broke the pitchers, blew the trumpets, and shouted, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" The great host of the enemy fell into confusion and fled. "But no one disputed Gideon's right to give the order," said Mrs. Shuler; "no one objected that he would rather hold the pitcher in his right hand and the trumpet in his left; and they all acted together."

This is the time for us to follow that great example, and to follow it with all our might.

A. S. B.

Mark Twain for Suffrage

MARK TWAIN was for suffrage, and for nation-wide suffrage. "I should like to see the ballot in the hand of every woman," he wrote.

Perhaps one reason was because he had so good and sensible a wife. In the collection of his letters, just published, he pays a touching tribute to her worth. Writing just after her death, he said to a friend:

"An hour ago the best heart that ever beat for me and mine went silent out of this house, and I am as one who wanders and has lost his way. She who is gone was our head, she was our hands. We are now trying to make plans—we; we who have never made a plan before, nor ever needed to. If she could speak to us she would make it all simple and easy with a word, and our perplexities would vanish away. If she had known she was near to death, she would have told us where to go and what to do. . . . She was all our riches, and she is gone; she was our breath, she was our life, and now we are nothing."

John Stuart Mill said that you can tell with almost laughable accuracy what a man's wife is like by finding out what is his opinion of women. With such a wife, Mary Twain could hardly have failed to believe in equal rights. If the spirit of the beloved humorist could stand unseen at the side of each Congressman today, he would bid them vote for the nation-wide woman suffrage amendment.

A. S. B.

Canada and Australia

CANADA and New Zealand have voted for conscription and Australia against it. In both cases the women took part in the election. Henceforward the antisuffragists will quote Canada and New Zealand to the pacifists as an argument against equal rights and will quote Australia to the people who favor the war.

The Boston Herald declares editorially that the outcome in Australia does not mean any lack of determination to win the war; and it adds some remarkable facts showing how much Australia has already done. Says the Herald:

"Australia has its own ideas about ways and means and is apparently in for a political overturn, but it is going to keep right on doing its bit for the empire and for the cause of humanity. And do you realize how much of a bit that is? Thus far Australia has sent 313,000 of its sons to the front. That is a far heavier contribution, in proportion to population, than the nearly 400,000 that Canada has sent. It is equivalent to the contribution of 6,500,000 soldiers by the United States—and all of them as volunteers, remember.

"Moreover, Australia sent a big part of its men in the first year of the war when there was desperate need in France and it had to send them 10,000 miles from home. And after all that awful drain for more than three years, it is still raising 4,000 men a month, all of them volunteers. That is equivalent to about 80,000 volunteers a month in this country, after having raised 6,500,000. And on the money end, the fewer than 5,000,000 Australians have subscribed loans that aggregate nearly \$500,000,000. Has Australia done its part? And even that wonderful record of loyalty is less impressive than appears in the New Zealand figures."

In Russia

A GAIN and again, in the word that gets through from Russia, it is made clear that her newly enfranchised women are expressing a constant and coherent effort to "save the pieces" in that country of revolution and counter revolution. It was the woman's Battalion of Death that stood valiantly by Kerensky until the last. It is Babushka who goes up and down the land, in her old age as in her youth, endeavoring to get an intelligent understanding of the crisis into her people. It is the Countess Panin, the only woman minister in the Kerensky government, who stands out for the authority of the Constituent Assembly, while the Bolsheviks rage and bring suit against her for misapplication of funds, though the funds are shown to be safely in a state bank, subject to the authority of the Constituent Assembly. Women like to save the pieces, patch up, and mend and set going again. And unless history fails its own record, it will be the women who will get the work of reconstruction finally inaugurated and developed.

The Spirit of Jeanne d'Arc

TO-MORROW, January 6th, is the 505th Anniversary of Jeanne d'Arc. American soldiers fighting in France for world freedom are not far away from the places hallowed by the memories of the Maid of Orleans. In one town where they are stationed there is a monument to her honor.

The spirit of Jeanne d'Arc has stood for five centuries as the symbol of woman's heroism, of her devotion to country, of her supreme self-sacrifice. Because the times were stressful, what Jeanne d'Arc did came to be called heroism, but reactionaries of her time like the Henry Wise Woods of to-day began by saying that "War is a man's job" and she ought to run along home and stick to her distaff. Before long, however, even great war lords were pinning their hopes on her, just as war lords to-day are relying on the women of England and of France and of Italy and of Canada to carry the war through.

Some of those American men in khaki who voted so steadfastly for woman suffrage must have got a new vision of woman in war time. They have sensed the truth that the spirit of Jeanne d'Arc is not an isolated thing happening once or twice in a thousand years but lives and endures in masses of women in every generation.

That Ten Per Cent Morality

TEN per cent of the children born in war time Prussia are illegitimate—so says the Berlin Town Councillor, Dr. Engel, and finds food for cheerful congratulation in it. He considers it a sign of "moral healthiness."

"The figures afford evidence," so he argues, "that, after all, the idea of the restriction of families, an idea which the war with special emphasis bids us combat, has not yet penetrated the masses."

"Only 136 out of 1,000 of these illegitimate children reach majority in comparison with 512 in the case of legitimate children. Wartime, because of the card system, is a torture for the

unmarried mother. Every journey for a food card," explains Dr. Engel, "is a path of thorns and a source of fresh mortification and humiliation. In the card issuing office and again in the shops, she must again and again make confession."

That this "moral healthiness" is costly to mother and child, does not deter Dr. Engel from applauding the fact that the sturdy growth of the population goes on.

The remedies suggested by Dr. Engel are quite openly advocated for the sake of efficient growth of the population. He deplores the fact that there is a waste here which might be avoided. If it is necessary for the sake of efficiency to call the unmarried mother "Frau" and thus make her situation more endurable by all means do so, is his advice for the sake of preserving to the Empire 376 possible children, now more needed than ever.

What the 200,000 unmarried mothers of Prussia may think about it all is a question not even asked.

The Soldier Vote

TO-DAY the card-castles of the antisuffragists are toppling down on every hand. When the soldier vote of New York City was counted, and was found to have gone two to one for woman suffrage, it struck a heavy blow at the myth which the opponents of equal rights have built up as camouflage to mask their defeat—the absurd claim that the city was carried for suffrage by the pro-German vote. The men who are in arms to fight the Germans voted for equal suffrage by a majority even more sweeping in proportion to their number, than the civilian population!

A. S. B.

What's in a River?

IF a New York woman moves across North River she loses her right to vote. But a New York man can move to El Paso, become a Texas man and still vote. If a Kansas woman crosses the Kaw she loses her right to vote. But a Kansas man can move to Maine and still be protected in his voting rights.

Is there any real reason why men should be wards and pets of the nation while women are made to depend on state boundaries for their recognition as voters?

Southern Press and Federal Suffrage Amendment

IT is to be hoped that Congress will supplement the good work it has done in connection with prohibition by promptly passing the resolution for submitting woman suffrage. There is no reason why popular reforms in this country should wait because of the war.—*News and Observer*, Raleigh, N. C.

THE Congress of the United States should at the forthcoming session make provision for submitting to the states for ratification an amendment to the Constitution conferring suffrage upon women. * * * The time is opportune for the submission of the amendment.—*Tennessean and American*, Nashville, Tenn.

Democratic and Republican Women Working for Suffrage Amendment



MRS. GEORGE BASS,
Chairman of the Women's Bureau of the Democratic National Committee

CHAIRMAN RAKER of the House Woman Suffrage Committee has announced January 3 as the date for the hearing of the National American Woman Suffrage Association before his committee in behalf of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment. The Rules Committee has agreed to bring the amendment to a vote on January 10.

Simultaneously comes the announcement of two additions to the congressional working forces of the National Woman Suffrage Association in Washington, whose names bring squarely into view the new political aspect of the Woman Suffrage issue. These names belong to the two women who occupy the most prominent positions held by women in party politics today. They are Mrs. George Bass, chairman of the Women's Bureau of the Democratic National Committee, and Miss Helen Varick Boswell, president of the National Republican Woman's Association. That is to say, the women representatives of the two great political parties are lending their active aid to secure the passage of the federal woman suffrage amendment in Congress.

Mrs. Bass became a national figure in politics during the last presidential campaign, when she was manager of the Women's Campaign Committee of the National Democratic Party, with headquarters at Chicago. To her efficient work on behalf of the party is credited the fact that ten out of the twelve states where women voted for President were carried for President Wilson. Thus, Mrs. Bass was the logical person for the chairmanship of the Permanent Women's Bureau of the Democratic National Committee which was soon after established with headquarters at Washington.

From Washington Mrs. Bass now directs her

work of getting women's votes for the Democratic Party. At present it would be no bad guess that she is busy pointing out to Democratic leaders the big opportunity they have to clinch the women's vote in New York by using the party's power in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. And is it likely that the party which had the foresight to create a Woman's Bureau will be so blind to its own interests as to send Mrs. Bass back to organize the women voters for the next campaign without equipping her with the means to win them—namely, the National Democratic Party's recognition of women's political equality by passage of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment?

Miss Boswell's presence in the field will not, of course, make Mrs. Bass's task any lighter. Miss Boswell, as chairman of the woman's division of the National Republican Party, knows all about those congressional districts that ought to be gained by the Republicans. Nor is it to be doubted that Miss Boswell has her plans laid for winning enough congressional districts by means of women's votes to overcome the present narrow majority in the House of Representatives.



MISS HELEN VARICK BOSWELL,
President of the National Republican Women's Association

NOT a shadow of doubt exists in the mind of the newly appointed chairman of the Woman's Division of the National Republican Party, Miss Helen Varick Boswell, that now is the time to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment. No "ifs" and "ands" about it trouble Miss Boswell. Kindly but firmly she says: "The time has come. The war is hastening, much needed reform legislation on which should have been passed some years ago and suffrage stands out as one of the measures to be granted immediately.

"Politicians and political parties know that suffrage is coming and I believe they see the wisdom of taking the shorter, the more direct route via the Federal Amendment, in preference to the more tedious and long drawn out state-by-state route. I have every hope of the passage of the Federal Amendment when it comes up for a vote in the House on January 10. But more than that, I look for it to go through by Republican votes. The South, the so-called solid South, will not be in favor. Take away Southern votes and what can the Democratic vote do toward passing the Amendment? It is the Republican vote in the House that will carry it to victory. It is to the advantage of the Amendment that the political philosophy of the Republican Party includes a leaning toward federalized government." Then Miss Boswell calmly claimed another point for the Republicans: "With the possible exception of two states, every state that has come into the full suffrage ranks has come in during the time that a Republican administration was in power.

"TO my mind one of the things that will react greatly, more perhaps than any other one thing, to the passage of the Federal Amendment is the splendid war work done by the suffragists the country over. Right here in

New York state I saw many men change their views toward suffrage, men who had been ardently opposed, when they realized the part women were playing in this great struggle. The women have demonstrated in the best way possible their fitness for the ballot. What is true of New York is true in every state. War service presented a big opportunity and the women have risen to it. This same war service that had so much to do with the victory in New York is having much to do in shaping the opinion of Congressmen toward the nationwide enfranchisement of all women."

When asked how she believed New York congressmen of Republican faith in particular stand on the Federal Suffrage Amendment, Miss Boswell replied, "Practically solid for it. This is not mere optimism but knowledge based upon interviews. The New York victory made great changes in the opinion of many men, and not the least of these in some of the New York Congressmen."

MISS BOSWELL already has big plans under way for organizing the women of the country under the National Republican banner. She is convinced that hosts of the newly enfranchised will flock to the Republican standard. District organization is on in New York City, and to the suffragists Miss Boswell paid this compliment: "In the districts so far organized the women who have had their training in the suffrage organization are best equipped as leaders. Organization does wonders in developing women, in bringing out their latent ability."

"Do you believe in women staying together as a party?" was the next question, asked some-

what timidly in the face of so much Republican enthusiasm.

"Indeed, no," came the ready answer. "It is not feasible. It is not practical. Each must declare herself at the primaries, must enroll with some party. No doubt women will go together when some great principle is involved and party lines obliterated, but that is a different matter. The women must decide on their party preference. It is quite impossible to have a platform resembling all the colors of Joseph's coat. It must be of one color, the party the woman prefers. This does not mean that civic clubs or forums are out of the question. There again you have a different matter. But a woman's party as opposed to a man's party—never.

"Do not the parties reason that in all probability the women will align themselves with the party which has made possible their enfranchisement?" was asked.

"Yes, but of course one cannot say positively they will do that. But they should."

Miss Boswell was closely associated with the late Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, who was active in work in behalf of the Republican Party. In the course of her conversation Miss Boswell referred to those days in the late eighties when Henry Blackwell would come to ask their aid in getting a suffrage resolution through Congress. "Some of the most ardent advocates of the cause to-day were our most bitter opponents then. Slowly, little by little, woman has builded, until now no political party, unless it contemplates political suicide, would refuse to endorse suffrage."

Returning to the Federal Amendment, Miss Boswell said: "Leaving out all other arguments in its behalf, it is expedient to pass the Federal Amendment merely as a matter of political sagacity."

Women's Capacity for Details

"**W**OMEN voters an asset, not a liability," is the chant of the New York State politician.

With one leap that versatile genius has gone far past the modest appeal of women that they might receive the vote as a fifty-fifty proposition; that is, that they might share the burden and the freedom of democracy.

They are to go right up head and teach men how to use the ballot, according to reports of recent meetings held in New York. Edward J. Boyle, former president of the Board of Elections, told them this himself at a meeting of the State Democratic Forum at the Hotel Astor on December 27. With his own little hatchet he destroyed at one blow the idea that men have either by patient study or by practice.

attained a knowledge of the details of voting which gives them any superiority over women.

This meant the mechanical methods of registering the vote on the ballot, which Mr. Boyle told them half the men did not know.

"I am looking forward to making you women educate the men," said Mr. Boyle. "Election is a large subject, but it is full of detail, and that is a point women are strong on. I wish personally I knew as much about my new job as I do about election; but there are a good many men who know very little about the mechanical part of voting. Thousands of men march up



Why Not?

to the polls as though they knew all about it, and then find a blank ballot and drop it into the box, or else write across it and lose their vote. Some of the best educated people are the most stupid. They are too conceited. They think they know all about it, and won't let any one show them. Just to see them march up to that polling booth with the solemnity of an owl, go in, stay the time it would take to fill out the ballot, and not do a thing. We talk ourselves blue in the face telling the men what to do."

Endorsing Suffrage

THE State Federation of Women's Clubs of Alabama, in convention at Mobile has passed a resolution approving the enfranchisement of women. Mrs. J. B. Parke, chairman of the State Suffrage Association of Alabama, introduced the resolution and guided it to a successful passage.

The State Association of Farmers' Clubs in session at Lansing, Mich., passed a resolution endorsing woman suffrage.

Mrs. Whitehouse to Go Abroad

MRS. NORMAN DE R. WHITEHOUSE of New York City, has been asked by Chairman George Creel of the Bureau of Public Information to visit Switzerland on a special mission.

It is understood that Mrs. Whitehouse has been urged to undertake this mission for the purpose of presenting the attitude of the Washington Government more accurately and correcting false impressions such as may exist. She was chosen by George Creel, the chairman of the committee, and will be the first woman who has been asked to undertake such a mission in a foreign country.

Mrs. Whitehouse was asked to undertake this work because of the success of her work in the campaign in favor of the adoption of woman suffrage in New York State. Her field of endeavor in Switzerland, as representative of the Committee on Public Information, will be to make speeches, distribute literature, and undertake to make plain the American position before the public in Switzerland.

It is understood to be the plan of Chairman Creel to arrange for the dispatch of other persons on similar missions to certain other neutral nations. German propagandists are active in Switzerland and have sought in many ways to misrepresent the American people and Government and otherwise embarrass the Entente cause. Their base of operations has been Zurich.

Confidence in Pennsylvania

THAT the Pennsylvania members of Congress will be found solidly behind the Federal Amendment when it comes to a vote January 10 is the prediction of the state suffrage president, Mrs. J. O. Miller, a prediction made in the full knowledge of the personnel of the delegation and the events of past history. "Ours may be a truly colossal confidence," said Mrs. Miller when asked to show upon what she based her claims, "but I say this as representative of the suffragists of the state, notwithstanding all that has happened in the past. We are Pennsylvania women and knowing that the plain men of Pennsylvania are with us in a great majority we decline to have our faith blighted—a faith that is so extensive that it includes each and every congressman."

The war has brought about a great change of sentiment which, in the belief of Mrs. Miller, will swing to the passage of the Federal Amendment. "The fathers, with the mothers, are realizing, as never before, their obligation to democracy and what democracy means," says Mrs. Miller.



JESSE LYNCH WILLIAMS
WHO WROTE THE PLAY

JUDGE

[stepping aside]

All right, go put a stop to it then! [JOHN starts toward house.] It's your own house—turn her out again. [JOHN stops short.] What are you going to do about it, John? [JOHN has no answer.] Drive little Jean into marriage with a man she does not love—she is an old-fashioned girl. But your other sister—you can't make her marry even the man she does love, unless she sees fit. She is the New Woman! Society can no longer force females into wedlock—so it is forcing them out . . . by the thousands! Approve of it? Of course not. But what good will our disapproval do? They will only laugh at you. The strike is on. Few of the strikers will let you see it. Few of the strikers have Helen's courage. But, believe it or not, the strike will spread. It cannot be crushed by law or force. Unless society wakes up and reforms its rules and regulations of marriage, marriage is doomed. . . . What are you going to do about it? [Silence.] I thought so—nothing. Call them bad women and let it go at that. Blame it all on human nature, made by God, and leave untouched our human institutions, made by man. You poor little pessimists! human nature today is better than it ever was, but our most important institution is worse—the most sacred relationship in life has become a jest in the market-place. . . . You funny little cowards, you're afraid of life, afraid of love, afraid of truth. You worship lies, and call it God!

THEODORE

My dear, marriage is woman's only true career.

HELEN

So Lucy tells me, Cousin Theodore. But a woman cannot pursue her career, she must be pursued by it; otherwise she is unwomanly.

JUDGE

Ahem. As we passed through the library to while ago, I think I saw your little sister being pursued by her career.

A DISTINCTIVE, maybe a pathetic, feature of the audiences that are flocking to the Astor Theatre in New York to get that momentous question, "Why Marry?" answered by Jesse Lynch Williams's play, is their youth.

They quite youthfully want to know.

Do the play and the players find the way around those mighty questions of mating that still thrill one in spite of all the difficulties that economics and conventions can assemble to choke them off?

Have play and players any suggestions to offer about this old social institution worth considering, when one isn't far past twenty and sick of social deceptions and hypocritical conventions and just bound and determined to be as radical as the radicalist?

Thus they come questioning, drawn by the play's question.

IT is curious to watch them as they find their private and particular challenges flung out publicly over the footlights. The playwright has gone over the whole road for them. He lets his people say all the things that need to be said. About the banality of an economic scheme of things which insures that young people can marry without starving by the time they have reached the dynamic age of forty, about the absurdity of the law that holds people together who want to be apart, about the crudity of the Church in keeping watch-dog guard over the letter of the marriage institution while the spirit is shamefully traduced, about the inability of one's brothers and cousins and uncles and aunts to recognize any compulsion in love for love's own sake. It is all said for them and said harshly, scathingly, in youth's own insistent terms.

AND out there beyond the footlights the young revel in it. Here's language for you. Here's scorn. Here's the whole ruction inside of you made articulate at last. Being young they become well satisfied over getting the matter talked out, they glow so with getting it expressed that one wonders if maybe the vital thing with them isn't, after all, the need of getting these matters out into the open, raising the veil of social reticence, facing the facts and it may be that Mr. Williams's real contribution has been his divining exactly that.

THE STORY OF THE PLAY

TO begin with there is the Economic Situation. Helen is a young self-supporting scientist who has a rich brother but who gets a college education and goes in for laboratory work partly because she likes to work and partly because she has a curious twentieth century disinclination to live on her brother's bounty. But she has not entirely slipped her brother's leading strings even at that. It is really through him that she finds a place in the Baker Institute where she works with the famous Dr. Hamilton, helps him discover the Hamilton antitoxin and falls in love with him. What are these New Women accomplishing?, wails John's wife, who has spent her life trying to stay in the picture as an old-fashioned wife; just one thing, as she sees it; they are destroying chivalry. To which the practical Helen replies, "Not entirely, Lucy, not entirely. For instance, I am the best assistant Ernest Hamilton has, but the worst paid; the others are all men. Hurray for chivalry!"

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WHO PLAYS HELEN

AT first she is going to keep Ernest Hamilton from proposing to her for the sake of his own career, and at first he is not going to propose to her because he can't stand the idea of the Helen sort of girl being "a superior servant in an inferior home." But they are far, far too radical to make these simple admissions even to themselves. Instead they build up a delirious little camouflage of modernism and talk big about not believing in marriage. And then quite irrespective of their momentous beliefs on the marriage question, suddenly their love of one another leaps out and they are in.

AFTER love has swept them into each other's arms, Ernest falls back on matrimony as the friendly expedient through which they can manage their new life together. But Helen is not only a new woman, she has the old woman's dogged insistence on logic. They have said they don't believe in marriage, that marriage would ruin his career, turn him into a man with his nose to the grindstone instead of a scientist with his eyes on the stars, and her into a superior servant in an inferior home, ergo they can't marry. She lets Ernest enjoy a sleepless night in looking forward to the wedding, then she calmly enlightens her family and him. They will go abroad, they will work together, they will give up marriage, but "the right to work, the right to love—those rights are inalienable."

THEREUPON the rich brother, who has argued valiantly against their marriage because of their poverty and his ambition for his sister to make a good match, is driven to plead with her to marry, marry by all means, marry now. But marry she won't. The family has made out too strong a case against marriage when it suited their ulterior purposes to do so. Ernest is brought around to stand by her in her decision because of the family's hypocritical reasoning, and the two young people have their feet over the threshold and their faces turned toward the taxi that is to bear them away for their new and disreputable life when lo! by some delicious hocus-pocus the cabalistic sign of the law is made over them, they are just as much married as anybody, and their life together, the same in substance, is not going to be disreputable at all because of the incantation that has been spoken.

IT may be urged—it has been urged—that the play by capitulating to the marriage institution merely argues around the circle, goes out of the back door only to come in by the front. Well, so does life capitulate to the marriage institution and to the young it's a good deal to find the front door approach. The real grievance that twentieth century youth has with social institutions, tradition and sanction is that, having become devious in their logic, they so often arrive at right conclusions for wrong reasons. Not even the young, Mr. Williams ardently contends, are inherently opposed to some compact with society under the name of marriage. They are willing enough to join their right hands. But what they won't do is believe that joining right hands, or any other symbolic ceremony, can serve as the be-all and end-all in justifying marriage. Marriage is on trial, warns Mr. Williams. Bring it up to date. It, no more than any other social institution, is too good to improve. Hold on to what is good

(Continued on page 116)



BEATRICE
BECKLEY
WHO PLAYS
LUCY

HELEN

Yes, uncle, but Jean is a true woman. I'm only a New Woman.

JUDGE

All the same, you'll be an old woman some day, if you don't watch out.

HELEN

Ah, yes, my life's a failure. I haven't trapped a man into a contract to support me.

LUCY

[who married to be supported]

[Picks up knitting bag and does her best to look like "just an old-fashioned wife."]

You ought to be ashamed! Making marriage so mercenary. Helen dear, haven't you New Women any sentiment?

HELEN

Enough sentiment not to make a mercenary marriage, Lucy dear.

JUDGE

Ahem! And what kind of marriage do you expect to make?

HELEN

Not any, thank you, uncle.

JUDGE

What! You don't believe in holy matrimony?

HELEN

Only as a last extremity, uncle, like unholy divorce.

Farmer and Patriot

"**S**OWN to winter rye and owner gone to the front" is what a South Berlin, Mass., farm could say if it would.

"The farm will be all right until spring," explained Miss Mary W. Dewson, one-time dairy farmer and always trained social worker, who has sailed for France in answer to the cablegram of Major Grayson M. P. Murphy for six social workers needed in reconstructive work. Miss Dewson has taken with her her farm partner, Miss Mary G. Porter.

In 1916 their dairy farm paid its way, but mounting grain prices made the outlook impossible for 1917. Therefore, they sold their cows and arranged to grow winter rye for the furtherance of Mr. Hoover's wheatless program. Now they are foot-loose and free to work in France at their profession, social work. Miss Dewson, who has been legislative chairman of the Massachusetts Suffrage Association, was for twelve years superintendent of the Girls' Parole Department of that state.

This department introduced a unique method of looking after the girls from the Lancaster Reform school. It was initiated and organized by Miss Dewson herself and has done much good work. Its program has been somewhat like that of the "big sister" movement. Each girl, paroled by the institution, was put in charge of a woman supervisor to whom she must report at frequent intervals. By this individual, personal supervision many delinquent girls were guided into happy futures, while feeble-minded and defective girls were weeded out and put under suitable care.

Miss Dewson and Miss Porter have joined a division of the Red Cross, which has a distinctive place in the desolated countries. They wear a special Red Cross uniform—one built for service and not for beauty. It is a sporting suit of Oxford gray with a gray flannel shirt. Worn with it is a black felt sailor hat with a high crown not unlike the broad brimmed hat of the Pilgrim Fathers. Tan shoes, belt and necktie can not be said to enliven the costume—but there are red crosses on sleeve, breast and hat.

These Massachusetts suffragists are two out of many who have gone into action at the front from the suffrage associations affiliated to the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Miss Dewson, as an officer of the Massachusetts Suffrage Association, is one of the thirteen officials now in active war work who are represented by thirteen stars on the National's Service flag. These thirteen stars correspond to the thirteen original States of the Union, but this priority, say the suffragists, will not hinder the National from welcoming new stars.

Woman Voter Gets Croix de Guerre

IT is now reported that Dr. Jane Craven of Evanston, Illinois, is the first American woman to be honored with the French Croix de Guerre. The cross was bestowed upon her for rescuing the wounded under fire.

MEMBERS of the Woman's Suffrage Party of Nashville, Tennessee, voted to devote every Wednesday to Red Cross work. This decision was made at the convention of the Nashville suffragists.

At the Front With the Suffrage Service Flag



MISS MARY W. DEWSON

The Little Children Suffer

THE call to service in France grows more insistent as each day shows the great need for constructive welfare work. Something of the need of this service and the need of funds to carry on this work is shown in a letter from Dr. Esther Pohl Lovejoy of Portland, Oregon, now serving in France. "I have never seen so many beautiful, intellectual and spiritual faces among little children who are suffering from the things that little children need," writes Dr. Lovejoy from Paris. "It is certainly up to the Americans to go down deep into their pockets and help this nation care for its children. Tuberculosis is rampant. I visited at least a dozen wretched apartments where one death had occurred and other cases had developed. Poor little children with skin, lung and bone tuberculosis."

Dr. Lovejoy is also one of the National's "original thirteen" stars. She was president of the Oregon Equal Suffrage Association before she left for the front.

Heard Round the World

THE New York suffrage victory was "a shot heard round the world." From Balboa in the Canal Zone comes a message of congratulations to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt from Frederick G. Swanson, attorney. In the course of his congratulatory letter Mr. Swanson says: "The Federal Amendment is now brought much nearer, and the argument of the advocates of 'suffrage by states' considerably weakened, since it is now more than ever apparent that such is an unnecessary waste of time and effort that might be expended in other channels. In making this statement, I am not unconscious of the educational value of state campaigns."

"Congratulations on a genuine 'Greater New York.'"

Forward! to France

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN has gone to France on a government assignment. She is Chairman of the Committee on Women in Industry appointed by the Council of National Defense. She is also a member of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association upon whose service flag she is one of the thirteen stars.

One of Mrs. Harriman's efficient projects set on foot before she left was the Motor and Ambulance Corps of the Woman's Volunteer Aid of the District of Columbia Branch of the American Red Cross.

This ambulance corps follows daily a program of activity which leaves few moments for leisure. Rain or shine, early or late, this band of volunteer workers is doing a patriotic service of a most practical kind.

Every troop train passing through the city of Washington, no matter the hour, is treated to sandwiches and coffee by the members of Mrs. Lanz Anderson's Refreshment Corps who are transported to and from the trains by the women of the Motor Corps. The women drive their own cars looking very military in their natty uniforms of gray, designed by Mrs. Harriman's daughter, Miss Ethel Harriman, now doing her part "somewhere in France."

Calls to any one of the five army camps adjacent to Washington are answered by the Ambulance Corps and no matter how contagious the disease may be the patient is transported

in one of the five ambulances which are driven by women trained mechanics and carrying "first aid" kits.

Something of the temper and spirit of self-sacrifice that characterizes the personnel of the Motor and Ambulance Corps, may be judged from the family of Mrs. Alice Lee Moqué.



MRS. ALICE LEE MOQUE

giving generously in time and strength to the Red Cross work, but her eldest son is at the head of two large ammunition factories; her second son has left his law practice to do his part as a captain in the United States Reserve, and the young daughter of the household, not to be outdone by her elders, is a Girl Scout.

Secretary Baker on War

ONE of the most striking speeches made at the National Suffrage Convention was the address of Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War. He said, in part:

"It will not seem strange to you that we are asking ourselves questions as to the final results of the war. If the waste and destruction were not relieved by some forward-looking promise, the burden would be quite insupportable for the human race. So, when we are not wholly occupied with the duties of the hour, we are trying to penetrate the future.

"I sometimes ask myself what does this war mean to women? War always means to women sorrow and sacrifice, and a mission of mercy; but one of the large redeeming hopes of this particular struggle is that it will bring a broadening of liberty to women. This war is waged for democracy. Democracy is never an accomplished thing. It is always a process of growth, an endless series of advances. President Wilson has called it a rule of action. It is a rule that adapts conduct to environment. It has been so long since I have had time even to look at the back of a book that I hesitate to try to prove this from history; but look at a few broad facts. What was called a democracy in Greece was a small privileged class ruling over slaves. The members of the ruling class had certain democratic relations with one another. There was no more real democracy in Rome. The first constitutional convention of the French Revolution had a very restricted electoral system, with a property qualification. It was so with our own government in 1776 and 1789. It was a rule of conduct adapted to the environment of 1789. It will not do for us now to embrace the hollow figure in which Democracy was once enshrined. We must have a democracy adapted to the environment of 1917.

"WHAT changes have taken place in democracy? The sentimental attitude of men toward women in public affairs, and the sentimental attitude of women toward men in public affairs, is due to underlying facts. In 1789 we were largely a rural and agrarian population. The family was no more the unit of society then than it is to-day, but the family's interests were much narrower. Then woman's sphere was limited by the four walls of the home and the church. Our activities have changed. Not only have we changed our methods of transportation from the stage coach and pack mule to the steam train and motor car, but we have speeded up our intellectual processes in the same way. The invention of machinery and the growth of a more congested population led to the advent of women into many new spheres of work, and there came to be a community of interests between men and women which is now getting translated into law.

"The whole environment has changed. In 1789 we might quite possibly have defined ourselves as a democracy although women did not vote; but not now.

"We speak of this as a war for democracy. Women are making sacrifices just like men. The activities of women in aid of the war are a necessary part of it. If all the women were to stop their work to-night, we should have

to withdraw from the war—at least temporarily, until we could wholly readjust ourselves.

"One of the things this war is bringing home to us is that men and women are essentially partners in an industrial civilization; and by the end of the war the women will be recognized as partners.

"Those who look back and read the history of our time will see the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns marching hand in hand up out of the darkness—medieval figures still—and meeting this young, unconquerable giant of the modern spirit. For democracy is a spirit rather than a state of being. It grows continually. Just as in mountain climbing, as we go higher and higher we see peak after peak come into view, so as we go forward we see larger and larger liberties and benefits to the human race come in sight, with more and more democracy.

"THIS war is the outcome of a long history. In one of Shakespeare's plays, I have forgotten which, a general sits in his tent on the field, on the eve of battle; and as he falls asleep there come trooping by him shadowy figures of men whom he has done to death. To-night Prussia sits in the tent; and Silesia, and Poland, and Alsace-Lorraine, and all the territories that the rulers of Prussia have stolen, and all their defiances of the cardinal principles of ethics and humanity, come trooping by as dream figures. Our turn may come to sit in the tent; and if the figures that pass are denials of justice, oppressions and wrongs, we may be sure that the battle of the morrow will go to a stronger race. But if the figures that pass by are justice and real recognition of the rights of others, we can face the onset of the morrow with courageous hearts and the assurance of victory.

"This gives us a chance to realize what we are fighting for. Why, democracy used to be the name of a political party! I belong to it; but to-day democracy means much more.

"WOMEN, like men, are now discovering their latent capacities; and the nation is discovering its latent capacities too. After the war, when we set out not only to rebuild the material damage, but to try to bind up the spiritual wounds of the world, we shall find the value of having women free to give their full and unhampered service. We believe that the outcome of this war will be an enlargement of liberty and the better protection of the common good; and thus, after a while, these severely troubled waters will really bring a healing influence."

The warm applause of the audience seemed to show a hearty agreement with Secretary Baker's point of view. A. S. B.

National Suffrage Association Has Six War Committees

To the four existing war-service committees, two were added, and all are to be henceforth grouped in one department, under chairmanship of a member of the national board. The full six committees are food production, conservation, Americanization, protection of women's labor, child welfare and a mobile hospital unit in France.

Pledges to the N. A. W. S. A.

THE convention pledged over \$100,000 for the year's expenses in less than an hour's time, some of the pledges being from the state associations, but many of the large contributions coming from individuals. Mrs. William Thaw, Jr., of Pittsburgh, pledged \$2,000; Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw, of Boston, \$5,000; the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, \$13,000; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, \$1,000; Mrs. Stanley McCormick, \$2,000; Mrs. Joseph Fels, of New York, \$1,000; Mrs. V. Everit Macy, of New York, \$1,000; Mrs. Wirt Dexter, of Boston, \$1,000; Mrs. Arthur Ryerson, of Chicago, \$1,000; Mrs. Cyrus H. McCormick, of Chicago, \$1,000. Others contributing amounts ranging from \$100 to \$500 were Mrs. MacPherson, of Michigan; Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago; Mrs. Charles Tiffany, of New York; Miss Mabel Willard, of Boston; Mrs. B. F. Pitman, of Boston; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, of New York; Mrs. Guilford Dudley, of Nashville; Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, of New York.

Mrs. McAdoo Is Proud

"I WANT to crow a little, because I am a member of the Empire state and I am now a woman citizen. It is a wonderful thing in these days of world crises to be an American citizen, and I think that it is especially wonderful to be a woman citizen, because America has a great part to play, and women are being given for the first time, as never before, the opportunity to show what they can do to help. We have already done a great deal, but we all know how much more they can do."

Women Experts Chosen

THE Federal Food Administration has appointed two New York women to have charge of the Department of Home Economics in that state. The appointees, announced by the New York State Food Commission, are Mrs. Mary Schwartz Rose, of New York City, who will have supervision of the departmental work in New York City, and Miss Martha Van Rensselaer, of Ithaca, who will have the supervision of the entire state outside of New York City.

National Council of Women Endorse Suffrage

AT its biennial meeting in Washington, December 12, the National Council of Women, the largest body of women in the United States, composed of twenty-nine national organizations, with a membership of more than 7,000,000 women, passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the National Council of Women urge the President and Congress to expedite the passage of the federal suffrage amendment, clearing the way for the giving of suffrage to women of this country in order that they may be "free and equal" within the country itself, and that these United States may no longer belong to the group of world powers which govern without the "consent of the governed."

Have You Been Enfranchised Lately?

Naturalization

Mary Sumner Boyd

THE enfranchisement of women in the state which has the largest foreign population in the Union has brought into the foreground several naturalization problems; has brought out prominently certain disabilities of women and has tended to point the cure for one criticism of woman suffrage in relation to foreign born women.

More than thirty per cent of the population of New York is foreign born. The majority of these are men, but the Naturalization Bureau has been kept busy since November 6, 1917, in response to the application of that intelligent proportion of the feminine foreign born minority to whom citizenship with voting rights seemed a thing to be desired.

Spinsters have taken out first papers subject to a minimum wait of two years if they have been in this country for several years, a maximum of five if they are newly arrived. A rumor has been in circulation that in the case of an alien woman long resident in the United States the two years waiting period between first and second papers would be waived. This is not true. It would have been possible up to June, 1906. Section 2167 of the United States Revised Statutes, which was repealed at that time, provided that persons who had resided in the United States during the last three years of minority should, after five years' of residence, being twenty-one years of age, be admitted without first papers. Many men became citizens under this provision, and men who have served in Army, Navy or Coast Guard can still do so, but no woman in 1917 can thus become a voter over night.

A MARRIED woman cannot of herself become a citizen, so in spite of woman suffrage in New York, sixty-two per cent of foreign born women who are married must take their right to vote as a gift from their husbands; conversely that proportion of American born women whose husbands are aliens must give up their birthright of American citizenship.

As formerly in the matter of property and family rights, so still in the matter of citizenship husband and wife are one, and that one is the husband. Wives of aliens, some of them themselves American born, others foreigners desirous of American citizenship, have been turned away daily since November 6 by the Naturalization Bureau. Women are only eligible to the reflected foreign or American citizenship of their husbands as long as marriage lasts; they have no citizenship of their own. On the termination of marriage, by death, desertion or divorce, the American wife of an alien is automatically repatriated if she resides in the United States. If she resides abroad, she can be repatriated by registering before the United States Consul within the year. This much of personal rights the American born woman has, in compensation for the loss of her husband. The law does not help the loyal American wife of an enemy alien husband—it only holds out to her the hope of widowhood; It will be remembered that Conan Doyle suggested divorce as the solution in such cases.

The alien widow of an American does not so easily shuffle her husband's citizenship; she retains it unless she returns to her own country or renounces it before a proper court. In this case the country may suffer as much as the woman, since a woman who may be at heart and by birth an alien enemy is classed and treated as a loyal American. The alien widow of an alien can take out citizenship papers on the same terms as the spinster.

CRITICS have never considered the married woman as having a right to choice of citizenship, but they have not failed to consider possible disaster to the community from the voting citizenship which an alien wife gains automatically from her husband after satisfying the minimum state residence requirements, in some states as low as six months. In some states even in spite of this provision in the law the husband has an advantage over the wife. Thus in Kansas an alien male can vote on first papers but his wife cannot go to the polls till he is a full citizen. This is not a problem in New York as the woman suffrage amendment provides that the alien wife of an American citizen shall have been a resident of the United States for five years. It appears, however, that even if this provision did not exist in the New York amendment, the Naturalization Law itself would carry its own cure, for there is a strong possibility that in the case of voting rights a provision of the law may be interpreted by the courts to require five years' residence in the case of alien wives of Americans.

Section 1994 reads: "A woman who is now, or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States, and who might herself be lawfully naturalized may be deemed a citizen."

The crucial phrase in this is emphasized, for only after five years' residence is naturalization lawful. This would be a perfectly just understanding of the law, and a decision on this basis in some other equal suffrage state than New York may some day answer for the whole United States the criticism that woman suffrage will automatically make voting citizens of alien women who have not yet learned the first principles of American citizenship.

IT appears from this that though the spinster, as long as she is a spinster, can be a citizen in her own right, the wife has no citizenship at all, and that the only privilege she had, namely, that of becoming an American without long waiting, is about to be taken from her. Few married women will be unwilling to pass the same five years of probation and education as their husbands, but an increasing number ask the same right their husbands have of choosing their own country.

Legislation to give the married American woman the right to retain her citizenship is now before Congress. This is part of the world wide movement which is the complement of woman suffrage, and which like woman suffrage, though for other reasons, has gained an impetus from the world war.

Queen Mary to Dr. Shaw

A TELEGRAM from Sandringham, on January 1 carried Queen Mary's New Year's greetings to the women of America. It was sent to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, and read as follows:

"I received with much satisfaction and pleasure the friendly message you addressed to me from the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense of America.

"Please convey to the sisterhood of your great country the warm thanks of the women of the British Empire for their inspiring words of encouragement and assurance. The horrors of war have taught us to know one another better and they have strengthened the ties of kinship and mutual sympathy by uniting the women of the English speaking races heart and soul in the struggle for liberty and civilization.

"Confident of the valuable help we women can give our gallant sailors and soldiers, I pray for God's richest blessing on our efforts.

"MARY R."

Telegram from Utah Women to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw

"THE General Board of the Relief Society voicing the sentiments of 65,000 Utah voting women congratulated the women of New York on achieving civic independence. We assure the people of New York State that the new voting element will hinder every evil cause and will help every good and righteous work."

EMMELINE B. WELLS,
President.

SUSA YOUNG GATES,
Corresponding Secretary.

"You'll find my ancestor's name on the Declaration of Independence."

"Well, you'll find my name on the registration lists of 1917."—*Kansas City Journal*.



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Dr. Shaw's French Baby

"THE Antis can't say now that I have no children," says Dr. Anna Howard Shaw with a delicious little smile. "This is a reproach they have hitherto used with great pleasure," she explained, when someone asked her if the report that she has adopted a French baby is true.

"True in nearly every particular," she added, "only you might say that it is four grandnieces and no grandnephews, who are adopting it with me, and that as both of my secretaries, Miss Lucy Anthony and Miss Reilly, are proud foster mothers of two other little French orphans, we have quite a family party."

Dr. Shaw took over her French baby as a Christmas present which works two ways, a gift of herself to the orphan baby and of the baby to herself. As soon as her four little grandnieces were told of the adoption of the little French girl and they were to have a share in it, they immediately began to send letters and Christmas gifts to the new member of the family. The very smallest grandniece it was, who promptly gave the interest on her Liberty Bond of the first issue to help support the baby. And the eldest grandniece announced that she had never cared much for French but that she was now about to pitch into it very hard in order to correspond with "our" child in her own language.

Suffragists all over the country are adopting needy little French children after this fashion of Dr. Shaw's.

Girl Wins First Place

THE highest average at a Government's wireless examination held in Baltimore just before Christmas was won by a girl. She made the best record of anybody—man or woman—in the operating tests. This girl is one of ten who, immediately after war was declared, decided to take up wireless telegraphy. They all now have Government licenses and their average record is said to be high.

Trades Women Urge Federal Amendment

RESOLUTIONS showing the deep interest of working women in the swift passage of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment were recently passed by the Chicago Women's Trade Union League.

These resolutions called on all Illinois members of Congress in both houses to vote for the proposed suffrage amendment. It was also the opinion of the Trades Woman's League that the Amendment should be introduced during the present session of Congress. Miss Agnes Nestor, a member of the Women's Committee of the National Council of Defense, was the nominee for president of the Chicago League, on whose executive board is Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the National Women's Trade Union League.

Over and over labor is making its voice heard in favor of the amendment.

Woman's Dress in the Philosophy of the Hour

Woman's Opportunity as Citizen

Woman, the War, and After

The Armenian Woman in War

The above lectures are offered as of especial timeliness by Bertha S. Papazian, 6 Ellsworth Ave., Cambridge, Mass.

"One of the most brilliant orators who has been brought before the public in the Suffrage Cause." Press Department.—New York State Suffrage Party.

"Few speakers have had her training and experience. To these technical advantages still less common is it to find joined her liberal culture and progressive mind. The more there are of such voices, the better it will be for the public." MARY GRAY PECK, Chairman Speakers' Bureau (1915)

"Reports without exception enthusiastic and favorable."

VIOLET MORAWETZ, Chairman Speakers' Bureau (1917).

What Beauty Said to the Beast

AND she went and whispered in his ear. . . . Such is the modern introduction to the story of Beauty and the Beast.

Beauty was a khaki-uniformed young woman in London. The Beast was a British Tank with a grouch. He had been sent out on an errand which any self-respecting tank would balk at. He was being used as a device to collect a \$3,000,000 war subscription from a London insurance company. This Beast, believing that a tank's place is at the front collecting Teutons, and not in the streets of London collecting pounds, just naturally pursued his own ideas.

He came out of Wellington Barracks with a rush. Then he took a bite out of Bird Cage Walk. Finally he sat down—and sat tight—"like a balky mule," according to the New York Evening Post, which had this story at first hand from London. Said the Post:

"Persuasion, cajolery, and threats all went unheeded. They told him about the people in the downtown districts that were waiting with their \$3,000,000, but would he stir? No, not an inch. The tank men took off their coats; a tank colonel and a tank major came and tried persuasion; the men with the banner who were to march in front put the banner against the iron fence and waited.

"For two hours the mechanics worked at their charge with wrenches and hammers and tongs, and things seemed to be no better than before. At the end of the two hours came 'Beauty,' in a taxicab, carrying a small leather case. She stepped out of the taxi and into the tank, a policeman helping her in. What she said to the tank or what she did nobody outside could learn, but something happened inside; a slow rumbling began, then a quickened hum, and almost before the banner bearers could take their places in front the tank had started on its way."

The Fifty-Fifty Proposition

PAY women men's wages where they do men's work was an important point made by the president of the Wyoming State Federation of Women's Clubs at the annual convention held recently. Wyoming has had equal suffrage since '69, so it is not to be wondered at that the president of this important group of women should favor what is often termed a "fifty-fifty proposition." She said that equal pay for equal service must be for two reasons—in justice to the women for their labor, and in justice to the men returning after the war who should receive their former employment at their former salaries.

New York

*New York my native State to thee I sing.
Wisely thou heard'st time's bell of Freedom
ring.*

*In war and woe free, full clear tones are heard,
And men in many lands are deeply stirred.
Now may our waiting States all wisely hear
And Nation re-instate this Fateful year.*

ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL.

Elizabeth (N. J.), Nov., 1917.

At the Last!

*O God, who hears the smallest cry
That ever rose from human soul,
Be near my mother when she reads
My name upon the Honor Roll:
And when she sees it written there,
Dear Lord, stand to, behind her chair!*

*Or, if it be Thy sacred will
That I may go and stroke her hand,
Just let me say, "I'm living still!
And in a brighter, better land."
One word from me will cheer her so,
O Lord, if you will let me go!*

*I know her eyes with tears will blind,
I think I hear her choking cry,
When in the list my name she'll find—
Oh, let me—let me—let me try
To somehow make her understand
That it is not so hard to die!*

*She's thinking of the thirst and pain;
She's thinking of the saddest things;
She does not know an angel came
And led me to the water-springs,
She does not know the quiet peace
That fell upon my heart like rain,
When something sounded my release,
And something eased the scorching pain.
She does not know, I gladly went
And am with Death, content, content.*

*I want to say I played the game—
I played the game right to the end—
I did not shrink at shot or flame.
But when at last the good old friend,
That some call Death, came beckoning me,
I went with him, quite willingly!
Just let me tell her—let her know—
It really was not hard to go!*

—NELLIE MCCLUNG, in "Next of Kin."

Speaker of Tennessee House at Suffrage Convention

AT the annual convention of the Nashville, Tenn., Woman Suffrage Party, Hon. Clyde Shropshire, speaker of the House of Representatives of Tennessee, and an ardent supporter of suffrage, was invited to preside over the elections which resulted as follows: Chairman, Mrs. W. A. Overall; first vice-chairman, Mrs. Charles W. Baker; second vice-chairman, Mrs. Porter Phillips; third vice-chairman, Miss Katherine Allen; fourth vice-chairman, Mrs. J. T. Graham; treasurer, Mrs. Reuben Mills; recording secretary, Miss Bentine Thomas; corresponding secretary, Miss Mozelle Cisco; press chairman, Mrs. Charlotte Rogers; chairman of literature, Miss Sadie Frank. Mrs. Leslie Warner was unanimously elected honorary vice-chairman for Nashville.

The suffragists of Nashville, and throughout the state of Tennessee, are active for the Federal Amendment. Mrs. Guilford Dudley, president of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. Leslie Warner, honorary vice-chairman of Nashville; Mrs. A. S. Buchanan, congressional chairman, and Miss Mary Lipe, treasurer for the state association, were among the prominent Tennessee suffragists who attended the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. They remained after its close to work for the Federal Amendment.

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Why Marry?

(Continued from page 111)

in it. Let go of what is sordid and base in it. And however young one is, perhaps the younger the more surely, one has to admit that it speaks well both for the substance of the institution and for Mr. Williams's constructive subtlety in stripping the husks down to the substance that the play's question, followed understandingly from curtain to curtain, changes insidiously and ingratiatingly into, Why not?

Woman Member of Punjab University

The first woman to be elected a member of the Punjab University of India is Miss M. R. U. Holmer, M.A., recently made one of the science faculty and a member of the board of studies in botany, zoology and physiology. She is a professor of physiology and biology at the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi.

The Book Stall

READING between the lines in Mr. Burdette Lewis's *The Offender and His Relations to Law and Society*, it is possible to see that women have put out more than one idea for a more effective way of dealing with delinquents. There is, for example, a new note of helpfulness introduced into the study of the feeble-minded by Mrs. Helen Thompson Woolley, director of the Vocational Bureau of Cincinnati, and by Dr. Mable Fernald of the Bureau of Social Hygiene Laboratories affiliated with the State Reformatory for Women at Bedford Hills, New York. Both see light ahead for a most unfortunate class, and Dr. Fernald contends that early tests for feeble-mindedness applied at Bedford Hills were inaccurate. Only about 33 1/3 per cent. of those examined are in need of custodial care, whereas the old tests indicated that all the women examined were feeble-minded. Mrs. Woolley's careful studies of the children under her observation leads her to the opinion that none of the children afflicted with higher grades of mental deficiency are "necessarily destined to industrial failure on the ground of mental defect." The gloomy outlook, formerly predicted for the future of the morally and mentally handicapped, seems to have given place to something more cheerful as women have been permitted more and more to gain a foothold in the study of correctional methods.

THE woman's point of view, which was once feared as sentimental, turns out in this, as in other fields, to be just plain common sense. The Lillian D. Wald plan of scholarships for children from fourteen to sixteen bids fair to be a good economic idea instead of mere feminine altruism. All of these contributions by women tend toward removing the conditions out of which criminals are made.

Dr. Katherine Davis's plan of discipline for the Bedford Hills Reformatory for women is explained at length by Mr. Lewis as among advanced types of treatment for criminals. In his analysis of systems of prisons government, he places Dr. Davis's as "an excellent example of the mixed benevolent, despotic and Hamiltonian republican form of government." Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne's system is described by Mr. Lewis as straight Jeffersonian democratic. Mr. Lewis believes that the type used by Miss Davis is the best form to be applied "where all the offenders of the state are not properly classified and transferred to special types of institutions. As long as there are cosmopolitan institutions, there must be a special form of government for the disciplinary or low-grade group."

IT is hard to get away from the fact, after studying Mr. Lewis's book carefully, that adequate correctional care cannot be worked out without the special contribution women are enabled to give this, as to other branches, of social knowledge.

The Offender and His Relation to Law and Society. Burdette G. Lewis, Commissioner of Correction, New York City. Harper & Brothers, New York City. \$2.00.

THE latest of the long series of translations of the tales of Anton Chekhov, by Constance Garnett, is *The Party*. It displays the remarkable short-story technique of this Russian writer better than its predecessors. *A Trifle from Life, Anna on the Neck and Not Wanted* are as poignant as any story de Maupassant ever wrote. Their technique is less forced, and their psychology is flawless. The depressing factor in the voluminous tales of Chekhov is their lack of nobility. The men described by him are decadent, aimless or brutal, and the women are decadent, aimless or unmoral. These stories seem to have no part in the struggle of Russia toward the light as Dostoevsky's have, for example, or Maxim Gorky's. The old, impassioned hate of serfdom, seen in Turgeniev, Tolstoi, Gogol, is asleep. In Chekhov one only sees women, tired of their homes, and men bored with getting drunk. In depicting such a set of emotions, this Russian realist is a master.

THE story called *The Husband*, in the volume previous to the present collection, *The Lady with the Dog*, is as brief as de Maupassant or O. Henry. It is as coldly passionate as any tale can be. It is the picture of a woman, starved for pleasure, at a ball in a pretty garrison town. The music and the lights and the dance have half-intoxicated her. Her husband, jealous, thick-skinned and brutish, forces her to go home with him against her will when the evening is young. "Coming out of the club, the husband and wife walked all the way home in silence. . . . He was pleased and satisfied, and, at the same time, he would have liked to go back to the club and make every one dreary and miserable. . . . And Anna Pavlovna could scarcely walk. . . . She felt miserable, insulted and choked with hate. . . . She was silently trying to think of the most biting and venomous words she could hurl at her husband, and at the same time she was fully aware that no word could penetrate her tax collector's hide. What did he care for words? Her bitterest enemy could not have contrived for her a more helpless position.

"And meanwhile the band was playing and the darkness was full of the most rousing, intoxicating dance tunes."

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THOSE who say women have no originality should read "Through the Rainbow," by Florence Peltier (Fleming H. Revell Co.). Among the thousands of stories written for children, no one ever thought before of taking a little girl through a series of fairylands representing the colors of the rainbow, with appropriate adventures in each. It is a charming tale, and the illustrations by Clara Powers Wilson and Jewel Lendrum Morrison add to its attractiveness. The author is a granddaughter of Mrs. Emily P. Collins, who organized the first local woman's rights club in this country—probably the first in the world—at South Bristol, N. Y., in 1848.

A. S. B.

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May You and Your State Win!

THE Woman Citizen is in the heart of its drive for 100,000 subscribers in 1918.

At the Washington Convention thirteen state associations pledged 100 new subscribers apiece. One county association—that was the Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County, Michigan—likewise pledged 100 new subscribers. Two state associations raised their own pledges to 200—they were the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association and the Louisiana Woman Suffrage Party. Twenty-six state associations have pledged nothing, but we believe that they will as soon as they realize the advantages of getting into the race.

A race it is to be, with rewards for the winners. The *Woman Citizen* sets forth below the schedule of premiums upon which it has decided for the exhilaration of the contestants:

FIRST PREMIUM—CASH, \$50

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

SECOND PREMIUM—CASH, \$25

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

THIRD PREMIUM—CASH, \$25

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the WOMAN CITIZEN.

FOURTH PREMIUM—CASH \$25

To the Co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the WOMAN CITIZEN. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

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I wish to become a Co-operating Subscriber to the WOMAN CITIZEN and I hereby pledge myself to help in the drive for 100,000 NEW subscriptions. I agree to secure ten (10) NEW subscriptions to the magazine for which I will pay \$1.00 each.

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Most of the recipes following are of this class. Only two or three are old ones, and they are recipes for some popular salads that are always in demand.

Take the Strawberry Bavarian Cream, for example. Every cook is supposed to know how to make Bavarian Creams, and certainly nothing is more delicious than one that is properly made. Marion Harland was one of the first of the great cooks to discover that Jell-O—whipped exactly as cream is whipped—formed the ideal base for all forms of Bavarian Creams. Almost any kind of fruit can be stirred into the whipped Jell-O, just as the cut strawberries are in the recipe below. With comparatively little effort and little expense any woman can make Bavarian Creams of Jell-O that she could never hope to equal in any other way. Pineapple (canned), oranges, cherries, bananas or other berries can be used instead of the strawberries specified in the recipe.

Use a Dover egg beater for whipping Jell-O, and whip it just as you whip cream—only be sure you do not wait till Jell-O begins to set before you whip it.

Strawberry Bavarian Cream

Chop or cut fine with a knife a half box of strawberries, sprinkle with a half cup of sugar and stand in a colander to drain. Dissolve a package of Strawberry Jell-O in a half pint of boiling water. When cool, measure strawberry juice and add enough cold water to make a half pint and turn into dissolved Jell-O. Whip until thickness of whipped cream, then fold in the cut strawberries, and add one cup of whipped cream if you care to do so at the increased cost. Serve in sherbet glasses. Garnish with fresh berries. Any fresh fruit or canned fruit can be used instead of strawberries. Whipped cream adds to the richness of the dessert, but it is not necessary.

Jappy Jell-O Compote

Pour a half cup or cup of peach juice into a pint measure; fill with water, let come to boiling point, and dissolve a package of Lemon or Orange Jell-O in it. Add one cup of cooked rice (cold). Pour half into a dish or individual moulds and set away to harden. Place six or seven halves of peaches on the jellied rice and cover with the remainder of the rice. Serve with meat course, or, if for dessert, with whipped cream.

Olive Jell-O Salad

Dissolve a package of Lemon Jell-O in a half pint of boiling water. Add half-pint can of tomato soup, one cup finely chopped celery and twelve olives chopped. Salt to taste. Set away to harden.

Glorified Rice

Dissolve a package of Lemon Jell-O in a half pint of boiling water. Add one-half pint of canned pineapple juice or any fruit-juice. When a cold liquid, whip to the consistency of heavy whipped cream. Have two cups of cold boiled rice cooked dry. Fold the rice into the whipped Jell-O. Add one cup whipped cream, four tablespoonfuls sugar, and salt to taste. Set in a cold place to harden.

The whipped cream may be omitted and the Glorified Rice will still be a most delicious dish. Whipped Jell-O, alone or in combination with fruit, is so good that it is seldom necessary to add cream to it.

Imperial Salad

Dissolve a package of Lemon Jell-O in a pint of boiling water and one tablespoonful vinegar. Just as Jell-O begins to set, add one small can sliced pineapple, one-half can Spanish pimientos, shredded, and one sliced cucumber. Serve with cream salad dressing.

New Manhattan Salad

Dissolve a package of Lemon Jell-O in a pint of boiling water. When slightly stiffened add one cup each of chopped celery and apple, one cup English walnut meats broken in pieces and sprinkled with salt. Cool in individual moulds; serve on lettuce with mayonnaise or French dressing.

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We shall, however, at the same time that we offer special prices on a wide assortment of goods,

maintain during January throughout our entire stock, the same prices which have prevailed during the past season. No increase will be made until after January.

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One Hundred Thousand New Subscribers!!

How Can We Do It?

By receiving from one person in every 20 of the 2,000,000 members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association one *new* subscription

In the magazine last week we told you about the "Intensive Circulation Campaign" that was started at the Washington convention when the state presidents pledged their associations to underwrite blocks of subscriptions to the *Woman Citizen*. Under the heading, "The Woman Citizen and You," in this issue, on page 98, we bring to your attention a plan by which co-operating subscribers can help make 100,000 *new* subscriptions a reality

Big Work is Synonymous With Suffrage

Send us at least one NEW subscription to the Woman Citizen NOW

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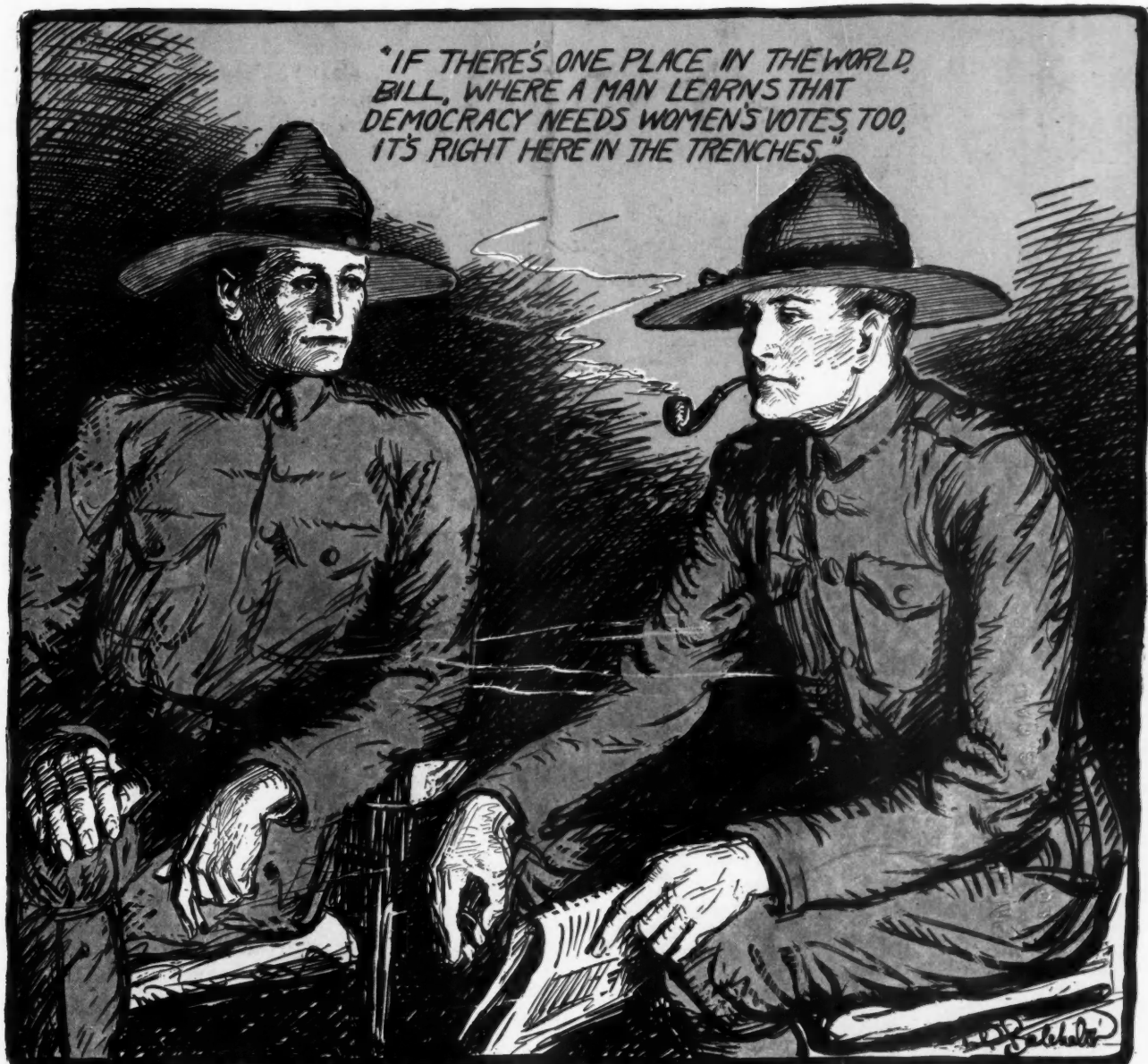
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January 12, 1918

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL FOUNDED 1870



"Over There"

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the

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Founded 1870

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HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

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and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

The office of publication is at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. The business manager is Florence E. Bate.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue

New York

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A full report of the last lap of the campaign, including the news of Wednesday and the House proceedings on Thursday, will follow in the next number of the Woman Citizen. In that number, too, an effort will be made to do justice to the fine qualities of leadership that marked the work of Maud Wood Park, congressional committee chairman, in the handling of the acute stages of the campaign.

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2 and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Con-
ferring upon Women the
Right of Suffrage.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington, and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Representatives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

IN THE HOUSE:

Raker resolution to create a woman suffrage committee in the House adopted by the House September 24 by a vote of 181 to 107.

House Joint Resolution No. 1 reported from Judiciary Dec. 15, 1917, without recommendation.

New identical resolution introduced in House by Judge Raker, Dec. 18, and referred to next Woman Suffrage Committee.

House Vote scheduled for Jan. 10, 1918.

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See the January Fifth Number of the
WOMAN CITIZEN, page 118, for
full explanation under the heading

"May You and Your State Win!"



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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

January 12, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

NOTE TO SUBSCRIBERS

On account of military service, the coal situation and delay in mails, subscribers may expect some irregularity in the receipt of their copies of the **Woman Citizen**. It is being issued on schedule time in spite of power shortage in New York City.

In Advance of the Vote

AS the *Woman's Citizen* goes to press, one day before the House vote is taken on the federal suffrage amendment, every indication points to victory. Independent polls taken by newspaper correspondents and others show the two-thirds vote with plenty to spare. The difficulty that impended all during the campaign and came to a sharp focus during the last days was the group of Southerners who have all along put sectional tradition ahead of party interest and fundamental justice in the matter of suffrage. Their attitude has complicated the situation not only for suffrage, but for the party which harbors them.

Ensnared behind what the President said in 1914 about the state method, they have managed to let the progress of events pass them by. By the time this is read it will have been demonstrated whether or not their party was able, through its more progressive leaders, to find a way to help in carrying suffrage forward to victory in spite of the incubus of their presence. Or it may be that victory will have had to depend mainly on the Republicans. That they are to stand in mass formation for the amendment has seemed certain all week long.

One fact is as apparent in advance of the vote as it can be afterward. That is that suffrage has made tremendous headway in the House during the last two years. The House vote of 1915 polled 174 yes votes. Even if the passage of the amendment should be delayed as a result of Thursday's vote, inconceivable as that seems on Wednesday, suffrage will have won an incomparable victory. Votes will have been heaped on top of favorable sentiment and the way cleared for an immediate renewal of operations in a field where friend and foe have been lined up distinctively by the poll. We do not believe there will ever be another House vote on the federal amendment after Thursday. We know that, come what may, there will never be but one more.

Being Reverenced by Mr. Bailey of Texas

YOUR time and attention bespoken for an argument before the House Suffrage Committee on the constitutionality of the federal suffrage amendment, by a man with an alleged reputation as a constitutional lawyer, you might expect to hear from

him some contribution to the ponderous thought of the times on that subject.

But if the constitutional lawyer were Mr. Bailey of Texas you wouldn't get your expects.

Instead you would hear Mr. Bailey set forth, in a voice rocking with emotion, that women are too emotional to be trusted with the vote, that they are incapable of the three principal duties of citizenship, military service, jury service, and sheriff service. You would hear him ask, "Gentlemen, do you want to add to the electorate ignorance rather than intelligence, darkness rather than light?" You would see him flinch before the possibility that the establishment of woman suffrage would mean the establishment of a single standard of morality. You would watch his front hair shake with feeling and his eyes roll reverently as he pictured his ideal woman as one always darning socks, making over John's coats for John Junior, washing the dishes, snatching a moment on the run to visit a sick neighbor—ah, there is the woman who can hope to engage Mr. Bailey's imagination, the woman whom he delighted to "reverence." What though she be of an order of creation and a degree of intelligence to lower the electorate by being admitted to it, is she not man's nurse and cook and dish-washer! She is, and as such she was blubbered over by Mr. Bailey until even the five or six Wadsworthians present looked a bit sick of their bargain, and you were left wondering how Mr. Bailey dared take people's time and attention with these vapid mouthings. How he dared insult women by his brand of reverence. And having a vote, you thanked God for it as a measure of protection from such reverence.

"The gentleman from Texas is forty years behind the times," said Mrs. Catt when her turn came. "I know I disappoint the gentleman—I am that thing he so greatly deplotes—a woman voter. But I would rather have my vote than the reverence of the gentleman from Texas. The gentleman from Texas will use his vote to keep women from getting their votes; I shall use my vote, which is as big as Mr. Bailey's, to give the women of Texas and of all the rest of the country the freedom which the men of Texas have refused to give them."

A Comic Editor

EQUAL suffrage has had the support of most of the American humorists—Mark Twain, Mr. Dooley, Robert J. Burdette, Bill Nye, Will and Wallace Irwin, John Kendrick Bangs and many more. Perhaps it is because they could see how funny the arguments of the anti-suffragists really are. But the editor of one comic weekly is so vehement an opponent of equal rights that he is color blind in his inability to see what is humorous on this one subject—sometimes also in his inability to see what is tragic. A recent editorial illustrates both characteristics.

Intensely disgusted by the triumph of equal suffrage in New York, he vents his vexation in an article which is meant to be serious, but is unconsciously funny, and even ridiculous. He says:

"Suffrage has come with an industrial organization which has made it easy for women to avoid the rough jobs and dispense with men."

Suffrage in New York came at a time when women the world over were doing an unprecedented number of rough jobs of the kind usually done by men, in addition to the kind of rough jobs usually done by women. Even before the war, there were more than eight million wage-earning women and girls in the United States; and the government reports on their condition do not indicate that they led a soft and easy life. Even before the war, the census showed that there were about ten times as many families in the United States as there were persons employed in domestic service. Only about one family in ten could keep a servant, even if no family kept more than one. The vast majority of married women are doing their own housework and bringing up their children without domestic help—and they know whether that is a "soft snap."

This comic editor says: "There never was a time when so many women had so much money or could get so much for it as now." It is perhaps true that there were never before so many women with money, for the government returns show that since the war began there has sprung up in the United States a very large crop of new millionaires. But they are a mere drop in the bucket compared with the whole population. Perhaps there was never a time when millionaires could buy more luxuries with their money; but certainly there was never a time when so many women—and men, too—were finding it desperately hard to make both ends meet. Ask any woman who goes to market how much she can get for her money!

This editor says: "When you speak in the telephone and someone fetches you a load of coal, and someone else your dinner, and someone else a cab to take you out, life seems easily managed." It is both funny and tragic that this should have come out right in the middle of a coal famine! How many women have merely had to telephone for coal, compared with those who could not get it?

The editor says that most of the suffrage leaders are rich women who, having everything else they wanted, coveted political power. Out of the thousands of women who gave their services as precinct captains during the arduous campaign in New York

State, how many belong to the small class that need only to press a button? "It is to laugh."

The two women most prominent to-day in the National Suffrage Association both of them began poor—and when they ceased to be poor, they continued to "remember those in bonds as bound with them." They have toiled in this cause like slaves, rising early and going to bed late, sacrificing their health, and very nearly their lives; not for political power—each of them had abilities that would have commanded ample political power through "indirect influence"—but for the sake of less fortunate women, and of the whole world's welfare, which is bound up with the well-being of women and children. The women who undertook to carry the Empire State for equal suffrage tackled no soft job. In all probability it was a tougher one than this editor of a comic weekly ever faced in his life; and his irritation is because they succeeded in putting it through. A. S. B.

The 25th Suffrage Victory

SUFFRAGISTS counted on the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment on January 10 to make the 25th legislative suffrage victory scored during the twelve-month between January 10, 1917, and January 10, 1918.

These victories reach across Canada to Great Britain and, in the United States, included House and Senate action on the presidential and local suffrage bill in North Dakota; the action of both houses of the Legislatures of Ohio on presidential suffrage; Nebraska, on presidential and local suffrage; Indiana, "nineteenths full suffrage"; Maine, referendum; New York, referendum; Arkansas, primary suffrage; Vermont, municipal suffrage; Michigan, presidential suffrage; Rhode Island, presidential, and Ontario, Canada, provincial suffrage.

Add to these the passage of Dominion suffrage by the Canadian Parliament and the victory for the woman suffrage clause in Great Britain's Representation of the People Bill.

The 24th victory was won when the House voted on September 24th, 181 to 107, to create a woman suffrage committee.

The 25th legislative victory was due on January 10 when the House voted on the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Will Not Be the Goat

AMONG the holiday greetings received by the present writer was an original rhyme from a woman voter of the West who is spending the winter in the national capital. The first stanza reads:

"O Alice dear; and did you hear
The women soon will vote?
For the elephant and the donkey both
Refuse to be the goat."

This expresses an aspect of the political situation which is telling powerfully in the women's favor. Every sincere member of Congress believes that the success of his party would be for the good of the country; and every clear-headed member realizes that it would be likely to have a bad effect on his party's

future prospects to let the opposite party get the main credit of enfranchising the women.

Friends and opponents of equal suffrage alike know that it is coming; and when it comes the women will constitute almost half of the potential voting strength of the country. Every man who honestly believes in the merits of his own party would like to have it secure as large a proportion as possible of the gratitude of the new voters; and nobody can tolerate the idea of letting the opposite party secure it all.

A. S. B.

The Voice of New York

GOVERNOR CHARLES S. WHITMAN will see that immediate action is taken to enable his fellow citizens who have been recently enfranchised to vote. In his speech at the opening of the Legislature of 1918, he specifically recommended the enactment of laws to permit the newly enfranchised women to register so that they may vote at the spring elections, including local option elections in cities, and their enrolment so that they may participate in next fall's primaries.

This was a prime recommendation to take precedence in his opinion of other legislative matters. In addition, Governor Whitman telegraphed Mrs. Catt at Washington his personal conviction that the "Federal Amendment providing for equal suffrage should be passed, and that in the event of its passage" he believed that it would be "ratified by at least three-fourths of the states." It was also Governor Whitman's conviction that the adoption of full suffrage in New York State by an overwhelming majority was a sufficient indication that New York Congressmen should support the measure.

In other words, Governor Whitman showed clearly that he believes that the voice of the people in New York State is sufficiently clear on this matter of woman suffrage to make it evident that the Empire State will now back up every advance made by Congress for the furtherance of the complete political liberty of American women.

North Dakota Women Vote

THE right of the women of North Dakota to participate in municipal elections is established. On December 27 women of Bismarck voted in the municipal election of that city, this being the first time the women have voted in that state in a municipal election since the legislature of last year granted them the right of presidential and municipal suffrage.

The initiative and referendum maintains in North Dakota and when the legislature granted women their limited franchise the opponents of suffrage said they would invoke the referendum and annul the new law. The number of signatures needed was very small, little more than 10,000, but the opposition has nowhere touched that number.

North Dakota has had time to think it all over and from press reports on the women's voting it would seem that there will be no opposition. The vote came when North Dakota was in the grip of a cold wave which made New York's temperature seem like furnace heat in comparison. Therefore the proportion of first woman voters was creditable.

Miss Hay's Great Epigram

MISS MARY GARRETT HAY has recently made one of those epigrammatic statements which sink into a nation's speech and are quoted far and wide when she said to the women of the City Suffrage Party assembled in New York for their first convention as citizens: "Let us change the adage 'Every man has his price' into 'Every woman has her principle.'"

She did not claim this as an achieved fact. Her epigram was, in fact, part of her warning to her fellows of the new woman electorate of New York State not to let themselves be unconsciously bribed.

"We must teach women to recognize a bribe when it is offered," she said. "There are so many subtle ways of exerting political pressure on a voter that many new and unsophisticated voters may not realize until it is too late that their votes have been cleverly manipulated to the advantage of the manipulator. Let us spread practical information that will warn women against such practices."

Miss Hay has been affectionately styled "the big boss"; and she is showing something new in bossism, a keen sense of the political leader's responsibility to guard and warn her followers against even the more subtle and unconscious forms of political jobbery. Moreover, this "boss" has not stopped at warning; she is going to see to it that women in New York City are so educated and grounded in the principles of good government that they can not become the unconscious dupes of any leader.

If Miss Hay can accomplish what she has planned every woman in New York City will not only have her principle, but she will have it buttressed by intelligent reasoning. Given such an ideal and such an education for the women of the nation, the entrance of women into the voting ranks will help make America safe for democracy. May Miss Hay's great epigram gain emphasis as it spreads.

Mr. Blanton's Sister

AFTER listening earnestly at the suffrage hearing to the insistence of one of the Wadsworthians that women don't need the vote because men have it, Representative Blanton, of Texas, still earnestly, wanted to know what about the case of a woman like his sister, a woman whose intelligence has placed her at the head of the teachers of Texas, but whose property is subject to taxation without representation.

Didn't he represent her, the Wadsworthian wanted to know.

No, he didn't, and couldn't, as he lived in a different district.

It was Mr. Bailey, of Texas, who rose to elucidate the point. If Mr. Blanton didn't represent his sister, some other man did, so she was represented. Perhaps not by the person she would have voted for if she had been allowed to vote, perhaps by the very person of all persons for whom she would not have voted if she had been allowed to vote. Still, in the view of the one-time Senator from Texas, that passed for representation, and Mr. Blanton's sister's interests were as well taken care of as any woman could ask.

It is a wonderful thing to be a constitutional lawyer.

First Convention of Women Citizens

OF all the glad New Year, the maddest, merriest day so far for the New York City Woman Suffrage Party, was January 2d, when it met in Annual Convention at the Hotel Astor.

This convention marked a memorable milestone in the political history of New York State. This was the first gathering of women as citizens, the act of the voters of New York in conferring full citizenship upon the women having become effective January 1. Appreciating its added responsibilities, New York City's new electorate has projected a most vigorous program of education for citizenship to be carried out during the next few months. The four cardinal points in the suffrage compass for 1918 will be:

a—The passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and its ratification by the State Legislature.

b—The instruction of the members of the Party in matters of municipal and state government, and in points necessary to make intelligent voters.

c—To insure through personal effort of election district captains, the largest possible registration of women voters during registry week next October, and to get out a correspondingly large vote on election day in November.

d—A constructive legislative program.

THIS tremendous plan of work will be carried out through the general direction of the central committees, known as the Political (including Congressional and Legislative), Educational, or Council of Women Voters, and Civic Survey. An additional committee designed to keep very closely in touch with the doings of the City Government, especially the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, and the various measures under consideration, will be known as the Men and Measures Committee.

Education for Citizenship

A COMPREHENSIVE program of education for citizenship has been outlined through lectures and classes. Special attention will be given to forming classes for the young women working in factories and stores. It was reported that already these young women have been making inquiries and showing the keenest interest in this educational work. No discrimination has been raised against men entering the classes which will be formed in the various assembly districts. In the Bronx it was reported the men are eager to take part in this movement which is attracting such wide attention throughout the country. Each assembly district is expecting a good representation of men in the classes.

What might be called a climax to the program of education will be the Friday night "quizzes" at central headquarters when politicians of all political creeds will be present to be quizzed as to government—municipal,

will be made of each Assembly district to ascertain its resources, its institutions, how its officials perform their duties, in fact, the most minute scrutiny will be trained on the district, treating it as a miniature city. Records of candidates for office will be given attention.

All this work will be made the more effective because as an organization the New York City Woman Suffrage Party will remain a non-partisan body. Fully realizing the ineffectiveness of any attempt to control its more than an half million women members, the leaders of the organization make no ruling that all should be kept from aligning themselves with political parties, but it has recommended that officers refrain from aligning themselves with political parties or partisan measures until the merits of the same shall have been fully weighed.

Legislation at Albany will receive close scrutiny and that which tends to equalize the rights of men and women in cases where men are now favored will be given special attention. Laws pertaining to woman's labor, to education, to health, and all similar measures will be of immediate concern.

Economical Politicians

A report heard with much interest was that of the treasurer, who gave the total receipts for the period, January 20, 1917, to December 20, 1917, as \$33,752.18. The total expenditures for the same period were \$33,302.87.

All-For-America Plans

AFTER a rousing discussion and the putting of many involved questions, it was voted to urge the passage of Congressman Jeannette Rankin's bill which provides that American women married to aliens may retain their citizenship. The motion was passed with much enthusiasm. "Once an American woman, always an American woman," was the keynote of the discussion.

In the midst of all this planning for citizenship the Party did not for one

moment forget its war service work, pledging itself anew to the work outlined by the Government. Active work in behalf of the Thrift Saving Stamps was a specific matter receiving endorsement. The war service work will continue to be one of the main avenues of activity.

As this was the first gathering of the City Party since the soldier and sailor vote was officially canvassed, it naturally took on the note of a jubilee. The fact that this vote went two to one for suffrage was the cause of unbounded satisfaction to the convention.

Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the
(Continued on following page)



JUSTICE GUY

The spirit that permeated the whole gathering was put into words when Supreme Court Justice Charles L. Guy made an eloquent plea to the suffragists of New York to keep pressing forward. "Do not rest until every American woman is made a full citizen of the United States," said Justice Guy. "You have won a victory, but there must be no pausing until the big goal of political freedom for all women is attained." For twenty-five years Justice Guy has stood staunchly by the suffragists of New York, and in their hour of great triumph he now sees opportunity for wider, greater service.

state, and national—as well as to give talks.

It was agreed at the convention that no more important work confronts the City Party than the work of Americanization. With 200,000 foreign-born women in New York City, who have become citizens because their husbands have been naturalized or are citizens, one may judge of the scope this work must take to be effective, especially when one realizes that many of these women cannot speak English.

"PRACTICAL" is the key word of the whole City Party program, and practical to the last word will be the survey which

City Party, who led suffrage to victory on November 6 in the city of New York, devoted a part of her address to the soldier vote saying:

"One of the most gratifying things we have to remember is the generous soldier vote cast for our cause. The total soldier vote in New York City was 26,211. Of this 8,858 votes were cast against the Suffrage Amendment and 17,353 were cast in favor of the Amendment, making a majority for suffrage of 8,495. This makes almost a two to one vote for the amendment.

"THE National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has said, in a printed leaflet circulated among Congressmen in Washington, 'Woman suffrage was carried in New York City by pro-Germans, pacifists and Socialists.' This leaflet was printed before the soldier vote for suffrage was taken. The almost two to one proportion of the soldier vote for suffrage answers the anti assertions. The suffrage women, yes, all American women of this city, are standing with the Government and for 'our boys' who are to uphold our democratic ideals before the whole world. The soldiers realized this and cast their votes to help the women to work and vote for democracy at home, while the men are fighting for it abroad."

A tribute to the soldier vote was paid by the Borough Chairmen. In several instances they reported that the soldier vote had the honor of putting the Assembly District in the victory column. Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany spoke for the Borough of Manhattan, Mrs. Edward H. Dreier for the Borough of Brooklyn, Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer for the Borough of the Bronx, Mrs. David Rodger for the Borough of Queens and Mrs. William G. Willcox for the Borough of Richmond.

"Every Woman Has Her Principle"

IN regard to what may be expected with the addition of 700,000 women to the electorate, Miss Hay said, "What our voting sisters of the West have done with the ballot justifies us in the belief that woman's vote will make for civic betterment in the future. We cannot expect a change at once nor do we believe that women will bring the millennium. We do believe that steadily and surely women will lift politics in our city to a higher plane.

"We must teach women to recognize a bribe when it is offered. There are so many subtle ways of exerting political pressure on a voter that many new and unsophisticated voters may not realize until it is too late that their votes have been cleverly manipulated to the advantage of the manipulator. Let us spread practical information which will warn women against such practices. Let us change the old adage 'Every man has his price' to 'Every woman has her principles.' Our ideal is to

rouse a civic conscience in each woman voter, to make her feel a personal responsibility for conditions in her own district, in her city, and to train her in the practical procedure necessary to make improvements or effect changes."

THE anti-suffrage shibboleth that the pro-German vote was responsible for the suffrage victory was given another blow when Mr.



MR. FREDERICK C. TANNER

Former Chairman of the Republican State Committee

"The principles of a strong centralized government as opposed to the states' rights theory has been a doctrine of the Republican Party since the days of Alexander Hamilton," said Mr. Tanner. "I am not sure that our Democratic friends have not borrowed a plank from our platform. We have Federal food control, Federal fuel control, Federal railroad control and the end is not yet. The party or the men who, on the subject of Federal suffrage, are trying to reverse historical precedent, are rowing against the current and will be defeated. No matter what demerits the granting of equal suffrage may have, it has the positive and undeniable merit of being in line with the form of government on which this country is founded, in which it established itself by the Civil War and for which it has sent hundreds of thousands of its young men to the battle fields of Europe."

Frederick Tanner, at the evening session, gave his address, warmly endorsing the Federal Amendment. "It has been said that the women were carried through to victory by the socialistic vote and by the strong pro-German feeling. The analysis of the soldier vote sets this subject at rest. The soldier vote on the suffrage amendment was two to one in its favor, or a far higher percentage than the civilian vote. I do not feel disposed to question the patriotism of any man who will offer his body as a sacrifice to German shells." Mr. Tanner's audience was with him when he added, "What is good

enough for him is good enough for me when the bogie of pro-Germanism and socialism is raised."

The New York suffrage victory has been hailed far and wide as the most momentous victory in the history of the suffrage cause, and something of the tremendous responsibility which must necessarily go with all this was shown as the leaders of the New York City

Party told of the aims and hopes of the organization not for themselves, not for the city or state, but for the women in every state. It remained for Justice of the Supreme Court Charles L. Guy, to put it in words in a way that will not be soon forgotten by the seven hundred women assembled.

For twenty-five years Judge Guy has been aiding the women in their struggle for suffrage, and his address was an eloquent appeal for them to keep pressing forward until the great goal—enfranchisement for all women—was reached.

"This great cause will fail to achieve its true end if you halt now for feasting and rejoicing," said Justice Guy. "It was the determination of your leaders two years ago to keep pressing on that made the victory of November possible. So long as there is a single woman in any state who is denied equal opportunity, equal pay, equal freedom, you have no right to halt, no right until you have brought your sisters in the other states that political freedom which you now enjoy. See to it that every sane American woman has a right to a voice in the government. Be true to the great principle for which you have labored. Women of New York, to your own selves be true."

The Home of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

ONE feature of the first convention of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party since its members became enfranchised citizens was the unabated interest shown by those present.

There was no fatigue nor lassitude evident. There was no dropping off in attendance. There was no failure of committees to act. There are some significant new names, such as the Council of Women Voters instead of the old Educational Committee, but the grand old mansion where the party's officers are housed is bursting with activity just as it did when the party was housed in its smaller offices.

SUFFRAGISTS casting an anxious glance along East Thirty-fourth street in search of the familiar blue, white and gold banner of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City will be comforted to know that the beloved flag now flutters in the breeze at the association's new domicile, 3 E. Thirty-eighth street. Under pain of having their abode pulled down about their ears, the suffragists were obliged to add

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Special Washington Correspondence

WASHINGTON knows its times of tension and suffragists know tense times, but when the question is a House vote on Woman Suffrage, Washington and suffragists are gripped together in an interest that fairly snaps the breath. This was the combination in evidence in Washington for the week prior to the House vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment on January 10th. The *Woman Citizen*, alas, must go to press the day before the vote is taken, but we can and will follow the story up to the moment the printing press shuts down on us.

Never was there a story better worth following. From the time Mrs. Catt reached Washington, some days before the reopening of Congress, there was a drive of political activity such as even suffragists have seldom come through alive. There were hearings galore before the Woman Suffrage Committee, there was caucusing, there were women delegations from this state and that visiting their representatives, there were conferences with the nation's leaders, there were arguments, there were conversions. And all the while the party whips were on the watch, and daily it became more evident that woman suffrage had become an issue on which neither of the dominant parties could allow the other to score with impunity.

Nobody can ever accuse Judge Raker, the chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, of stinting hearings before his committee. He let everybody talk and talk to a finish. He heard the National American Woman Suffrage Association on January 3; Mr. Everett P. Wheeler and a gray-haired confrere, on January 4; the Wadsworthians on the morning of January 5, and the National Woman's Party in the afternoon of that day.

THE House Committee on Woman Suffrage, of which Representative Raker of California, is chairman, held the first of a series of hearings on the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment on January 3rd. This entire hearing was given to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt is president. There was another hearing at which members of the Woman's Party spoke, on January 4th, and on January 5th, the Wadsworthians were heard.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association hearings were conducted by Mrs. Maud Wood Park, congressional chairman for the National Association, and the speakers were:

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, who answered the charge that the suffrage movement is "pro-German, pacifist and socialistic."

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the Association, replied to Representative Webb of North Carolina, on the basis of his own speech against the state rights argument as applied to prohibition.

Mrs. Travis Whitney of New York, state congressional chairman for the National Association, replied to Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, president of the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Nashville, Tenn., president of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association and member of the executive board

of the National, told why Southern women want suffrage by Federal amendment.

Mrs. Henry Ware Allen, of Wichita, Kan., where women vote, showed why the enfranchised women want Congress to pass the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment.

The hearing was held in the caucus room on the third floor of the House Office Building, and aroused unusual interest.

The Suffrage Amendment and the Prohibition Amendment

THAT the Federal Woman Suffrage amendment stands a better chance of ratification in the legislatures of the several states than the prohibition amendment, was asserted by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at the hearing before the House Woman Suffrage Committee last week.

"It is commonly claimed," said Mrs. Catt, "that prohibition represents a stronger public sentiment in the nation than woman suffrage, because twenty-seven states are classed as pro-

Governor Whitman to Mrs. Catt

"I BELIEVE that the proposed Federal amendment providing for equal suffrage should be passed, and I believe, too, in the event of its passage, that it will be ratified by at least three-quarters of the states. The State of New York, by an overwhelming majority, has given the vote to its women, and I think that it is the wish of our people that our representatives in Congress should support this measure."

CHARLES S. WHITMAN."

hibition states, while there are only twelve full suffrage states. The facts are that there are twelve full suffrage states and twelve prohibition states of equal history. There are nine prohibition states by statute, four by statute with referendum and two which gave prohibition a trial and then adopted an amendment. There are, therefore, fifteen states which secured the right to be called prohibition states by methods not open to the question of woman suffrage. Women cannot get the vote by statute nor by statute with referendum.

"These two questions of proposed reform appeared in our country about the same time. They have not been supported by the same groups nor made the same appeal, although many persons have advocated both reforms. A conscientious comparison of the progress made by them with the provisions of the laws and constitutions taken into account will prove to any investigator that woman suffrage has made greater gain, for it has made the race with the continual handicap of preventing legal obstructions.

"IOWA has for many years been classed as a prohibitory state and now has a statutory prohibition law, but it has just rejected a constitutional amendment. The same state by the vote of the same classes rejected

woman suffrage two years ago. The sentiment for woman suffrage is, I believe, as strong as for prohibition, yet the law exists for prohibition and is constitutionally impossible for woman suffrage.

"NEW MEXICO offers an especially curious discrimination against a fair chance for woman suffrage. The constitution of that state provides two methods of amending. The process prescribed for suffrage amendments is that an amendment must first secure a three-fourths vote of the total membership of the two houses of the Legislature and on referendum, three-fourths of the highest number of electors voting in the whole state, and at least two-thirds of the total voting in each county. In those states wherein a majority of the votes cast at an election instead of a majority cast on an amendment is necessary to secure its adoption, the amendment of the constitution is extremely difficult, and a three-fourths vote would render amendment utterly impossible. Yet New Mexico has just adopted a constitutional amendment establishing prohibition. The reason is that such classes of amendment need only to secure a majority of the membership of each of the two houses of the Legislature and on referendum a majority of the electors voting on the proposition. Here is a case where the same constitution provided a fairly easy method for the prohibition amendment and an impossible one for woman suffrage. Such discriminations fill suffragists with maddening indignation.

"SUFFRAGISTS now ask for an equal chance with prohibition, an equal chance with the women of our allied and our enemy nations.

"They are justified in expecting that every member of Congress who voted to send the prohibition question to the legislatures will vote to give the woman suffrage question the same chance and that, too, without regard to his personal views on the merits of the question. It is, as Mr. Webb has so ably pointed out, only a referendum to the legislatures that they ask.

"They are justified, too, in expecting that many men who believe that prohibition is not properly a question to be included in the national constitution, will vote to send woman suffrage to the legislatures because it is undeniably a constitutional question."

The Orderly Method

MRS. CATT found a prime argument for the Federal Suffrage Amendment in Representative E. Y. Webb's argument for Federal action on the prohibition amendment. Mrs. Catt said:

"Mr. Webb has not yet announced his conversion to woman suffrage, but he cannot oppose the Federal Amendment upon the ground of state rights, for he could not defend such position against his own speech. His plea was so modern, progressive and appealing, that it will make his children and his children's children proud. In fact, he has quite demolished the doctrine of state rights in so far as it may be used to block the progress of questions national in character.

Hearings Before the House

House Suffrage Committee

"Said he: 'This is not a prohibition vote. It is a question of referendum. . . . Will you balk on submitting to states of the nation this great question? . . . Are you afraid to trust the states? The states made the constitution, reserving to themselves the right to amend it and that is when two-thirds of both Houses of Congress deem it necessary that an amendment should be submitted. I submit to you, gentlemen, . . . that you should be willing to stand by your states in giving them the opportunity to amend the greatest instrument ever struck off by the pen of man and submit to the forty-eight sovereign states the question. . . . There is no question of state rights in this proposition; it is the right whether or not they shall vote to amend the constitution. That is a sovereign right of which they should not be deprived and which they provided for in that great instrument. If three-fourths of the states say that the manufacture and sale of liquor for beverage purposes should be stopped, then it is the highest sovereign prerogative left for the states to say that, and there is absolutely no violation of state rights when that question is submitted to them in that way.'

"MR. WEBB also said: 'I have in my possession petitions . . . 500,000 of whom are among the best women in the world, sent me by Miss Anna Gordon, the head of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Why not give them a chance? If the states do not want to adopt it, you (wet) men are not hurt; if they want to adopt it, it certainly is your duty to submit it to them, because that is the only way in which they can change their constitution; and as Senator Blair said long years ago, if you do not allow the people of this Republic to amend their constitution, when they want to, it breeds revolution. It is the orderly way to amend that sacred document.'

"The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," continued Mrs. Catt, "is an important body of intelligent, earnest, sincere women. Their wishes are worthy of respect and consideration. Since their petition has helped to persuade Mr. Webb that there is public sentiment enough to overcome state rights and to warrant national action on prohibition, he, and those who think with him, will also agree that the wishes of this same body of women on woman suffrage are equally compelling. No one would be guilty of such loose thinking as to believe that the petition of a group of citizens is logical and worthy of consideration when the object of its appeal is in accord with his views and that the petition of the same group fails in logic and worth when it differs from his views.

"THE Woman's Christian Temperance Union at its annual convention, held in Washington, D. C., composed of nearly 1,000 delegates, passed on December 5th, 1917, by unanimous vote, without a single speech being made against it, the following resolution:

"We urge united effort for the submission of the Federal Amendment to the Constitution, granting suffrage to women on equal terms with men and the continu-

ance of every effort in state-wide campaigns for partial or full suffrage for women.'

"These women number many millions and are 'the best in the world.' No nation and no generation ever produced better. 'Why not give them a chance' as Mr. Webb proposes?"

Men Only Half the People

THE liveliest time of the hearing came when Mrs. Catt, having finished what she called her little disquisition of state rights, dedicated to Mr. Webb, took up the committee's questions and answered them. Some of the committee's questions were asked with the friendliest of intentions to bring out the case for suffrage. Others were asked in the stolid routine of the mind that is still wondering why the woman question can't be settled by a referendum to the women, still wondering what there is in the vote that appeals so strongly to women, still wondering why suffragists won't allow the ques-

Colonel Roosevelt Urges Federal Amendment

"AS a matter of justice and of common sense the nation should no longer delay to give woman suffrage," wrote Col. Roosevelt in a letter to William R. Willcox, chairman of the Republican National Committee, on January 3. Two things were earnestly urged by Col. Roosevelt in the letter: first, that the Republican Party, as a party, urge the Republican Representatives to vote for the Federal Amendment, and, second, that an immediate addition of a woman member from every suffrage state be made to the Republican National Committee.

tion to be settled by state referenda instead of by Federal Amendment.

The reason that suffragists oppose submitting the question to women is because it is neither legal nor constitutional, Mrs. Catt pointed out. "And when you say submit it to the people, it cannot be done, for in no state in the Union are women people, so it can only be submitted to men, who are half the people. It is manifestly unjust to submit a question which concerns one-half the people to the other half, and that is the reason why we do not want state referenda. On the other hand, if you submit the question to both men and women, which would be democratic, it would be neither legal nor constitutional, except where women have it, and where, consequently, there is no need for submitting it."

It was Mr. Frank Clark, of Florida, a pleasant anti, who was inclined to be insistent about the referendum to women, and, more particularly, about getting Mrs. Catt on record as opposed to it. If there were some way by which the question could be submitted, through a primary, to the women of the country, would Mrs. Catt still object to that way of disposing of the disturbing question?

Mrs. Catt: I certainly would, but not because they would not give a majority for it, not at all.

"NOT because I think they would not go for it, because I know they would, but because it is not legal and it only postpones the time. In the state of New York, where people talked as you do and had honest feelings about it, the women went from house to house, from farm to farm, and climbed up the stairs of tenement houses, and asked the women whether they would ask the fathers to vote for it, and one million, fifteen thousand of the women did. There is not any question about a majority of the women wanting it; there is not any question about that. But why should we do something in the United States that no other country has done and that our own country has done for no class of men? Why should women, who are now intelligent, graduates of our high schools and our colleges, taxpayers by the billions, and all that sort of thing, be singled out for the purpose of making a test that no other class of men have ever had in our own country and no class of women in any other country? (Applause.) That is why we object.

Mr. Clark: But the fact is you do object. I wanted to bring that out.

Mrs. Catt: We object to every kind of discrimination against us.

(Applause.)

Mr. Clark: In other words, you think it would be discriminating against the women to get the views of the women?

Mrs. Catt: No, I do not, but what I do think is that when the Federal Amendment goes through it will be ratified by the spring of 1919; that is what I think, and I think if you are going to have a vote as to whether the women want it or not, you are going to put the states, first, to the expense of registering the women, for the purpose of finding out whether they are Americans or not; you are going to go through all the paraphernalia of an election, you are going to put the suffragists to the expense of running a campaign to get the women out to vote for their own question, and all that, and in doing that you have postponed ratification. That is what I mean, and when you get all through, you have nothing that is legal, and it does not mean anything. That is why we object to it. It seems to me so foolish to do a thing that is entirely unnecessary, and all that you suggest, it seems to me, would be unnecessary in view of the fact that the vote is a liberty; whether it is a right, a privilege, or whatever it may be called, it certainly is a liberty; it is a liberty extended; it is not a compulsion; there is nothing compulsory about it. No Member of Congress is obliged to vote, but he has the liberty of voting. And so it is with our foreign men; we give them the liberty of voting; they do not have to do it, but we have opened the door to them.

Mr. Clark: There is no question now as to the intelligence of women or anything of that sort, but just what particular hardship or what particular injustice to women will be righted or what will they get under the laws of the country if women are given the vote which they do not get now?

Mrs. Catt: Well, Mr. Member of the Committee, in the first place, let me ask, Yankee fashion, another question: Do you value your vote because of something you are getting from it, or is it a weapon in your hand all the time to protect your interests in the country and get what you want when it comes time? You can-

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Dr. Shaw Denies Pacifist Charges

DR. SHAW said that the opposition to the Federal Amendment had reduced itself to the statement that the extension of suffrage at this time to a large body of inexperienced voters, endowed with a sympathy for human suffering, would tend to weaken the prosecution of the war and lead to ill-advised peace.

"It is undoubtedly true," said Dr. Shaw, "that the majority of women are endowed by nature with great sympathy with human suffering, but it is also true that they are endowed with intelligence and knowledge which combine to show them that in the present war greater suffering would result from an ill-advised peace than from such a termination of hostilities as would make it forever impossible that like suffering should visit the world again. Therefore, on the basis of human sympathy, they would be opposed to an ill-advised peace."

"THE charge that the majority of women are pacifists in the sense in which that word is used at the present time is absolutely disproved not alone in the countries of our allies, but in our own country by the zeal with which women have thrown themselves into war service. The first national woman's organization which, through its representatives, presented a definite plan of war work to the Government, even before war was declared, was the National American Woman Suffrage Association with its 2,000,000 patriotic, loyal members. Then followed in rapid succession other bodies of women. It is no overstatement to say that where one man has offered voluntarily to enlist, ten women have offered for active war work in the field in which women can serve the Government, and that there are at present several millions of women engaged in the Red Cross, War Relief Societies, munitions factories, Government service, nursing, as well as in civic life, where they are taking the places of men who have entered the army. They are serving their country, while thousands more are preparing themselves for the service so that just as soon as the country calls more men to the army, they can fill vacancies and carry on the work of providing the army with the equipment of war."

"IF we need a more definite statement of this point, we need only to turn to the last election in Canada, which hinged entirely upon conscription, and was carried by the votes of Canadian women, without which the Government would have been defeated and conscription would have failed."

"When we find the services of women recognized by the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Canada, and even by Austria, it is a clear indication that the loyalty of American women, measured not only during the war, but in every emergency in our country's history, demands that at this time the Government shall recognize the services of its women. Because of the great need of woman power in the country, there should be no longer any delay in granting to the 2,000,000 of women who have been striving for our enfranchisement for years, that freedom which will enable them to give their undivided attention and energy and service to the demands of their country."

Signed "Pershing"

A CABLEGRAM received at the War Department for Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Chairman Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, shows what the American army in France thinks of the woman power of America:

"All ranks of the American Expeditionary Force unite in heartfelt thanks to the women of America for their love and their prayers. The patriotism of our incomparable women, than whom there are no others more noble, shall be our constant inspiration until the great capital task which has been entrusted to us shall be accomplished. Accept our best wishes for the coming year and our firm confidence in our final success.—PERSHING."

Secretary Baker Is for the Federal Amendment

The Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, has written to Judge Raker, as chairman of the House Woman Suffrage Committee, to say that while he does not feel free to speak officially, he has no objection to its being known that "I personally favor the passage of the resolution submitting the amendment as provided by the constitution."

Southern Suffragists Roused Over Slacker Vote

PROBABLY no women in the country have a general heritage of oratorical and political ability greater than that of the Southern women. They are the daughters of their fathers, and they have been proving it picturesquely as they have stepped forward into the front ranks of the workers for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. They long since left Southern men behind them in their abandonment of the state rights' tradition, and in behalf of the Federal route for suffrage they can put up the cleanest-cut argument, in the most ingratiating and convincing way, known to charm and logic.

Besides the Southern women living in Washington who work with the congressional forces of the National Suffrage Association, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, Texas and other states sent their brilliant society leaders, club women and professional women to present the question to their representatives in Washington this week.

The dangerous possibilities inherent in the slacker vote, the ignorant vote and the alien vote received special attention in the arguments of the Southern women.

Mrs. Cordelia Powell Odenheimer, past-president-general of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, one of the Southern women of the Capital who declared her acute interest in the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, said: "With this country at war, it seems to me a very dangerous thing to leave American women, and particularly Southern women, unenfranchised. In the South the undesirable vote is very large. But the number of white women in the South—educated women of pure

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The Mother Thought Is Needed in World Councils

MRS. HENRY WARE ALLEN, of Wichita, Kansas, a state where women vote, at the hearing before the House Suffrage Committee on the federal woman suffrage amendment, said in part:

"Can you gentlemen realize what it means to women to feel that the men with whom they spend their lives are chivalrous enough, and have faith enough in their intelligence and integrity to recognize them as political equals? Can you not see that men and women under such conditions are firmer friends, more devoted husbands and wives, that all family relations are closer when the big affairs of the city, the state, and the nation are matters of equal importance to all the adults of the household?"

"You gentlemen have done many things federally during the last year that have never been done before. You have federally conscripted the sons of the nation—and that was right. You have federally taxed the incomes of men and women, and again your action has been most commendable. Less than three weeks ago you did your part toward overcoming one of the greatest evils of all times, the drink evil, and you did it as a nation. So why should you hesitate to take federal action on the next issue of right and justice that is coming up for your consideration? Surely this is a place where consistency would be a jewel."

"The women of the enfranchised states, moreover, at this time are feeling another phase of this matter. The things we hold most dear in life, our sons for whom we have suffered and worked and loved, are having to go forth to face conditions which make us tremble even to think of. In the face of the wrongs committed by our dastardly enemy, we would be ashamed not to have them go. We, however, believe our great President when he says that we have entered the war for two purposes—to make the world safe for democracy, and that war may end. This last reason is the great hope that is burning in the hearts of men and women."

"The opinion is constantly growing in the hearts of thoughtful women of our race that war will never cease until the women of all lands sit in the councils of all countries with their men and have an equal voice in the conduct of their affairs. Women have paid such a price for the lives of the race that they will find a way to prevent the ghastly waste of life."

"I had the pleasure recently of meeting a nurse who had returned from the front. She had been caring for the poor wounded lads in a monastery which had been turned into a hospital in France. She said that during the day-time they were so brave, so uncomplaining, so debonair, but during the long watches of the night, when restraint was thrown off, she had learned one word in seven different languages. And that word was 'Mother.'"

"Our world is wounded, sick, and weary, and if you will listen in the night, you will hear the same cry. The mother thought, the mother instinct, the mother initiative is needed in the councils of the world, for in no other way will war be done away with."

Millions of mothers on both sides of the sea whose sons are in the trenches fighting for democracy spoke through Mrs. Allen. As never before they want a chance in world councils.

Democratic Control of Chairmanships in Jeopardy

Cantrill, of Kentucky, Cautions

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES C. CANTRILL of Kentucky told all the world on January 6th that he thinks the failure of the ten Southern states to vote for the adoption of the Federal Suffrage Amendment would mean political suicide for Southern Democrats. He pointed out that ten Southern states were now in control of thirty-one of the sixty committee chairmanships in the House. Four of these ten states control eighteen of the thirty-one chairmanships. That the South would like to keep this control goes without saying.

"But it won't be able to do so in face of the opposition it will encounter, if these ten Southern states vote almost solidly against the Federal suffrage amendment," said Representative Cantrill. "These ten Southern states have only 110 electoral votes as against 193 electoral votes possessed by the eighteen states that have given women the suffrage for Presidential Electors.

CALLS POLICY SHORT-SIGHTED

"Now, for these ten Southern states to vote almost solidly against the suffrage amendment, as it is reported that they intend doing, would, in my opinion, be a very grave political mistake. The South has everything to lose by such a short-sighted policy. The eighteen suffrage states have thirty-six senators, while the ten Southern states which are reported as being against the suffrage amendment have only twenty senators. The fact that the Congress is now almost evenly divided between the Democratic and Republican parties, it seems to me, should force Democratic members from the South to give heed to the situation.

"This statement is based on the supposition that each Democrat in Congress is looking to the welfare of his party in the nation, and that he will not be governed by local conditions in his own district. Conditions often arise where the Member of Congress must look beyond the confines of his own district and take a stand for those things which are for the good of the Democratic party in the nation and for the good of the nation itself.

"The public discussion recently of the national woman suffrage amendment has brought to the surface the fact that the Republican leaders in Congress are doing everything in their power to line up the full Republican vote in Congress for this amendment. I sincerely hope that the Democrats in Congress are alive to the situation and that they will not permit the Republican party to get any political advantage from the passage of this amendment.

"I speak as a Southern Democrat, who expects to vote for the suffrage amendment. The Democratic party is now in control of all branches of the Federal Government. Almost every committee assignment, so far as the chairmanships are concerned, is held by Southern Democrats, who thus practically dictate the legislation of the nation. We have this control, as everyone knows, because the woman suffrage states in the last Presidential election voted almost solidly for Democratic electors and candidates.

"For the Democratic Party in Congress to

vote against the states that gave them this power would, in my humble opinion, be political suicide. For the Southern Democrats in Congress to say to the millions of patriotic women of the nation that suffrage shall not be given them would bring down upon our heads such condemnation from the suffrage states that we would be driven from power.

CITES REPUBLICANS' ATTITUDE.

"Why should we not view the situation as our Republican friends are doing and line up for the passage of the amendment? If this plan is pursued, then the suffrage question cannot be made a political and partisan issue. On the other hand, the Democratic party cannot go into the campaign next year with any hope of success with a large Republican vote in Congress in favor of the suffrage amendment and a large Democratic vote in Congress against the amendment.

"How can we of the South expect the confidence of the nation in controlling the great committees of Congress unless we are willing to trust millions of citizens in suffrage and non-suffrage states who are asking us at this time to show our confidence in them by granting the right of suffrage to millions of sincere, intelligent and patriotic women? The men who are in the trenches carrying the burden of this war, when they were given the chance to vote on the question of woman suffrage, voted two to one in favor of it. If the boys in the trenches, who every day risk their lives for the national defense, are willing to trust the women to vote as to their welfare, certainly the men who are fighting the war behind mahogany desks can trust the American women with the ballot."

Beating Them To It

"WILL the Democrats let the Republicans get away with it?" That was the question that buzzed about Capitol Hill as the vote on the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment drew near. Senator Henry F. Hollis of New Hampshire, a Democrat, referring to a well-recognized Republican move that got under way to pass the amendment by Republican votes, paused to call attention, in his incisive way, to his own party's opportunity—and likewise its danger.

"If the Republican platform had been for national woman suffrage in 1916, Judge Hughes would have been elected," said Senator Hollis. "Draw your own conclusion about the next campaign." And he added, "Our Republican friends are not slow to show their eagerness to enforce democracy at home by completing the citizenship of women. Why should the Democrats permit the Republicans to beat them to it? What woman suffrage by states was to the peace policy of the Democratic party in 1916, national woman suffrage is to-day to the war policy of the country.

"I AM a Democrat, representing in the Senate the only Eastern state that voted for President Wilson in 1916. I was with Senator Walsh of Montana at Democratic Headquarters in Chicago in that campaign. I stayed with the

Democratic platform from its first draft till I finished reading it to the St. Louis convention.

"The woman suffrage plank was not in the first draft of the Democratic platform of 1916; it was not recommended to the full Committee on Resolutions by the sub-committee that conducted hearings. The senator who cast the deciding vote against it in sub-committee is now ready to vote for the Anthony amendment.

"But the full Committee on Resolutions put the suffrage plank into the platform, and there it stayed, though the only contest in the Democratic convention.

"And it stayed there because of a very forceful and practical speech by Senator Walsh of Montana, who showed to the convention that the Democratic party would need the votes of states having woman suffrage in order to re-elect President Wilson. Our experience at Democratic Headquarters in Chicago in the campaign, and the result of the election, showed that his position was sound. No party could have elected a President in 1916 without an endorsement of woman suffrage in its platform.

"But, you say, that plank was not for National suffrage, but for suffrage in the states. Very true. And my answer is that Judge Hughes would have been elected if the Republican platform had been for national woman suffrage. You may draw your own conclusion about the next campaign.

"THE world has moved since 1916. The Democrats carried the country in that year on woman suffrage by states and President Wilson's peace policy. We have now entered the greatest war of all time to make the world safe for democracy, safe for majority rule as opposed to kaiser rule, or autocracy. We are determined that the peace of the world shall not depend hereafter upon the whims or ambitions or quarrels of a few individuals.

"What woman suffrage by states was to the peace policy of the Democratic party in 1916, national woman suffrage is to-day to the war policy of the country. The world is not safe for democracy unless the people rule the world. And no nation can consistently fight as the champion of world democracy unless it has first become itself a genuine democracy, granting to all people, irrespective of sex, the privilege of the ballot. I do not say the right of the ballot, because woman has always had the right to vote; she has merely lacked the power to enforce the right.

"It seems to me that a great opportunity lies before the party which has advanced in a single year from a policy of peace to a policy of war to enforce democracy throughout the world. Our Republican friends are not slow to show their eagerness to enforce democracy at home by completing the citizenship of women. Why should the Democrats permit the Republicans to beat them to it?"

With the Wadsworthians

MR. EVERETT P. WHEELER, the anti-perennial of New York, was all but swept off his feet by the storm of applause that greeted one of his remarks before the House Suffrage Committee last week. The applause was from suffragists. And the remark, which seemed to leave Mr. Wheeler wondering why he made it, was this:

"God Almighty never gave anybody the right to govern anybody else."

The South, the West and the Federal Amendment

Mrs. Dudley Lays Ghost for Southern Congressmen

WASHINGTON, January 3.—Mrs. Guilford Dudley, of Nashville, Tennessee, president of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, and 3d vice-president of the National Suffrage Association, and one of the speakers at the hearing on the federal woman suffrage amendment before the House Committee on Woman Suffrage this morning, said in part:

"I wonder if you have any conception of the intense feeling of humiliation Southern women experience when they discover that the greatest opposition to the submission of our Federal Suffrage Amendment to the states comes from Southern representatives in Congress? More than any women in the world, we have had the praise of words. Our wisdom, our goodness, our courage, these things have been sung to and of us, but when it comes to the faith of deeds, we are beginning to wonder if, after all, some Southern men may not consider us less worthy than the women of other sections.

"They have withheld our enfranchisement for two reasons which we for a time accepted—the state rights doctrine and the negro problem. From the state rights ground of opposition the Southern men have themselves retreated, and we now stand face to face with this bare and ugly alternative: Either our men feel that they can not trust us with the ballot, or we must feel that we can not trust their sense of justice.

"As to the negro problem, the women of the South feel that the time has come to lay, once and for all, this old, old ghost which still stalks through the halls of Congress. This phantom has outlived its time, even for what is known, in the South, as a 'hant.' In the 15 states south of Mason and Dixon's line, the excess of white women alone over 21 years of age above all negro men and women of like age is 1,122,477. There are only two Southern states where the negro race is more than 50 per cent. of the population. In South Carolina the per cent. of negroes, according to the federal census of 1910, was 55.2. In this state voters must be able to read and they must own and pay taxes on \$300 worth of property. In Mississippi the per cent. of negroes is 56.2, and there voters must be able to read the Constitution. The other four states of the so-called Black Belt also impose an educational test.

"In the eight years since the census was taken, the percentage given has been materially reduced in both the states mentioned, so that South Carolina claims that there is no longer any preponderancy of negroes. The increase in the negro population in the last decade is 11.2 per cent. The increase in the white population is 22.3 per cent., or twice that of the negro population.

"Furthermore, during the past year alone 75,000 negroes have left one Southern state to go North, and 73,000 have gone from three others. In view of this fact, it appears that we might transfer a share of our rather hysterical anxieties with regard to the menace of the negro vote to other states.

"It is true that there are some counties in the South where the negroes greatly predominate.

But it is also true that in those counties there is a greater degree of illiteracy, and the educational qualification operates to exclude this vote. There is no need to fear that the Southern men and women of today will not know how to uphold the integrity of their government. We are not living in the reconstruction period, but in the year of Our Lord 1918. The horrors of that old period are past, never to be revived. The only possible approach to it might come through the failure to give the white women of the South the power of the ballot. When our husbands and brothers are going forth to fight for democracy, we must not only assume their tasks at home, but we must bear the more sacred burden of cherishing the ideals of government for which they have offered their lives, in order that their sacrifice may not be in vain."

Memorial to the 65th Congress of the United States

IN view of the fact that one-quarter of the states of the Union have now extended full suffrage to woman, and

In view of the fact that since the war began suffrage has been granted or pledged to the women of Canada, Great Britain, Russia and France, and

In view of the fact that every state and country which has tried woman suffrage gives unanimous evidence that the women voters have proved a positive force for good,

We, the undersigned, believe that when the world is fighting for Democracy—"the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government"—the time has come to take steps insuring political freedom to the women of the entire United States and we therefore unite in asking the Sixty-fifth Congress to submit a Federal Suffrage Amendment to be ratified by the legislatures of the several states.

(Signed by)

CHARLES H. BROUGH,
Governor of Arkansas,
TOM J. TERRALL, Secretary of State,
Little Rock, Ark.
R. G. McDANIEL, State Treasurer,
Little Rock, Ark.
JNO. D. ARBUCKLE, Attorney General,
Little Rock, Ark.
TOM M. NUHAFFY,
Pres. Constitutional Convention,
Little Rock, Ark.
CHARLES E. TAYLOR, Mayor,
Little Rock, Ark.

A Worth While New Year's Resolution

ONE of the first acts of the Indiana State Council of Defense was to put itself on record for the Federal Amendment. It passed such a resolution in response to a telegram from Charles W. Fairbanks, ex-Vice President of the United States and Chairman of the Council's Committee on Public Policy. His message read: "I am not in favor of any legislation upon woman suffrage as a war measure, but I am enthusiastically in favor of it, as I always have been, as a matter of sheer right and common justice."

Ratification Chances

A BATTERY of telegrams urging the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and indicating the chances of ratification by the several states, was received by Mrs. Catt from state governors during the last days before the House vote. Manifestly the amendment can start with a goodly number of states in the ratification column. Governor Whitman spoke early for New York. Governor Lister was sure Washington Legislature would ratify such amendment if passed by Congress. He called attention to the fact that Washington had passed a joint memorial asking Congress to submit the amendment. Governor Stuart of Montana wired "I hope Federal amendment will pass. Montana favors woman suffrage."

From Wyoming, the state that has had the largest experience with woman suffrage, came the following: "After forty-nine years of experience with woman suffrage, Wyoming enthusiastically and unqualifiedly may recommend the adoption by the nation of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment." Governor Gunter, of Colorado, wired: "Woman suffrage has been very beneficial to the state of Colorado and its citizenship. I think it a just and wise move to extend the right of suffrage to the women of the nation."

The Governor of Kansas, Arthur Capper, testified that "Woman suffrage has been an unqualified success in Kansas. I hope Congress will pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment and give the women of the nation the right to vote—a right which should never have been denied them."

Governor Boyle said Nevada's people "want to see suffrage established nationwide as part of Federal Constitution."

"Idaho is in favor of national enfranchisement of our women. It is in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, woman suffrage having worked in Idaho so satisfactorily that we believe its benefits should be nationwide," wired Governor Alexander.

Oregon's Governor, James Withycombe, wired that he was a strong advocate of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

"The Utah legislature by unanimous vote recommended the adoption of an amendment to the national constitution granting woman suffrage. I heartily concur in this recommendation and feel that such an amendment will be favorably acted upon by Congress," read the telegram signed by Governor Simon Bamberger.

Curves

MRS. WADSWORTH introduced to the Woman Suffrage Committee a pluperfect patriot statistician named Eichelberger, who presented a scheme of curves whereby he sought to prove that pro-Germanism and socialism and suffrage all bulged coincidentally in the New York vote on woman suffrage.

It was a mathematical calculation, he explained.

Had he figures to sustain it, the Committee wanted to know.

"No, he didn't have actual figures, but he had estimates that represented the vote in different districts if the voters had voted that way. Also he had those curves."

James McCreery & Co.

5th Avenue

34th Street

Important Sale

650 WOMEN'S WINTER COATS

\$25.00

regularly 39.50 to 49.50

An additional number of new model Fur-trimmed Coats, together with the remainder of our higher priced Coats taken from regular stock and reduced for immediate clearance; popular materials; a variety of Fur collars; all sizes; exceptional values.

NO C.O.D.'S — NO APPROVALS — NO RETURNS

The South for the Amendment

THE Kentucky Equal Rights Association has pledged itself to raise sufficient funds to purchase an ambulance to be presented to the Red Cross, for use on the European battle front. This action was taken at the annual convention of the association, held at Lexington. The ambulance will be named the Laura Clay Ambulance in honor of Miss Laura Clay, pioneer suffragist and for many years president of the Kentucky association.

PLANKS in the platform endorsed by the convention were as follows: The Kentucky Association reaffirmed its belief in the justice and right of equal suffrage, urged the Kentucky members in Congress to vote for the Federal Amendment; endorsed efforts to repress the social evil; approved of measures designed for the protection of women; expressed the opinion that although the association adopted a non-partisan attitude it would not prevent the members from working against a candidate opposed to suffrage; urged the enactment of a bill for presidential suffrage in all states, and approved of the campaign to abolish the liquor traffic.

The raising of funds for campaign work was assigned Mrs. Desha Breckenridge, who had the assistance of Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin, one of the speakers at the convention. Two thousand dollars was raised.

Mrs. Nellie McClung was also a speaker at the convention, and a pageant of the full suffrage states was a feature of the program.

Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, of Kentucky,

recording secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, brought greetings from the national body.

The growth of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association was shown in the report of the president, Mrs. John Glover South, who told of a number of new leagues formed and of the extension of the educational campaign work. The association has done a large amount of patriotic work under the leadership of Mrs. South.

THE Delaware Equal Suffrage Association in convention at Newport passed a strong resolution in regard to the Federal Amendment, drawing the attention of their congressmen and senators to the fact that now is the psychological moment to push the amendment and to work for its immediate passage.

The association expressed its thanks to Gov. J. G. Townsend for the stand he has taken in favor of suffrage. Equal pay for equal work and a resolution against the lengthening of the working hours of women were other matters given strong endorsement.

A pledge of \$500 to the National American Woman Suffrage Association shows the increase in suffrage work and sentiment in that state, the former pledge having been \$50.

Miss Agnes Y. Downey of Wilmington was re-elected state president. The staff elected includes: First vice-president, Mrs. Albert Robin; second vice-president, Mrs. J. Frank Ball; third vice-president, Mrs. A. D. Warner;

recording secretary, Miss Elizabeth Gawthrop; treasurer, Miss Ella Johnson; first auditor, Miss Mary R. de Vou; second auditor, Mrs. George Newcombe.

THE suffrage movement in Mississippi received a big impetus recently when the Mississippi Federation of Women's Clubs adopted a resolution endorsing suffrage for the women of Mississippi. The federated clubs represent progressive women from all parts of the state, women active along educational and philanthropic lines. It is a signal evidence of the universal appeal made by suffrage that the state federation has taken this important forward step. It represents the increasing strength of suffrage in the Southern States. Mrs. Edward F. McGehee, president of the Woman Suffrage Association of Mississippi, is active in club circles, having been state club president.

WHEN the drive for a million dollars for suffrage was inaugurated at the Atlantic City convention, Georgia was apportioned \$5,000 as her share. Georgia has raised \$5,285.

The officers elected for 1917-1918 are as follows: President, Mrs. F. P. MacIntire, Savannah; first vice-president, Mrs. S. B. C. Morgan, Savannah; second vice-president, Mrs. C. C. Harrold, Macon; treasurer, Miss Marie Minis, Savannah; recording secretary, Miss Dora Freeman, Greenville; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Philip Ballinger, Savannah; auditor, Miss Annie G. Wright, Augusta; congressional chairman, Mrs. Emily C. McDougald, Atlanta.

Have You Been Enfranchised Lately?

THE second article of this series, on the Enabling Law and the First Vote, has been delayed on account of difficulty in obtaining a copy of the draft of the proposed Enabling Act for New York. This article will appear next week.

In the meantime something may be said in regard to facilities in New York for education in citizenship. Courses have begun at the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, and a course of six weekly lectures designed mainly for those who desire themselves to teach voters is under way at the New York City Party Headquarters. A very comprehensive correspondence course is offered by William H. Allen, Director of the Institute for Public Service.

Under the auspices of the Women's Division of the Republican Party, 43 West 39th Street, a course of half a dozen simple lectures is offered on Federal, state and local government, party organization and the machinery of voting. One Community Centre (the Patrick Henry Centre) has started weekly evening lectures for women voters, and the Federation of Neighborhood Associations is announced as planning a series of the same simple type of lectures to be given at various places in New York. The Americanization Committee and the Naturalization Aid League plan to instruct voters. Three college courses—Regents, Hunter and Barnard—are planned, and the Woman's City Club, in cooperation with the Woman's Municipal League, announces a series. Space needed for the hearings at Washington make it impossible to print a review of recent civics books prepared for this week.

Hearings Before House Committee

(Continued from page 131)

not tell what is going to come in the long life ahead of you.

Mr. Clark: And I will ask you, Yankee fashion, what do women need to be protected against?

Mrs. Catt: Men. (Laughter.)

Dealing with the charge that woman suffrage represents a vote which cannot be trusted in time of war, Mrs. Catt called attention to certain facts in connection with our country. "We have, or had in 1910, two million more men in the country than we had women. We have had in this country a great increase in naturalization since the war began. There were a great many foreigners who were afraid that they would be conscripted by their home government, who made haste to take out their naturalization papers. They are not patriotic. They are not loyal to this country. They are seeking protection for themselves. When an election is to be held, as it will be ere long, it must be remembered that we are taking a step which our allies have not taken. England has had no election, except what they call bye-elections, when somebody dies or resigns, where they have an election in one district. The House of Commons has voted several times to postpone the election for another six months.

"In a democratic country like ours we can hardly avoid it. The election will come. We have in the state of New York 130,000 men in camps, either in this country or in France. The

state of New York took every precaution to give these men an opportunity to vote. It sent delegates to England and France to secure the votes, but you cannot get the vote of men who are off on various kinds of pilgrimages or who are making tours through the air, you cannot secure that vote. Out of the 130,000, twenty-six thousand actually voted, that is, one fifth of the total number. Probably that would be as good a proportion as the whole country could get in securing the soldiers' vote. We have not been told how many men we have in France, but we have been told that within a few months it is expected and hoped that we shall have at least a million men over on the other side. When the election comes, who is going to do the voting? Every slacker has a vote. Every newly made citizen will have a vote. Every pro-German who can not be trusted with any kind of military or war service will have a vote. Every peace-at-any-price man, every conscientious objector, and even the alien enemy will have a vote. You will not secure anything more than a majority at best of the soldiers in Europe. It is a test, a risk, which no other country has been asked to take. The women here who belong to the families of the men on the other side cannot be called disloyal. There actually is at least one and probably more than one woman in a family of every man who goes on the other side who is going to use her vote to back every preparation of the war, every condition which is going to make it easier and safer for him, and every condition which is going to bring the war to a successful end, if she has the opportunity to cast a loyal vote. It is a risk, a danger to a country like ours to send one million men out of the country who are loyal and not to replace those men by the loyal votes of the women they have left at home.

"There are still, I think, eight of the original thirteen states, where foreigners may secure the vote on their first papers. It would be possible even to colonize in such states and to carry an election if it was necessary, because it means only a brief residence. For example, in the state of South Dakota there is a group of counties wherein there are the kind of people who were originally Germans and who went to Russia to live two hundred years ago. They left Germany because of conscription and they left Russia because of conscription, and they came to America because there was not any conscription. They went to South Dakota and Nebraska and North Dakota to live. Those counties cast an overwhelming vote against woman suffrage. In South Dakota they do not have to have naturalization. They can vote on their first papers. Those counties defeated the suffrage amendment. Now in those counties there has been a larger number, in proportion to the population, of slackers, I believe, than in any other county in the country, and yet in those counties all of that population will have the vote when the next election takes place.

"It may be said that if the women vote they are the wives of these men. Yes, that is true, but there are a million more men than women. It is said that before this war is over, if it should continue long, an effort will be made, and successfully, to submit the question of conscription to a popular vote, and there are those that say they cannot trust women with conscription. The only advantage of conscription is that it



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catches every class and kind, and that it prevents the higher classes, with a just conviction of patriotism and duty, from bearing all the burdens. You may be assured that the women who have their sons and their husbands in the war are not going to vote against conscription when conscription is in the interest of their husbands and their sons. (Applause.)

"It seems to me the most curious thing in the world how men lose their faith and their confidence in their women whenever there is a test. Women are human beings with the same intelligence, the same comprehension of honor, the same understanding in this war that the men have. They are in it to win it. They can be trusted as men can be trusted, but the country is not safe without their votes."

(Continued on page 137)

Hearings Before House Committee

(Continued from page 136)

COMMENTS AND ANSWERS AT COMMITTEE HEARINGS ABOUT MISREPRESENTING PRESIDENT WILSON

"I HOLD in my hand a pamphlet which I am told was distributed in Congress this morning, coming from the opposition, in which there are quotations from President Wilson, and it says upon the cover 'I still believe it is a matter to be fought out in the individual states.' The date is 1914. Since 1914 the world has changed. Mr. Asquith has been converted. (Applause.) He was the most implacable enemy of woman suffrage the world ever saw. And no quotation from any living man in 1914 is justified in 1918 without confirmation. (Applause.)

"I do not know what President Wilson will say. It is said here that it is reported by suffragists that Mr. Wilson is going to use his influence with Members of Congress, and the canards that these people are circulating about the President are not only insulting to him but to every Member of Congress. I agree with that. Our Constitution provides three divisions of our Government, the judiciary, the executive, which is the President and his cabinet; the legislative, which is Congress, and I do not believe it was ever intended by the writers of the Constitution, or by any political party or body, that the President of the United States should control the legislation of Congress. It is a question of responsibility for Congress and Congress alone. That the President has a tremendous influence over the men of his party is agreed, since in one sense he is their leader.

"He has not spoken on this question, but since 1914 I have myself had three interviews with him, and upon each and every one of those occasions I, and those who were with me, presented to him facts and reasons why we did not propose to continue our efforts to get the vote by state means, and I believe that in every instance we made an impression upon Mr. Wilson and that his attitude was changed after every one of those interviews. Mr. Wilson has not told us that he is for the Federal Amendment; I have my own opinion as to what his attitude is, but, Mr. Chairman, I make a request, and I make this as the only request of this Committee, for I know you are going to give us a favorable opinion: When the opposition comes to you and every Member of Congress and says, as they do in quotations in this book, that the President of the United States is opposed to a Federal Amendment, it becomes the duty of everybody interested in that Federal Amendment to find out how much truth there is in it. It was the right of Mr. Wilson to withhold his opinion, but I ask you, Mr. Chairman, to ask the President for a conference and a hearing, and I ask you to go, Republicans and Democrats, if you like, and say 'Mr. President, are you or are you not for the Federal Amendment?' Then you will know. Do not take it from the opposition; do not take it from us, but go find out what he says. If he says he is for it, then ask him how far he can help it; if he says he is against it, then let me remind you that it is not his function anyhow to pass the legislation. (Laughter and applause.) I trust that you will

do so, and that if it is possible to make a statement do it. If Mr. Wilson does not want a statement made, you will know what he thinks, and you will know more than any other human being puts out in print about it."

"IT WOULD MAKE US FIGHTING MAD"

"NOW, a gentleman this morning asked a question as to how we would like the idea of having the question submitted to conventions, which the Federal Constitution provides for. The reason why we do not want that method is because that has never been tried. The Constitution provides for it, but we now have seventeen amendments, and none of them has ever been submitted through that process. In the states where women have the vote there would be no question about securing conventions properly pledged to it, for the reason that they could vote for the members of those conventions. Then, again, it would merely take a longer time; it would take more money on the part of the states; it would take more money on the part of both the opponents and friends of suffrage, and it would need, before it could be carried out, a machinery which would require extra legislation and a great deal of additional trouble. If any Member of Congress shall propose such an amendment or such a condition for our amendment, that it be referred to the conventions which are constitutional and which are provided for in our national document—if such a proposal is made I ask this: How do you think you will like the news to travel all the way around the world, to France, to England, Canada, Sweden and Italy, where they are pledged to give woman suffrage, that the Congress of the United States finally submitted the question to the states, but took a method which had never been tried before, because they believed it was a harder method. (Applause.) Does the mother of Democracy want to have anything like that written into her history? It was asked how we would like it, and I answer it would make us fighting mad."

Southern Suffragists Roused

(Continued from page 132)

Anglo-Saxon blood and unquestioned loyalty—is far greater than the total undesirable vote in the South. Are we women, who by our votes might save the situation, to be left powerless to protect by our ballots either ourselves or our men who have gone to France? The passage of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment is necessary for the protection of this country."

"A vote against suffrage is a vote for Germany," is the way Mrs. Elizabeth Herndon Potter, of Tyler, Texas, congressional chairman for her state, put the matter. "Do you know that thousands of aliens vote in the United States after a residence of only two years?" Mrs. Potter wanted to know. "In Arkansas, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Texas aliens after conformity to state election laws vote on first papers. These aliens, who cannot fight for us, are given a vote to elect our congressmen, our governors, our presidents. In Missouri and Texas one man in six is foreign-born. In Nebraska one in three. In South Dakota one in two. These alien voters are not subject to the draft unless they have filed final naturalization papers, which many never do.

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"American men cannot afford to be blind. They must equip American women with ballots as the best guns in defense of the nation."

ASKS UNDERWOOD IF HE SPEAKS FOR PRESIDENT?

Washington, January 8.—Determined to test the truth of a persistent report that Senator Underwood of Alabama is working against the Federal Suffrage Amendment as a representative of the Administration, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, has sent the following letter to Senator Underwood:

"My Dear Sir:

"I have received a telegram from Alabama saying that it is rumored there that you are working in Washington against the Federal Suffrage Amendment as a representative of the Administration. The same rumor has reached us from Washington sources. Will you kindly inform me whether you do represent the Administration in your work against the Federal Amendment? In view of the fact that Secretaries McAdoo, Baker and Daniels have expressed their hope that the amendment will pass, it is difficult to believe that you do.

"Do you represent the President?

"Very truly yours,

"CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,

"President National American Woman Suffrage Association."

Cabinet Officials Lined Up for Federal Suffrage Amendment

SECRETARY McADOO openly committed himself to the Federal Suffrage Amendment prior to the vote in the House on Thursday.

In language that went straight to the crux of the question, he wrote to Mrs. Catt, that the Federal Amendment was the only effective method, "and the only method, in fact, that will secure equality of rights for women in every state of the Union."

The Secretary's commitment came in response to Mrs. Catt's appeal to him for help in clearing up the question of the stand of members of the Administration on the Federal Amendment. In her letter to the Secretary, under date of January 7, Mrs. Catt said, "It is with sincere appreciation of what you have done for the suffrage cause in the past that I come to you to ask a special favor at this crucial hour. Nothing that you have ever done, or ever can do for suffrage, has been, or will be, comparable with the value of your influence in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment at this juncture. I hope very much that you can find it possible to strengthen our case by some sort of personal commitment on the subject of the Amendment, if you can do nothing else. May I hope for this?"

The full text of the Secretary's letter follows:

"My dear Mrs. Catt:

"I have your kind note of the 7th instant, asking for my support of the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage.

"The Democratic and Republican Parties each declared in their national convention in 1916 in favor of Woman Suffrage. They recognized the fundamental justice of woman's demand for equal civil rights with men. Why should the representatives of these great parties in the Congress of the United States hesitate or refuse to adopt the only method by which this act of fundamental justice can be made effective in all the States of our great democracy? Once it is conceded that women should have the right of suffrage in a democracy like ours, it seems to me incumbent upon both political parties to adopt that method which will most certainly secure the result. The Federal Amendment is the only effective method and the only method, in fact, that will secure equality of rights for women in every State of the Union.

"I, therefore, favor the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage. I earnestly hope that the Congress will enact the necessary legislation and thus put it within the power of the States to do through the Federal Constitution what, in my judgment, justice and democratic ideals imperatively demand.

"With all good wishes for the success of your efforts, I am

"Cordially yours,
"W. G. McAdoo."

The Secretary of the Navy is equally self-committal on the subject of the amendment. He writes Mrs. Catt, "I am strongly in favor of submitting the amendment and settling this question in the right way as soon as possible, the sooner the better."

Pointing out that the necessity of complete

unification of all the forces of the Republic has been emphasized by the demands the war is making on it, Secretary Daniels stresses the fact that:

"The country depends upon the women as well as the men. They have responded nobly and efficiently, ready to co-operate more fully as increasing man power is sent to the front.

"Admitted that equal suffrage is right, and that it has been demonstrated that the Republic is strengthened by woman's participation, there only remains the question of how it shall be conferred. Twelve states have conferred this right upon their women. Now it is asked that a referendum of the question, in the shape of an amendment to the Constitution, be submitted in the manner prescribed by the Constitution itself. I can see nothing in this except hastening the coming of a reform which ought to come, and which all, advocates and opponents, know is sure to come. Why delay?

"I am strongly in favor of submitting the amendment now and settling this question in the right way as soon as possible, the sooner the better.

"Sincerely yours,
"JOSEPHUS DANIELS."

ADD the following resolutions to your individual list for 1918:

I WILL help in the drive to increase the WOMAN CITIZEN circulation to ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND.

II I WILL become a subscriber to the WOMAN CITIZEN at once.

III I WILL renew my subscription to the WOMAN CITIZEN.

IV I WILL secure at least one new subscriber to the WOMAN CITIZEN.

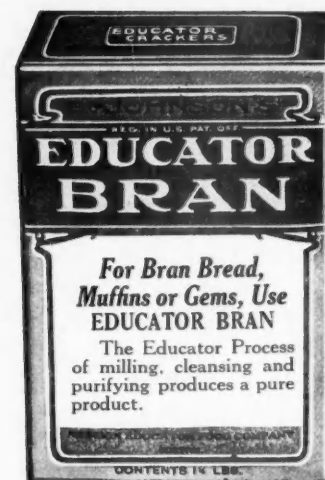
V I WILL interest my friends and acquaintances in the WOMAN CITIZEN by directing their attention to certain important articles published in it.

VI I WILL tell others about the leading part the WOMAN CITIZEN will play in educating the woman voter.

VII I WILL ask my local bookseller and news dealer to give prominent place in his shop or on his news-stand to the WOMAN CITIZEN.

VIII I WILL learn if the WOMAN CITIZEN is in the reading room of my local library, and if it is subscribed to by the principal local women's clubs; if it is not I shall make it my business to see that it can be found in these places.

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Home of Suffrage Party

(Continued from page 129)

to the excitement and activity of a strenuous campaign the work of transferring their lares and penates to other quarters.

IN the vaulted ceilings and quaint arched doorways of the former home of the J. Sergeant Crams, the City Party has found convenient accommodations, although every inch of space in the large house has been requisitioned. With that effective citizen, Mabel Russell, in charge, it was a foregone conclusion that the popular feature of the suffrage quarters on Thirty-fourth street, the restaurant, should be open and ready for business within a short time after the move was accomplished. The spacious dining-room with its four large windows offers an inviting place for the business woman or the tired shopper to lunch. An appetizing lunch is served for 30 cents. The reception room and a large butler's pantry are the only other rooms on the first floor. A winding stairway, placed well at the back of the hall, has a carved walnut balustrade. On the second floor at the rear are situated the offices of Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the City Party, and Mrs. Charles Tiffany, chairman of Manhattan Borough. The front is given over to an assembly room of impressive dimensions. On the third floor are the offices of the Council of Women Voters of which Mrs. Adolph Borri is Chairman and Mrs. John Blair Executive Secretary and the Secretarial office of Miss Adaline Sterling, formerly of the Woman Voter.

Mrs. Oreola Haskell, press chairman, has her office on the fourth floor with two large rooms for stenographers, addressers and clerks.

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under the name of the "Head-quarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue

New York

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January 19, 1918

Vol. II (new style) No. 8



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Have you Been Enfranchised Lately?

Do You Know What You Can Do with Your Vote Now That You Have It?

Do You Want to Know?

If You Are a Woman,

If You Are a Young Man Just Turned Twenty-one,

If You Are an Immigrant Taking Out Your Last Naturalization Papers,

Follow the Vote and the Voter in the Woman Citizen from issue to issue.

You will be met more than half way with what you want to know about voting.

Next week's issue will tell "What Every Woman Voter Should Know."

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2 and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferred upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington, and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Representatives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee
September 13, every member of Committee approving.
On the calendar Date for vote not fixed

IN THE HOUSE:

Raker resolution to create a woman suffrage committee in the House adopted by the House September 24 by a vote of 181 to 107.
House Joint Resolution No. 1 reported from Judiciary Dec. 15, 1917, without recommendation.
New identical resolution introduced in House by Judge Raker, Dec. 18, and referred to next Woman Suffrage Committee.
House Vote Jan. 10, 1918, 274 yeas, 136 noes.
VICTORY!

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"May You and Your State Win!"

The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

January 19, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The House Victory

FOR weeks the National American Woman Suffrage Association has maintained that the Federal Suffrage Amendment must come to vote in the Lower House. It had to maintain it against the conviction of not only all the foes, but some of the alleged friends of suffrage. The result on January 10th is a complete vindication of its faith and its policy alike. Not for a minute did the National Suffrage Association concede that the American Congress would lag behind the parliaments of Europe in the making of democratic history, and the House has shown that it really could be relied on to vindicate itself as the forward-looking exponent of democratic progress which America has the right to expect its great law-making body to be.

The House is as much to be congratulated as is suffrage, in this, the greatest national victory ever scored for suffrage.

The Senate Prospect

THE focus at Washington has been promptly swung from the House office to the Senate office. The National American Woman Suffrage Association made the transition of effort without missing a beat.

The date for the Senate vote is not yet set, but that it will be fixed for some date within a fortnight seems assured. That the vote will be favorable seems likewise assured. It is the House that has been of old the arch enemy of the Amendment. The Senate has shown itself by far the more friendly body.

The House vote had hardly been taken when Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, heretofore opposed to the Amendment, announced, through the New Jersey branch of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, that he would vote aye. Other senators are following suit.

From the Senate the National Association expects to start upon the campaign of ratifications, hoping that every state in the Union will ratify, and knowing that 36 will, New York among them. It is believed that most of the 1918 Legislatures—there are only a few in session this year—will dispose of the measure favorably at an early date. The Legislatures of 41

states convene next year. A few of these states may need additional time for suffrage education, but confidence is felt that the majority of them will ratify before the close of 1919, because there has been such a tremendous growth of favorable sentiment during the last few months. Failure to ratify on the part of any state is going to be a mark of humiliation hard for the women of that state to bear, while the women of the great majority of the states are rejoicing in the trust and confidence reposed in them by their commonwealths.

On Its Fortieth Birthday

WHEN the House passed the Federal Suffrage Amendment on January 10, 1918, it celebrated the 40th anniversary of the measure. It was on January 10, 1878, that the amendment was first introduced into the Senate by Senator Sargent. During the forty years interim it has twice come to vote in the Senate and once in the House. The first time the Senate voted on it was in 1887, when it polled sixteen affirmative votes. The next time was in 1915. By that time favorable sentiment had increased more than 100 per cent and the yes votes amounted to 34. The first House vote was taken in 1915 and resulted in 174 votes being cast for the Amendment. In the two years intervening there has been a gain of 100 votes in the House. It is to be remembered that though the vote was close, under the conditions governing the adoption of a constitutional amendment, more than twice as many men went on record in favor of the Amendment as went on record against it. That is to say, the vote cast was two to one for it. A two to one vote is a rather overwhelming majority when you come to think of it.

Exeunt the Anti's Bogies

FOR years it has been the fashion among professional anti-suffragists to garble the spoken and written word of suffragists into some dire menace to mother, home and heaven. As anti-suffragists see it, even the wrongs perpetuated in the name of mother, home and heaven are sacred and no attempt must be made to right them, they must not even be discussed, lest the

social and domestic structure be rent from top to bottom. Suffragists, on the other hand, have a faith in the social and domestic structure so real and abiding that they can't let go of it if they would in the face of bogie fears. Their belief in home, in marriage, in motherhood is deep-rooted. It is not the jest of every wayward wind that blows.

To the credit of antis in general be it said that this species of libel has grown less and less popular as the years have brought larger understanding and vision. It is only a little group that now composes the mud-slinging brigade. On the floor of the House on January 10th, not more than three men all told resorted to the old tactics. Before the House Committee one young reed of a woman had tried it, but the effort blurred apparently in her own consciousness, and died away in a faint falsetto pipe of "feminism, socialism, suffrage-ism—those three."

On the floor of the House nearly all the speakers against suffrage dealt with it as a question of policy and method. Two or three men who tried to belittle suffrage through vicious accusation and innuendo found themselves belittled by the unspeakable disgust and ennui on the faces of the men whom they addressed. The House, along with the rest of the world has lived past that sort of semi-civilized traducing of cause and character. It simply doesn't work any more. It belongs back in the days when political candidates threw mud at one another unrepented. It is not worthy. It is not even Wadsworth.

Are We With Our Allies?

GREAT Britain's House of Lords, citadel of conservatism though it be, has decreed by overwhelming vote that the woman suffrage clause shall stand in the Representation of the People bill. This settles the matter for Great Britain. Her vote for woman suffrage as a war measure will be signed, sealed, and delivered by the Royal assent within a short time, if indeed the King has not already signed by the time this is read.

So much for that picture.

Now look on this:

Germany is belittling the woman suffrage victories in London and in Washington. Her press systematically ignores those victories. The anti-suffrage view that votes for women spells ruin is finding its chief expression in the arch anti, Germany. "Even the very foundation of this reform does not exist in the Fatherland," says Germany.

Where is America to stand, on this question? Beside her ally, Great Britain? Or beside her Teutonic foe?

Are we Huns? Or are we blood-brothers of England in the fight for democracy?

"The very foundation of this reform" certainly does exist in America. The Lower House of Congress has cleared the way to an immediate decision that will range America with her allies, not her foes, on this question.

On the Senate of the United States rests the ultimate responsibility. To the Senate will belong the final honor of deciding the question to the credit of America and her allies and the discomfiture of their foes.

A Contrast

IT was an interesting coincidence that action in favor of woman suffrage should be taken on the same day in the Congress of the United States and in the British Parliament, and in each case by a vote of two to one.

But all the suffrage bills introduced on the other side of the ocean, whether in England, Austria-Hungary or elsewhere, emphasize afresh how much harder the process is to which American women are forced to resort. In every country of Europe, the action of the National Parliament is final, except that in the monarchies a bill requires the assent of the sovereign; and outside of autocratic Germany, this is a mere formality, the royal signature being given as a matter of course. In most European countries, also, a simple majority vote is all that is required. It was by such a process that practically all the men now voting in Europe secured the franchise. But women in America must first get a two-thirds vote in both Houses of Congress, and then proceed to secure in addition the consent of the Legislatures of 36 separate States. They have undertaken the task with cheerfulness and courage. But no one should complain that this way is too easy, or seek to force them to the still more laborious route of repeated State referenda—especially none of those Americans who have watched with complacency while one European country after another widened its franchise for men by the Parliamentary route, never suggesting for a moment that this method was "undemocratic." When it comes to broadening democracy, the easiest way that is constitutional is the best.

A. S. B.

General Congratulations

VICTORY is sweet, and never sweeter than after a half century of hope deferred. For more than sixty years the advocates of equal rights have been waging a hard, slow, toilsome battle, doggedly holding on, and, like William the Silent in the struggle for Holland's freedom, fighting their way to victory through a series of defeats. Ever since the nation-wide amendment for equal suffrage won its first great success, passing the lower house of Congress by a two-thirds vote, suffragists from Maine to California have been going about with beaming faces, congratulating one another, and expressing their gratitude to the members of Congress who gave it their support.

Gratitude is due also to the multitude of women who have labored with their Congressmen, and especially to Mrs. Maud Wood Park, who has had charge of the National Association's lobby work in Washington. She and her helpers have been called "The Front-Door Lobby," because of their determination to use no dishonest or underhanded methods. At the recent National Suffrage Convention, when Mrs. Park was about to give her report, Mrs. Catt said:

"While Mrs. Park has had charge of the work here, she has had to face many technical difficulties, and she has always proved equal to them. I know she will not be the heroine of her own report; but her diplomacy and skill are worthy of immortality. You may feel a deep and abiding trust in Mrs. Park's leadership here in Washington."

A. S. B.

British and American Women Make Final Struggle

ON January 10, the same day that American women won their great victory for the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment in the House of Representatives, British women also won a point in the House of Lords, thus synchronizing the last struggles of women of the two great Anglo-Saxon countries in the fight for their enfranchisement.

The Representation of the People Bill in Great Britain, entered upon the "last lap," passed its third reading on December 8, and made a triumphant exit from the House of Commons amid congratulations. The bill went at once up to the House of Lords, which on December 15th was memorialized by the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies. They petitioned for the acceptance of the clauses of the bill enfranchising women, basing their claims upon the urgency of representing women's interests in the task of social healing and industrial reconstruction which must follow the conclusion of peace. Their needs being like those of the women of America, their plea has been much the same.

The most arresting feature of this Memorial was the diversity of signatures attached to it. Innumerable titles, innumerable well-known educational names, innumerable industrial workers, innumerable members of war committees and war activities were included in the list of signatories. The Memorial did not claim to show the numbers in favor of women's suffrage, but it did give a very clear idea of how widespread is the support accorded to the women's cause.

On January 10 the bill which had reached the amendment stage, was imperiled by Lord Loreburn's amendment to cast out the clause giving women the Parliamentary vote. Women won a tremendous victory, a two to one vote against their exclusion, and the Bishop of London, one more notable convert to woman suffrage, was found fighting on their side.

Lord Haldane was one of the warm supporters of the bill on the ground that women would have a steadying influence, and Lord Buckmaster made a last effort to withdraw the 30 years' clause, which makes a discrepancy between the ages of men and women voters.

A Question of Conservation

CONSERVATION is the watchword of the hour. It is by conservation, we are told, that the war will be won—conservation of food, of strength, of money, of resources. Time is among the precious things that need to be conserved. Time, it is often said, is worth more than money.

In addition to all the other sound reasons for passing the Federal Amendment for woman suffrage, it ought to be put through promptly by the Senate for the sake of time-conservation.

Women are already voting at Parliamentary elections in Norway, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Australia, New Zealand, Russia, Japan, Bosnia and Canada. Parliamentary suffrage is assured to them in England, and they already vote at municipal elections in England, Scotland, Ireland, Sweden, South Africa, and even in some parts of Asia. In our own country, they have

full suffrage in New York, California, Washington, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, Montana, Nevada, and Alaska; presidential suffrage in Illinois, Rhode Island and Michigan; presidential and municipal suffrage in Nebraska and North Dakota; municipal suffrage in Vermont, and practically full suffrage in Arkansas. Seven of these states have given women the ballot within the past twelve months. The movement toward equal rights for women is world-wide. It has gone forward faster since the war began than ever before.

Woman suffrage is absolutely sure to come. Every intelligent and open-minded man sees this, whether he likes the idea or not! That being the case, it is the part of common sense to put it through and have it out of the way.

To waste time in resisting the inevitable is not the part of a rational man; and, with so many important war measures pressing for attention, to waste the time of the Senate in resisting the inevitable is hardly the part of a patriot.

A. S. B.

Wanted, More War Work

WHEN the women from the different states interviewed their Senators and Representatives recently, one Congressman said, in substance:

"You say you want the Federal Amendment put through now, so that you can have more time to devote to war work. How is that going to help you?"

Of course, after the Federal Amendment is submitted by Congress, there will still be need of suffrage work, until it has been ratified by the Legislatures of thirty-six states; but it is clear that in each state it will need less time, and the time of fewer women, to impress the merits of the case upon a few hundred legislators than upon millions of electors. To labor with the whole electorate of a great state is an enormous job, and a great draft upon the energies of a vast number of women, as in the New York campaign. With the passage of the Federal Amendment by Congress, the bulk of this energy will be set free for war work—or, to speak more accurately, for other kinds of war work; for every intelligent suffragist believes that this effort to make the world safe for democracy at home as well as abroad is a real war measure.

A. S. B.

Playing I Spy with an Invisible Camp

THAT camouflaged camp somewhere in Raritan, N. J., so invisible that even the soldiers designated to it couldn't find it, may be a masterpiece of strategy. But mothers of the soldiers who hiked all over central Jersey to look for it, on the coldest day in 46 years, may not be able to see it that way.

Women have been told with every variety of masculine intonation that war is man's job and no woman's counsels are desired. Still there are mothers who would like to say that housing, feeding and clothing men have always been women's jobs since the beginning of time. Among these mothers there are a few who will continue to think they could suggest something better for the Christmas holidays than hide-and-go-seek for a phantom camp with the thermometer at twenty below zero.

The Story of January Tenth

ON January 10 the Lower House of Congress passed the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

On January 10 the force of men's eloquence and men's logic were thrown into the scales by speaker after speaker for that Amendment.

On January 10 one slim young woman faced the House, the sole representative of her sex, and pleaded as even she had never pleaded before for that Amendment as a "question of political evolution."

On January 10 a new chivalry was born. Men so ill that they had to be carried to the floor of the House were brought in at their own peremptory commands to cast their votes in behalf of the woman suffrage measure, which had become their measure with a force that could not be resisted.

Men so far away that they had to spend days and nights in ceaseless travel in order to reach the floor of the House, traveled just the same and reached it just the same in time to stand by the Amendment.

Men sorely bereaved came away from funerals of those near and dear to them, or came knowing that they must go back to attend funerals of those near and dear, but came and cast their votes in behalf of woman's recognition in this new era of democracy.

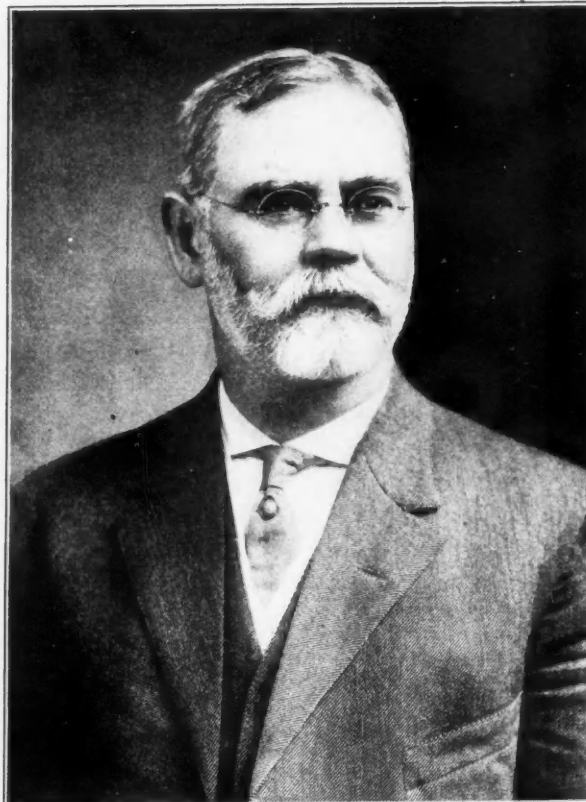
On January 10 the nation-wide enfranchisement of one-half the American people was insured, by the votes of 273 men and one woman "as an act of right and justice."

There will never be another January 10 quite like it. Every real suffragist—and Washington was a-swarm with real suffragists that last week—slept only by fits and starts through the night of January 9. In the late afternoon of that day the President of the United States had spoken a word of strong advocacy of the Amendment to a delegation of Democratic Congressmen who went to confer with him on the subject. Ordinarily, the President told his visitors, I should stand by the state method. But we live in extraordinary times and we must meet them with extraordinary measures. "Vote for the Amendment as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and of the world."

BEFORE night the word had swept over Washington on its way over the wires to all parts of the world. It left the town a-tingle and the suffragists waiting wide-eyed for the dawn of January 10. By nine o'clock of January 10 the women were pressing against the doors of the House galleries. Not until half past ten were the doors opened. By eleven, the hour set for the opening, there was not a seat left, people were sitting on the aisle steps, and standing room was at a premium. The press gallery and the Speaker's Bench were the only comfortably unfilled places in the House. The correspondents knew enough about the dull part to miss it by coming late, and, thanks to the courtesy of the Speaker, his bench was

reserved for officers and representatives of the National Suffrage Association.

Down on the floor the seats filled early. This quick filling up down there was one of many evidences that the interest of the women in the galleries was matched by the interest of the men on the floor. It is no small thing for one or the other of the houses of Congress to amend the Constitution of the United States



JAMES R. MANN, OF ILLINOIS

and men and women alike rose to the significance of the situation on January 10.

NOWHERE else as in Washington can one get any adequate sense of the dignity that belongs by right to the government of the country. In Washington you can get it from the cool grey calm of the outside of the Government buildings and you can get it from the inside. Be as flippant as you please, be as convinced as you like that "politics is pitch," there is something that grips the imagination in the sight of one of the nation's law-making bodies gathered together to pass judgment upon some issue of concern to the country, even on ordinary occasions. All the more does it grip you when the occasion is momentous and fraught with vital concern to the country. You are quite willing to think of the men down there on the floor as august. You quite want to. You rather resent it whenever they walk out of the picture, with their laughter, and their greetings, and their visitings. On January 10 you were bent on seeing the men as august and your resentment was as frequent as the

frequency with which they walked out of the picture.

On January 10 it took Billy Sunday, who offered the opening prayer, only a few minutes to apply to Germany ever derogatory epithet in the English language. Then the gavel fell and the first skirmish was on. The first skirmish settled questions of program, the division of time between Democrats and Republicans and between proponents and opponents. Here came a pretty play for place. Democrats didn't want to give Republicans any more than the law allowed and Republicans returned the feeling with zeal. On the other hand suffragists, whether Democrats or Republicans, wanted every possible advantage insured to suffrage, regardless of party politics. When Mr. Cantrill, of Kentucky, rose to make a presentation in behalf of the Amendment from the Democratic viewpoint, and brought to the front the President's endorsement, the Republicans were quick to try to wrest the advantage from the Democratic side. They booted the idea of having to go to the President for advice in the premises. They lay back in their chairs with much the expression of the cat who ate the canary. "Look at us," they seemed to say, "we are for the Amendment without any President's advice. We are just for it."

They were, too, 165 strong.

Just the same, Mr. Cantrill had the situation well in hand as he quoted the President's insistence on the Amendment as an act of right and justice and invited "you gentlemen on that side of the House to jeer that if you can."

It was due in great part to the unfailing courtesy and good will of Judge Raker, who controlled time for the Democratic proponents, that suffrage had things very much its own way, thereafter. For instance, when Mr. Walsh, an opponent of suffrage, but anxious to score on the Republican side, inquired of Judge Raker if he would permit Miss Rankin to open the debate, the Judge pushed party advantage to the wall and made way for the lady from Montana amid disinterested applause.

IT is hard at any and all times to bear with opponents of woman suffrage when they set forth that woman's high ambition to take a responsible part in the government of her country is but a disposition to ape man, usurp his function, contend with him for the recognition of qualities that he possesses and she lacks. It was harder than ever to bear with this line of argument as Jeannette Rankin made the case for woman suffrage on the ground that woman's contribution is to be utterly different from man's. The war is upon us, she said. "We are taking stock of our available energy. And we are finding that with all our past wastefulness we still have limitless resources upon which we can count. We have men—men for the Army, for the

Navy, for the air; men for the industries, the mines, the fields; men for the Government. And the national leaders are now reaching out and drawing men of talent, picking those with the best minds, with expert knowledge, and with broad perspective, to aid in war work.

"But something is still lacking in the completeness of our national effort. With all our abundance of coal, with our great stretches of idle, fertile land, babies are dying from cold and hunger; soldiers have died for lack of a woolen shirt.

"Might it not be that the men who have spent their lives thinking in terms of commercial profit find it hard to adjust themselves to thinking in terms of human needs? Might it not be that a great force that has always been thinking in terms of human needs, and that always will think in terms of human needs, has not been mobilized? Is it not possible that the women of the country have something of value to give the Nation at this time?"

Judge Raker, whose turn came next, scored point after point for suffrage in a masterly speech which climaxed on the national note. "This crisis of our Nation calls for bolder action than would have been necessary a year ago. We cannot consistently profess to lead in a war for democracy and be the last nation to establish it at home. Nor can we claim that the Nation is fighting for democracy abroad and leave the States to demonstrate our understanding of democracy at home. The loyal votes of women who would vote in the places of absent men are a national concern. The war has made woman suffrage a national question. The Congress should treat it as such."

The speeches go on and on. Members leave the floor and get their lunches and come back looking refreshed, almost gay. Others go; you dare not for a minute slip away to lunch. There are ten women waiting for your chair the moment you quit it. You nibble a sandwich; you long for a drink of water; you don't get it. From nine o'clock in the morning until seven in the evening your vigil lasts.

It is impossible to spare the space in this issue to quote extensively from the speeches. Some of them will be given at length in forthcoming issues. Meantime, quotations from some of the more significant will give an idea of the points made during the debate. Many were humorous, many were brilliant, many were forceful, but for sheer joy in its pertinency what Representative Decker, of Missouri, had to say concerning the much-vaunted chivalry of men like Ex-Senator Bailey, of Texas, and Representative Heflin, of Alabama, men who are always handing empty tributes to women, will live long in the memories of the women who listened. What made it the more pertinent was the fact that of all the men in the room the only ones who had not risen out of courtesy to Miss Rankin was the little group of chivalric Southern Democrats, the same in substance, equal in power and glory with the little group that talks chivalry morning, noon and night.

Mr. Decker: "The gentleman from Ala-

bama (Mr. Heflin) is always chivalric. No man can vie with him in his tribute to woman. He reminds me somewhat, however, of the man at the banquet in New York City. He and his friends had prospered during the year, and they indulged in a banquet, where they ate and drank until the small hours of the morning. Before the affair was closed one of the gentlemen rose and said:

"Mr. Toastmaster, as we sat here around this table spread with the good things of life, all we could eat and all we could drink, my heart went out to the poor people of New

doned if they were to change their minds in a hundred years. . . . Judging from some of the arguments that have been presented here and elsewhere against this resolution, I suspect that some gentlemen have a conception of woman's sphere that is on a par with that expressed by a certain Southern bachelor poet of more or less local fame, who in a spirit of poetic fervor exclaimed:

"Woman, woman, thou art divine!

Oh, that I had one I might call mine,

To soothe me in my worstest woes

And cook my dinner and wash my clothes."

Mr. Gallivan of Massachusetts was responsible for the creation of a *bon mot* that will pass into the language of the times. "Democracy," he said, "cannot live half free and half female."

Mr. Mays, of Utah, made a clarifying speech, as did also Mr. Reavis of Nebraska, Mr. Keating of Colorado, and Mr. Barkley of Kentucky.

Five o'clock was approaching and men and women alike were restless. Cries of "Vote! Vote!" began to ring over the floor. At this juncture the tensity of the situation was not a whit relieved by the introduction of two amendments, one to provide that the original resolution to submit a federal suffrage amendment should be ratified by state conventions instead of state Legislatures, the other to provide that the original amendment should be inoperative unless it should have been ratified by the Legislatures of 36 states within seven years from the date of submission by Congress. While the vote cast on neither of these amendments could be taken as a real test vote, the result in each case served to give some idea of the probable strength of suffrage. It also served to give the first inkling of the probable number of representatives to be in the House and voting when the original resolution should be voted on. The first amendment polled only 131 ayes to 274 nays. The second polled 158 ayes to 247 nays. Both votes showed the number in the House at that hour to be 405.

Then everybody took a deep breath and managed to live through the third reading.

The "shepherds," the women deputized to keep watch and see that all the friends of suffrage should be in their places down below to vote when the time came, had long since slipped out to round up the missing. They could never get back for the thrill of the roll call. It's the price they pay for being faithful to their trust.

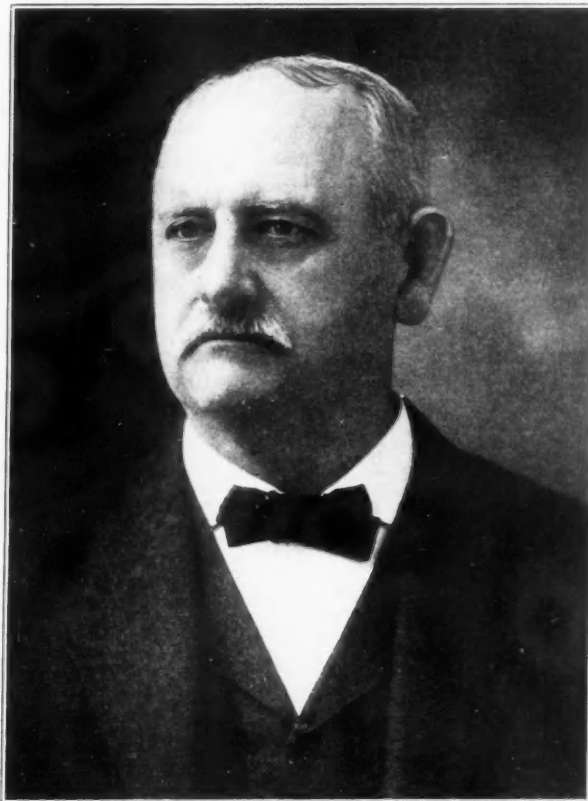
"The clerk will call the roll."

Just reading that simple sentence is not going to give you any idea of the way women's hearts turned over as they heard it. Nearly every woman present was provided with a roll call. The more expert had sheets of paper ruled for the scores which they were going to keep by fives, an aye row and a nay row.

"Alexander!"

One Alexander passed into history long ago. Here is another for time's scroll—first man to vote on the federal suffrage amendment. And he voted aye!

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THETUS W. SIMS, OF TENNESSEE

York City, the women who have not enough clothing, the children who have not shoes to wear nor books with which to go to school, and I move you, Mr. Toastmaster, that we now rise and give three cheers for the poor." (Prolonged laughter). Mr. Heflin is willing to pay women tribute and compliments, but unfortunately, he is like the man at the banquet in New York. When it comes to giving them a vital thing—the ballot—he is willing to stand up and give three cheers for the women of the country."

On the Republican side Representative Langley made things almost equally joyous when he said, "Some gentlemen have contended that the founders of our Republic were against woman suffrage. I am not prepared to concede that this is a correct statement of their position, but even if it is, I firmly believe that if they were living today and had the privilege of voting on this resolution, they would vote for it in view of the changed conditions that now exist. Surely, if Woodrow Wilson can change his mind overnight and get by with it, Washington and Jefferson ought to be par-



MISS HELEN P. McCORMICK,

DEPUTY ASSISTANT

DISTRICT ATTORNEY

"This doth commend a young and learned doctor to our court."—Merchant of Venice.

vance in their professional standing now that they can vote.

Miss Marion Weston Cottle said the same.

Dr. Ellen Spencer Mussey, Honorary Dean of the Washington Law College and president of the Women's Bar Association said it.

Miss Stevenson, the first woman graduate of the Brooklyn Law School and the president of the Women Lawyers' Association, said it.

And Miss Isabella M. Pettus, president of the Women's Law Class of New York University and Chairman of the day, said it again and again, in one way and another and always to the tune of hand-clapping.

IT was a triumphant group, those women who represented the long, hard climb of women to get where they want to be in the legal profession. Miss Pettus spoke of the fact that men in Connecticut, for example, accept the woman lawyer still with a certain incredulity as if she were merely playing a game. "You say you're a lawyer," said a man over the telephone to her one day, "but your voice sounds like a woman's."

A little tale, full of significance, but of such has been the opinion of man concerning the professional woman until events have changed his mind.

"For," said Dean Mussey, "the legal profession for women has been a fight from first to last since the time when Belva Lockwood first opened the door of the Supreme Court of the United States to the woman practitioner. In all states except Virginia women may now practice law and since 1,200 of them are at it, the old charge that many women are admitted to the bar, but few practice, is not true, if it ever was."

Open Your Own Office

"DON'T be a librarian for a man lawyer—get an office for yourself," was one of the most frequently reiterated pieces of practical advice heard at this lawyer's reunion.

Miss Marion Weston Cottle, a native Bufalonian, established in New York City and Boston, whose law practice is carried on in four states, was firm in this advice. She is a graduate of New York University Law School, and has a Master of Laws degree from Boston University.

WITHIN a few days after New York women got the vote several things happened which had never happened before. A woman, Mrs. Brodie Higley, was put on the State Board of Charities. A woman, Miss Kate Turner, was made principal of a high school, and a woman, Miss Helen P. McCormick, was appointed Deputy Assistant District Attorney.

Perhaps all of these things might have come to pass without the sudden fillip to the masculine consciousness which was given by the result of the November elections, when women won the vote, but it would be hard to put such an idea over in the Empire State just now. This was the gleeful consensus of opinion among the speakers at the 25th anniversary of the granting of degrees to women in the School of Law of New York University on Saturday, December 22.

THE dawn of a new day has come to the woman lawyer in the East, because of the new political freedom for New York State women. This is what every speaker said, and said it loud and clear, and amid salvos of applause. If there are any anti suffragists among those women lawyers who celebrated the emancipation of women into the legal profession on that Saturday, they were strangely silent and uncommunicative about it.

Judge Russell, in his address, said that New York women lawyers would see a great ad-

When the Woman

*PORTIA: "Though justice thy
That, in the course of justice,
Should see salvation: we pray
And that same prayer doth teach us
The deeds of mercy."*



MRS. CATHERINE WAUGH McCULLOCH, author of the Illinois Woman Partial Suffrage Bill, is the first woman in the United States to be appointed Master in Chancery. She was appointed to this post on December 3rd by Judge Jacob Hopkins of Chicago. She was also the first woman justice of the peace in any state east of the Mississippi. Judge McCulloch and her husband are law partners. She is also the mother of sons fighting at the front

SIGNORA LABRIOLA is professor of Philosophy of Law in the University of Rome. As Secretary of the Suffrage Society she was spokesman of the deputation to Minister Sacchi which secured the abolition of the civil disabilities of Italian women. She is one of the signers of the appeal for equal franchise now before the Italian Parliament



Lawyer Votes

h justice thy plea, consider this,—
 rse of justice, none of us
 we pray for mercy;
 r doth us all to render



MRS. HIRAM K. EVANS of Corydon, Iowa, believes thoroughly in the doctrine of equal rights. On December 13th, 1917, she and her husband were simultaneously admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States. Officials say this is the first instance where a husband and wife have been admitted at the same time. Mrs. Evans is a former president of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association and one of the most prominent suffragists in the state.

MRS. ELLEN SPENCER MUSSEY,

HONORARY DEAN OF THE

WASHINGTON LAW COLLEGE

MISS COTTLE was one of the committee responsible for the celebration and gave utterance to the satisfaction she personally felt in the enfranchisement of the women of her native state. She held her audience to the new scope for the women of legal training because of their enfranchisement. "Professional women," she said, "long ago learned that chances have come to us in the East only after they have been initiated and proved out in the enfranchised West. No matter what women's credentials are here, they have hitherto been at a disadvantage in seeking legal positions, in large offices," she said. "They have been handed out a librarian's job from which they could not advance an inch in twenty years. Don't fear to try your own cases. Let women stop being afraid to compete with men at the bar. Prepare your case well and you need have no fear of holding your own. Women lawyers have done excellent office work. Now let them press forward."

Miss Cottle is a good example of the pressing-forward type of woman lawyer. She is the present attorney for the trustee in a large Boston bankruptcy matter and one of the Counsel for the Carter-Crane Company (inc.), a Massachusetts automobile corporation. She has recently been sought out and requested as Chataqua morning lecturer on legal topics and will make a nine weeks' circuit in the summer of 1918, giving five lectures in each Chataqua. On these courses are such speakers as the Hon. Marcus Kavanaugh of Chicago, a well-known judge who is also giving legal lectures on "Needed Reforms in Criminal Law." Miss Cottle's circle will be largely in the Northeastern states over territory where suffrage campaigns have blazed the way for woman's political awakening.

THE crux of the situation, as Miss Cottle sees it is here. The local Redpath Superintendent of North Conway, New Hampshire, where she has her summer home and a law office, was shrewd enough to foresee that courses of lectures by and for women will be much more in demand than Browning readings or esoteric philosophy. So he looked up Miss Cottle's record as law lecturer and laid his project before her. "Having his ear to the ground the Redpath agent's business is to know what's wanted," said Miss Cottle, "and the suffrage campaigns and suffrage victories of these last months will give women added prestige as lecturers on legal topics."



SUFFRAGE victory in New York State has also jolted men awake to the needs of the woman arrested as miscreant. On December 1, when women had been visible as people to the naked eye of law courts for just three weeks, Deputy District Attorney Harry E. Lewis of King's County, appointed Miss Helen P. McCormick as Deputy Assistant District Attorney.

"My work," says Miss McCormick, "is principally the hearing of all complaints and cases in which women or children are concerned. The women complainants, in many of these cases, because of embarrassment or modesty, will tell more freely necessary facts to me than to a man. There are hundreds of these complaints made during the year, some without foundation and out of malice. A thorough investigation is made of every complaint and in this way the reputation and property of citizens are not endangered by hasty action resulting from vindictiveness.

"In truth by this rule of fairness the District Attorney is a public defender preventing unjust punishment upon those who are innocent."

For her position as public defender of women and children Miss McCormick has had unique training. She has had the advantage of being a suffrage worker, an experience which in itself awakens a woman to a longing for fair play to other women. Aside from her legal training, her B. S. degree from Lawrence University and her L.L.B., she has had several

(Continued on page 157)

TERESA LABRIOLA

A ROMAN PORTIA

WHO SEEKS THE

ENFRANCHISEMENT

OF ITALIAN WOMEN



At "Suffrage House"

JOY bells rang all night long for suffrage on the night of January 10th. The greatest national victory ever scored by the cause had its immediate reaction not only in Washington, where hundreds of women of the National Suffrage Association's forces were assembled for days; but it roused women all over the country. Before midnight "Suffrage House," 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, had become a mere receiving and distributing station into which and from which radiated the jubilation of the nation's women leaders.

MRS. CATT, leader of the victorious suffrage forces, and president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, spoke the word that was in everybody's mind, flashing from eye to eye and coming in by telephone and telegraph.

"It is an incomparable victory which tremendously gratifies though does not surprise us," said Mrs. Catt.

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Honorary President, said: "There is no doubt that the bill will pass in the Senate and it won't take long for the States to ratify the amendment. President Wilson's attitude has certainly contributed to the successful vote in the House but it was what we expected of the President, who has done everything he could for us."

OF all the women who have been tensely watching and working for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment, perhaps the woman who best knows the value of the huge yes vote is Mrs. Maud Wood Park, of Massachusetts, leader of the congressional forces of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. For months she has been on duty in Washington, directing, interviewing, making converts, taking polls, drilling other women in the congressional program. Her testimony is that of the skilled legislative expert.

"What grips my imagination," she says, "is the facile grace with which men of both leading parties have risen to the inevitability of suffrage. Most of the congressmen long since conceded that nation-wide suffrage was coming. By their vote to let it come quickly, since come it would, men who have heretofore stood out against nation-wide suffrage show themselves past masters of the gentle art of conservation of time and energy, and secured to each party some of the advantages bound to accrue to those through whose votes the amendment was passed."

Joy Bells For Suffrage

Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, one of the vice-presidents of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and among the foremost women in the congressional work of the National Suffrage Association, had been sustained all along by her faith in the political sagacity of the men on the Hill. "As a voter," said Mrs. Gardener, "it was incredible to me that political leaders could be so blind to party prestige as to allow their opponents

his assistance in connection with the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Mrs. Catt said:

"We have come to thank you, Mr. President, for the help you gave us on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. We are deeply appreciative, and we feel that what you said had a most reassuring influence on the whole country."

THE delegation also called upon Speaker Clark to thank him for his interest and help and upon Minority Leader Mann to tell him that they felt that his sacrifice in getting to the floor of the House to vote was a determining factor in carrying the amendment through the House. The delegation then called upon Representative Sims of Tennessee, who came with a broken shoulder to vote for the amendments, and Representative Barnhart of Indiana, who was brought directly from the hospital to record his vote.

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association has issued a statement, through its president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, pointing out the non-partisan character of the great victory in the House. "As an absolutely non-partisan organization, we rejoice that it is due to no one party that our great victory was won, but to the friends of suffrage in all parties," says Mrs. Catt's statement, "I have always hoped and insisted that suffrage must be won not as a party measure but on the strength of its appeal to men's sense of right irrespective of party. Winning in that way yesterday, women are left free to make their party alignments, and to carry the question to the State

Legislature on the same non-partisan basis. Yesterday's vote leaves women pre-eminently beholden to neither of the dominating parties, but deeply indebted to both, because each brought striking and determining influences to bear on behalf of the amendment. On the Democratic side there was the action of the President, the Speaker and four members of the Cabinet, in taking their stand for the amendment at a crucial hour.

"Paralleling it on the Republican side there was the tremendous, active help given us by powerful Republican leaders, topped by the dramatic and effective entrance of Mr. Mann to cast the great weight of his influence into the Republican scale just as the vote was to be taken.

"To all the leaders, irrespective of party, and to those men who came to vote at great personal sacrifice, the National American Woman Suffrage Association expresses its profound appreciation and extends its sincerest thanks."



"HERE COMES THE BRIDE"

Courtesy E. World.

undisputed priority of claim to this opportunity to secure the gratitude and the power inherent in this great on-coming electorate of women voters. The men on the Hill have shown that they are wise leaders as well as fair men."

The comment of Miss Mary Garrett Hay, the woman who led the suffrage forces of Greater New York to their sweeping victory on November 6, was laconic but very much to the point.

"Hurrah for everything," said Miss Hay.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president, Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, vice-president, and Mrs. Maud Wood Park, congressional chairman of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, called at the White House the day after the House vote to express to the President the thanks of their organization for

How the House Voted

FOR	
Republicans	165
Democrats	104
Miscellaneous	5

Total for.....274

AGAINST	
Republicans	33
Democrats	102
Miscellaneous	1

Total against.....136

GRAND TOTAL	
Republicans	198
Democrats	206
Miscellaneous	6

Total vote cast.....410

The Republicans scored on the proportion of yes votes, only 33 of their 198 votes being cast against the Amendment. The Democrats divided almost evenly on the issue. On the other hand, the Democratic leaders, from the President down, hurled their influence into the breach in last-hour aid.

Twenty-three state delegations voted solidly for the Amendment, not a no vote being cast. The 23 were: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wyoming. The delegations of only six states went solidly against. They were: Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina.

ALABAMA	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
None.	Dent
<i>Nay:</i>	Gray
Almon	Heflin (speech)
Bankhead	Huddleston
Blackmon	Oliver
Burnett (speech)	Steagall

ARIZONA	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Hayden	None

ARKANSAS	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Caraway	Tillman
Goodwin	Wingo
Jacoway	<i>Nay:</i>
Oldfield	None
Taylor	

CALIFORNIA	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>
Church	Osborne
Elston	Raker (speech)
Hayes	Randall
Kahn	<i>Nay:</i>
Kettner	None
Lea	<i>Paired for:</i>
Nolan	Curry

COLORADO	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>
Hilliard	Timberlake
Keating (speech)	<i>Nay:</i>
Taylor (speech)	None

CONNECTICUT	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Freeman	Loneragan
Glynn	Tilson
Merritt	

DELAWARE	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
None	Polk

FLORIDA	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Drane	Clark (speech)
Sears	Kehoe

GEORGIA	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
None	Lee
<i>Nay:</i>	Overstreet
Bell	Park
Brand	Vinson
Crisp	Walker
Howard	Wise
Larson	One vacancy

IDAHO	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
French (speech)	None
Smith	

ILLINOIS	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>
Britten	Madden
Cannon	Mann
Copley	Mason
Denison	Rainey
Foss	Rodenberg

Foster	Sabath
Fuller	Sterling
Gallagher (speech)	Wheeler
Graham	Williams
Juul	Wilson
King	<i>Nay:</i>
McAndrews	None
McCormick	<i>Paired for:</i>
McKenzie	Ireland
McKinley	One vacancy

INDIANA	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>
Barnhart	favor submitting
Bland	amendment to con-
Cox (speech)	ventions instead
Denton	of legislatures)
Dixon	Purnell
Elliott (speech)	Saunders
Fairfield	Vestal
Kraus	Wood
Moore (speech)	<i>Nay:</i>
	None

IOWA	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>
Dowell	Scott
Good	Sweet
Green	Towner
Haugen	Woods
Kennedy	<i>Nay:</i>
Ramseyer	Hull

KANSAS	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>
Anthony	Helvering
Ayres	Little (speech)
Campbell (speech)	Shouse
Connelly	<i>Nay:</i>
Doolittle	None

KENTUCKY	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>
Barkley (speech)	Thomas
Cantrill (speech)	<i>Nay:</i>
Fields	Helm
Johnson	Kincheloe
Langley (speech)	Rouse
Powers (speech)	Sherley

LOUISIANA	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
None	Lazaro
<i>Nay:</i>	Martin
Aswell	Sanders
Dupré	Watkins
Estopinal	Wilson

MAINE	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>
Goodall	White
Hersey (speech)	<i>Nay:</i>
Peters	None

MARYLAND	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Linthicum	Mudd
Zihlman	Price
<i>Nay:</i>	Talbott
Coady	

MASSACHUSETTS	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Carter	Greene (speech)
Fuller	Lufkin (speech)
Gallivan (speech)	Olney
Phelan	Paige
Rogers	Tague
Treadway (speech)	Tinkham
<i>Nay:</i>	Walsh
Dallinger	Winslow
Gillett	

MICHIGAN	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>
Beakes	McLaughlin
Cramton	Mapes
Mann	Nichols
Fordney	Scott
Hamilton	Smith
James	<i>Nay:</i>
Kelley	Doremus

MINNESOTA	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>
Anderson	Schall
Davis	Steenerson
Ellsworth	Van Dyke
Knutson	Volstead
Lundeen	<i>Nay:</i>
Miller	None

MISSISSIPPI	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
None	Humphreys
<i>Nay:</i>	Quin
Candler	Sisson
Collier	Stephens
Harrison	Venable

MISSOURI	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>
Alexander	Rubey
Borland	Russell
Decker (speech)	Shackleford
Booher	<i>Nay:</i>
Dickinson	Meeker (speech)
Dyer (speech)	<i>Note:</i> The speaker,
Hamlin	(Mr. Clark, 9th
Hensley	District) would
Igoe	have voted yes in
Romjue	case of tie.
Rucker	

MONTANA	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Evans	None
Rankin (speech)	

NEBRASKA	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>
Kinkaid	Sloan
Lobeck	Stephens
Reavis (speech)	<i>Nay:</i>
Shallenberger	None

NEVADA	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Roberts	None

NEW HAMPSHIRE	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Burroughs (speech)	None
Wason	

NEW JERSEY	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Bacharach	Browning
Eagan	Gray (speech)
Hamill	Parker (speech)
Hutchinson	Ramsey (speech)
Lehbach (speech)	<i>Not voting:</i>
Scully	Capstick
	Drukker

(Continued on page 157)

Have You Been Enfranchised Lately?

The First Vote and the Enabling Act

Mary Summer Boyd

WHILE search was going on in all quarters for the authentic first election at which women were to vote in New York State, and speculation was various as to whether or not any preliminary legislation would be necessary before they could vote, the first election did actually take place quietly and without hitch and with no preliminary legislation. The women at the excise election in Lisle on January 5 had previously obtained a statement from the State Attorney General that "No amendments to the election law are necessary to permit women to vote at any elections except primaries. They can vote at any and all elections, special or otherwise, held subsequent to January 1st."

On January 8th, women again voted. This was at the charter election at Owego.

SPECIAL elections come apparently like a snow-storm over night. They may be like the elections at Lisle and Owego, "appointed by or pursuant to" some law or they may be called by the Governor's proclamation to fill some elective office fallen vacant by death or resignation. Many special elections appear to be a matter of "maybe" rather than "shall be" almost until the very date arrives. Thus there may be an election for a vacant office in Westchester County either in January or in February, or perhaps not at all. Governor Whitman may call an election to fill three vacancies in Congress from Kings and Bronx Counties—or he may not.

There seems no doubt that local option elections will be held under the terms of the Hill-Wheeler Act in the cities of New York State, except possibly the City of New York, sometime in or about the month of April. There is a possibility also that a special election may be called to decide a tie in the last mayoralty election at Mt. Vernon. That is all we know so far about election possibilities in New York State, this side of the general election in November.

The elections held so far answer by practical demonstration in the negative the question as to whether "enabling" legislation is necessary before women can vote. No enabling legislation was required in the equal suffrage states, even in populous California and Illinois which are the states most like New York of the older suffrage group. Women voters have caused no changes in the California election law. In Illinois there have been changes, but they were caused by convenience and not by necessity.

The Attorney General of New York State has already been quoted as saying that no amendments to election laws are necessary except to permit women to vote at the primaries in the first year of woman suffrage.

THE three problems that arise when a great number of persons are added to the electorate are connected with enrollment for the primary elections held before the general election, in the first year of woman suffrage, and the practical problems of extending the registration time before elections and altering the polls to accommodate the new voters at the election itself.

Though they do not have to be enabled to vote at elections, the women of New York will have to be enabled to vote at their first pri-

maries. For this the legislature must make provision for special enrollment, but without such enrollment women would not be deprived of the right to nominate candidates, the right would simply be postponed for one year.

The election law of New York State as it now stands provides for enrollment on general election registration days or on the day of the general election itself or the day after. Thus men who voted November 6th, 1917, at the same time enrolled for the primaries of 1918. Are the women who were at that time voters to be deprived of the right to nominate candidates in 1918? In California they appear to have foregone these first primaries, for there was no special legislation to cover their enrollment. In Illinois a primary law was passed in the same year as the Presidential Suffrage Law, which included a provision for the first enrollment of women. In New York two bills to cover the first enrollment of women have already been introduced. Senator Fowler's Bill is an expansion of the provision in Section 146 of the election law. This section as it stands provides for "special enrollment upon becoming of age." Senator Fowler's bill changes the title to "Special enrollment for voters who did not personally register or vote at the preceding election." Beyond the extension indicated in the title it does not change the section except to set a definite date, June 30th, as the last day on which enrollment can be made. The non-partisan bill drawn up by the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, which Senator Wagner (Democrat) has already introduced in the Senate, and Representative Adler (Republican) will introduce in the Assembly, is more ambitious. It would add a new article (No. 17) to the Election Law, and it covers not only first enrollment but definite provisions for extending the length of time for registration from one day to two. The third Friday and Saturday in May are set as definite enrollment dates for women voters in 1918. This is early enough to make it possible for women to vote not only at the general election primaries but at the primaries, if any, before special elections as well. This is one advantage it has over Senator Fowler's Bill. The rest of the bill, which covers many pages, provides for the details in regard to form of enrollment, registering of qualifications, etc., not covered in Senator Fowler's Bill.

THE only important practical problem the New York Woman Suffrage Party bill does not attempt to cover is that of redistricting or making other provisions so that polling places shall accommodate the large increase in the number of voters. The newspapers report that Senator Walters is planning to introduce a bill on this subject. Meanwhile, for guidance, let us turn to Illinois which is the equal suffrage state most like New York. Throughout the state no redistricting was necessary, according to the Secretary of State, the old voting accommodations being adequate for both sexes. In the City of Chicago the number of precincts—called in New York City election districts—were raised from 1565 to 2203, an increase of 638 or 40%. This was done without new legislation,

to carry out an already existing provision of the law that 300 should be, roughly speaking, the maximum number of votes taken care of by a precinct. In 1917, however, after four years' experience of woman suffrage, including the heavy vote at a presidential election, the law was amended giving 400 as the desirable number but permitting even as many as 600 to vote at one polling place. In other words, instead of expensive redistricting with 632 extra polling places, it was found that the old polling places had facilities for caring for more, at a pinch for even double the number of voters, with but trifling added expense. This was possible because most women voted during the middle of the day instead of at the early and late rush hours when the men were voting heavily. Another reason, according to Judge Scully, head of the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners, was that the women judges and clerks of election, from about 750 at first to about 2000 scattered throughout the city, were so much more efficient than the all-men group.

In other words, the only legislation needed to meet the practical problems raised by doubling the number of voters is, if we may judge by the experience of Chicago, a law to allow more voters to an election district and a further change in the New York law making it possible for women to serve as clerks and judges of electors.

New York's First Woman Voter

MRS FLORENCE H. CHAUNCEY, wife of Rev. Fred O. Chauncey, pastor of the Methodist Church, is the first woman in New York state to exercise her voting privileges. The three villages of Lisle, Center Lisle and Killiwog, in Broome County, had a special excise election on January 5th. Ten minutes after the polls opened Mrs. Chauncey appeared with her husband, both of them having been on hand and waiting for the polls to open since before six in the morning.

It was bitterly cold in the village hall where the elections were held. It was also pitch dark, but little difficulties like that did not trouble the sturdy women voters of Lisle; and there were 244 of them who followed Mrs. Chauncey's lead. An eye witness writes from Lisle, saying: "The women were at the polls early, behaved with perfect decorum, and acted as though they were 'to the manner born.' I was present and saw the first woman vote."

THE letter gives in detail the facts of a certain hotelkeeper's challenging the women's right to vote without registration. But as they had been provided with an opinion from Attorney-General Lewis that women could vote at any election after January 1, they voted away as blithely as you please. "The election board refused to recognize the challenges, but the hotel man stayed by and challenged all the women voters for the first two hours. Then he subsided. The women bore the annoyance of this petty persecution bravely. This Lisle case demonstrates that New York women are the equals of men at the ballot box and that they will conduct themselves with equal dispatch and self control."

As the Syracuse Post-Standard reported: "A stranger entering the village hall during any period of the day would have said that either there was a convention of some woman's

(Continued on next page)

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Commencing Monday, January 21st

34th Street

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WOMEN'S SPRING BLOUSES

White or Flesh Color Georgette Crepe Blouses with deep pointed collar; trimmed with dainty lace medallions and insertion; front of Blouse prettily tucked.

\$2.95

Attractive Blouses of White or Flesh Color Crepe de Chine; front trimmed with eyelet embroidery.

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Stylish Crepe de Chine Blouses in White, Flesh Color or Bisque; graceful jabot in shawl effect; trimmed throughout with hem stitching.

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Smart Blouses of Crepe de Chine in White, Flesh Color or Bisque; square neck model; trimmed with fine tucking, also dainty pearl buttons and loops.

\$5.00

Georgette Crepe Blouses in White or Flesh Color; back and front of Blouses trimmed with fine tucks in cross-bar effect; deep roll collar of satin.

\$5.00

New York's First Woman Voter

(Continued from opposite page)

organization or a village woman's society meeting in progress, but he would have had to look twice to realize that it was an election. 'The men didn't seem to care to smoke or at least they didn't smoke. Neither did they 'haw-haw' or hurl greetings with reckless abandon usually the rule at the polls. For once women's sway was without enforcement or persuasion.

"WOMEN anywhere from sixty to eighty were prominent among the citizens. There was Mrs. D. B. Wilcox of 'Peppermint Alley,' which sounds like a joke, but is a real thoroughfare in Lisle. 'You can't vote unless you be twenty-one,' said one of the men, who is sixty, to Mrs. Wilcox. 'Well,' returned the more than eighty-year-old voter, 'If we'd had the right to vote I could have voted before you were born.'

"Just before the polls were closed Mrs. Chauncey made a statement expressing her pleasure at the result. It is as follows:

"'We as representative women of the town of Lisle are willing and eager to express our satisfaction in being the first of our sex to cast the ballot in New York state.'"

Lansdowne Opposed

The Marquis of Lansdowne was one of the small minority who voted against woman suffrage in the British House of Lords the other day. Let us see, did not somebody say that every prominent person who favored making peace was a suffragist.

A. S. B.

Woman Citizen a Film Star

THE *Woman Citizen* made its bow to a new audience during the week just ended. It became a movie star all on its own, and in a Broadway theatre at that.

The occasion was Woman's Victory Week at the Broadway Theatre, to celebrate the passage of the National Suffrage Amendment in the House of Representatives, and also the victory in the English House of Lords. And the hostess was Miss Katherine Russell Bleecker, the new woman manager, who opened all her doors to the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the City and State Woman Suffrage Party.

Each night just before the big feature was put on a suffrage speaker gave a ten-minute speech.

On Monday night Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Congressional chairman for New York State, who has just returned from Washington, spoke about the national victory, and on Tuesday night Miss Louise Connolly, Educational Expert in the Library and Museum of Newark, New Jersey, told what the victory in the House of Lords signified to the cause of democracy all over the world.

But the *Woman Citizen* was the real film star, for it was the only one that got in the spot light and on the screen. It had a little act all its own—a motion picture. First it came on dressed up in one of its prettiest covers. Then the leaves were turned and its contents shown. Then it made its last little bow. It served as a symbol of the world-wide advance of women into citizenship.

Honor Where Honor Is Due

IF you happened to meet a demurely blonde little woman very much at home in the corridors of the House office building during the last few days before the House vote, that was Maud Wood Park.

If you happened to hear a crisp, alert voice saying before the House Suffrage Committee, "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee, I take pleasure in introducing—," that was Maud Wood Park's voice.

If you happened to be at the night meetings of the Congressional Committee at 1626 Rhode Island avenue, and got the effect of the steady, plodding insistence of a white-faced woman in the chair, quizzing the lobbyists on the day's work, giving out assignments for the next day's work, reporting, checking up, advising, that was Maud Wood Park's insistence.

If you happened to be at the rebuttal proceedings before the House Suffrage Committee on Monday, January 7th, and heard the quick, ready wit with which the banalities of the antis were met and countered, that was Maud Wood Park doing the countering.

If you happened, while the House vote was polled, to cast your eyes across at the Speaker's Bench and saw a cool, calm woman quietly checking up on the roll call, that was Maud Wood Park following the last vote to the end.

Appointed as Congressional Chairman of the National American Woman Suffrage Association on January 4th, 1917, the past year's intensive campaign for the Amendment has been under her leadership.

(Continued on page 156)

The Story of January Tenth

(Continued from page 149)

"**A**YE—no—aye—no—aye—no, no—aye, aye, aye, aye—no—aye, aye, aye—no" it sounded like the frog climbing two feet up the well wall and slipping back one.

The wise ones knew when the frog was out of the well. "We are over the top, we are over!" was the ecstatic whisper in the galleries.

Then the result was announced, 274 ayes and 136 nays. That is to say the House had voted two to one for the amendment with two to spare—though the two couldn't have been spared to the opposition. Down on the floor the opposition was going about, man by man, holding up one finger. That meant, "They have won with just a vote to spare. Let's fight." They called for a recapitulation and the Clerk recapitulated; that is, read the roll. The opposition circulated about, trying to find some wobbly ones who would give in and change their votes. But this time everybody knew that Speaker Clark was standing ready to cast his vote for the amendment if there was a tie and his vote was needed. It was not needed. There weren't any wobbly ones. Every man stood to his guns. The amendment was won and won for good and all so far as the lower House of the 65th Congress was concerned.

AS the women went down the historic corridors, somebody said "glory halleluia!" Instantly the song broke forth in a sort of smother of music, the women trying in vain to hold their voices down to the decorum of those august halls. Then the sprightly Southern women, remembering Arkansas, remembering Kentucky's seven ayes, and Maryland's two, remembering Mr. Weaver of North Carolina, remembering Mr. Slemph of Virginia, remembering Tennessee's five ayes, remembering Texas's six, and Florida's two, began on Dixie. They were justified. Forty-five Southerners had put an "act of right and justice" above what Mrs. Guilford Dudley aptly calls "the state rights ha'nt" of the South.

The Women in Command

MRS. CATT went down to Washington ten days in advance of the date set for the vote and personally directed the last stages of the campaign.

Dr. Shaw was a potent factor in the success of the hearings before the suffrage committee.

Mrs. Maud Wood Park, who has kept ward and watch over the Washington situation for months, crowned her labors with an indefatigable activity during the last few days, days that literally left no stone unturned whose turning could mean the advancement of the amendment.

Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, who might be called a sort of resident director in Washington, because of her long-time acquaintance with Washington's way and Washington's people, brought the strength of her great fertility of resource into full play during the last few days. She it was who was the main reliance in the securing of appointments with high officials, and arranging for conferences.

Among the Southern women who had charge of the case in connection with Southern repre-

sentatives, were Mrs. Samuel C. Henning of Louisville, Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Nashville, Mrs. Whiteside of Louisville, and Mrs. Elizabeth Herndon Potter of Tyler, Texas.

Headed by Miss Hay, New York women were on deck in numbers. Mrs. Travis Whitney of Brooklyn, was a tireless worker and able converter. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, acting chairman of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, made Washington her headquarters for yeoman service during the last few days. Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid, the State Party's treasurer, was there, and so was Mrs. Margaret Chandler Aldrich.

Miss Rose Young, national press chairman, went down early and took personal supervision of the press work.

Mrs. Glendower Evans of Massachusetts, was there, Mrs. J. O. Miller came over from Philadelphia. Miss Ruth White of Missouri, Miss Harriet Bain of Wisconsin, Miss Mabel Willard of Massachusetts, Mrs. Everett Colby of New Jersey, and Mrs. Edwin C. Smith of Rhode Island, were all in the group on the ground as suffrage went over the top.

The New Chivalry

ALL the inherent drama of the situation found expression when Representative Mann, pale and weak from a long siege at Johns Hopkins Hospital, entered the House, and walked feebly to his seat. Everybody had known that Representative Mann had been long and seriously ill. Everybody had known that he stood pledged to the Amendment. Would he come? Could he come? The friends of suffrage had not dared hope it. About the nicest thing the Speaker ever did for suffrage, among the many nice things credited to the Speaker, was to let joy be unconfined over Mr. Mann's appearance.

On the Democratic side of the House sat Representative Thetus W. Sims, of Tennessee, nursing a broken shoulder bone and a badly fractured arm. Only two days before the day set for the vote he had slipped on the ice and smashed his bones in three places. While still suffering so profoundly from shock that his injuries could not be X-rayed, he announced that he was going to the House on January 10th to cast his vote for the Amendment. "You can't," the doctor told him. "That's too bad," said the Congressman, "because I am going." He was there—in too much pain to stay in his seat long at a time, but very much there when his name was called.

THEN there was Representative Henry A. Barnhart, of Indiana, perhaps sickest of all the sick men, brought by taxi from Providence Hospital, carried to the floor just in time to vote and carried right out again and back to his hospital bed.

Representative Crosser, of Ohio, was another man who got to the floor at severe risk to his health.

It was Representative Johnson, of Washington, who beat time in his race across country and met the calling of his name with a ringing aye.

Then there were the men who prefer to be nameless into whose families death had already stolen or stood ominously at the family threshold. All there with all private grief crowded back in order to measure up to democracy's demand upon them.

President Wilson's Advice

AFTER conferring with President Wilson in the late afternoon of January 9th, a delegation of leading Democrats who had waited on him issued the following statement:

"The committee found that the President had not felt at liberty to volunteer his advice to members of Congress in this important matter, but when we sought his advice he very frankly and earnestly advised us to vote for the Amendment AS AN ACT OF RIGHT AND JUSTICE TO THE WOMEN OF THE COUNTRY AND OF THE WORLD."

Upon hearing of the President's statement, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, said:

"We are thrilled by the President's statement to the delegation of Representatives who waited on him seeking his advice about the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Most of all do we appreciate his setting forth that the passage of the Amendment is an act of right and justice at this time to the women of this country and of the world. The President's statement is the most important he has yet made on the suffrage question, and coming when it does ranks as a war utterance with the statement of Premier Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith, and the Premier of Canada on this same subject."

THE President's advice to his visitors recalled Mrs. Catt's advice before the House Suffrage Committee when she urged that those Representatives who wanted to know what the President really thought about the Federal Amendment should wait on him. "Don't take our word for it" said Mrs. Catt, "don't take the word of our opponents. Go and ask him."

Following up Mrs. Catt's suggestion the National American Woman Suffrage Association insured that those who wanted to know how the President stood on the subject should "go and ask him," with the result chronicled above.

Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, of Washington, one of the vice-presidents of the National, who took the initiative in getting the delegations to the President, says: "I have always maintained that the President could be relied on to help us with the Amendment when the time came, and you see he did."

The Representatives who called upon the President were: Taylor, of Colorado; Hayden, of Arizona; Barkley and Cantrill, of Kentucky; Brumbaugh, of Ohio; Linthicum, of Maryland; Gregg and Jones, of Texas.

Honor Where Honor Is Due

(Continued from page 155)

Before Mrs. Park took her present position she was a well-known lecturer on questions concerning the Far East.

More than any other person, she was responsible for the growth of suffrage among college women. She is herself a magna cum laude graduate of Radcliffe, '98, and a native Bostonian. While in college she represented Radcliffe in a debate, which a joint Harvard and Radcliffe team won from Boston University. Her interest in equal suffrage also goes back to college days.

Supplementing Mrs. Catt's leadership, Maud Wood Park's work was of tremendous avail in the National American Woman Suffrage Association's great victory of January 10th.

How the House Voted

(Continued from page 153)

<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>	McFadden	McLaughlin
NEW MEXICO		Porter	Moore (speech)
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>	Robbins	Morin
Walton	None	Rose	Steele
		Rowland	Watson
		Scott	<i>Not voting:</i>
		Sterling	Graham
		RHODE ISLAND	
		<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
NEW YORK		Kennedy	None
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>	O'Shaunessy	
Caldwell	Rowe	Stiness	
Carew	Sanford		
Chandler (speech)	Siegel		
Dale	Smith, C. B.	SOUTH CAROLINA	
Dempsey	Smith, T. F.	<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Dooling	Snell	None	Nicholls
Fairchild, B. L.	Snyder	<i>Nay:</i>	Ragsdale
Flynn	Sullivan	Byrnes	Stevenson (speech)
Francis	Swift	Dominick	Whaley
Hamilton	Waldow	Lever	
Haskell	Ward		
Hicks	<i>Nay:</i>	SOUTH DAKOTA	
Husted	Gould	<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
London	Riordan	Dillon	None
Lunn (speech)	Sanders	Gandy	<i>Paired for:</i>
Magee	<i>Paired for:</i>		Johnson
Maher	LaGuardia	TENNESSEE	
Mott	Fairchild, G. W.	<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Oliver	<i>Paired against:</i>	Austin (speech)	Garrett
Parker	Dunn	Byrnes	Houston
Platt	Four vacancies	Fisher	Hull
Pratt		Sells	Moon (speech)
		Simms	<i>Paired against:</i>
			Padgett
		TEXAS	
		<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
NORTH CAROLINA		Blanton	Eagle
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>	Connally	Garner
Weaver	Robinson	Garrett	Hardy
<i>Nay:</i>	Stedman	Gregg	McLemore
Doughton	Small (speech)	Jones	Mansfield (speech)
Goodwin	Webb	Summers	Rayburn
Kitchin	<i>Not voting:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>	Slayden (speech)
Pou	Hood	Black	Wilson
		Buchanan	Young
		Dies	
NORTH DAKOTA		UTAH	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Baer	None	Mays (speech)	None
Norton (speech)		Welling	
Young			
OHIO		VERMONT	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Brumbaugh	Kearns (speech)	Dale	Greene
Cooper	Key		
Crosser	Longworth	VIRGINIA	
Emerson	Overmeyer	<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Fess (speech)	Snook	Jones	Montague
Hollingsworth	Switzer	Slomp	Saunders (speech)
McCulloch	Welty	<i>Nay:</i>	Watson
Sherwood	White	Carlin	<i>Paired against:</i>
<i>Nay:</i>	Gordon (speech)	Flood	Holland
Ashbrook	<i>Not voting:</i>	Glass	
Claypool	Heintz	Harrison	
Gard (speech for amendment 7-year limit)	One vacancy	WASHINGTON	
		<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
OKLAHOMA		Dill (speech)	None
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>	Hadley	<i>Paired for:</i>
Carter	McKeown	Johnson	Miller
Chandler	Morgan	LaFollette	
Ferris (speech)	Thompson		
Hastings	<i>Nay:</i>	WEST VIRGINIA	
McClintic	None	<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
		Bowers	None
		Littlepage	<i>Paired for:</i>
		Neely	Reed
		Woodyard	<i>Paired against:</i>
			Cooper
OREGON		WISCONSIN	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Hawley	None	Browne	Nelson
McArthur		Classon	Stafford (speech)
Sinnott		Cooper	Voigt
		Davidson	<i>Not voting:</i>
		Esch	Cary
		Frear	
		Lenroot (speech)	
PENNSYLVANIA		WYOMING	
<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Aye:</i>	<i>Nay:</i>
Beshlin	Strong	Mondell (speech)	None
Brodbeck	Temple		
Butler	Templeton		
Campbell	Vare		
Clark	<i>Nay:</i>		
Costello	Crago		
Darrow	Dewalt		
Edmonds	Focht		
Farr	Garland		
Griest	Heaton		
Kelly (speech)	Kreider		
Kiess	Leshar		



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as follows: California, 1; Illinois, 1; South Dakota, 1; New York, 2; Washington, 1; West Virginia, 1. Paired against: New York, 1; Tennessee, 1; Virginia, 1. Not voting and not paired, 7. Vacancies, 7. (The total membership of House is 435.)

When the Woman Lawyer Votes

(Continued from page 151)

forms of tutelage that seldom come to men lawyers.

For three years she was a teacher of the mentally defective, and later served as factory inspector in the State Department of Labor. Her self-direction indicates that what suffragists claim for the admission of woman as co-workers with man in civic affairs, is likely to prove true in New York as well as in older suffrage states. That is the more essentially human factor which woman puts into the making and interpreting of laws.

The Speaker, who represents the 9th District of Missouri, does not vote except in case of tie. The members paired favorably were by states

When writing to advertisers please mention the WOMAN CITIZEN.

May You and Your State Win!

THE Woman Citizen is in the heart of its drive for 100,000 subscribers in 1918.

At the Washington Convention thirteen state associations pledged 100 new subscribers apiece. One county association—that was the Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County, Michigan—likewise pledged 100 new subscribers. Two state associations raised their own pledges to 200—they were the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association and the Louisiana Woman Suffrage Party. Twenty-six state associations have pledged nothing, but we believe that they will as soon as they realize the advantages of getting into the race.

A race it is to be, with rewards for the winners. The *Woman Citizen* sets forth below the schedule of premiums upon which it has decided for the exhilaration of the contestants:

FIRST PREMIUM—CASH, \$50

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

SECOND PREMIUM—CASH, \$25

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

THIRD PREMIUM—CASH, \$25

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the WOMAN CITIZEN.

FOURTH PREMIUM—CASH \$25

To the Co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the WOMAN CITIZEN. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

PLEDGE CARD

I wish to become a Co-operating Subscriber to the WOMAN CITIZEN and I hereby pledge myself to help in the drive for 100,000 NEW subscriptions. I agree to secure ten (10) NEW subscriptions to the magazine for which I will pay \$1.00 each.

Kindly send me subscription blanks and copies of the WOMAN CITIZEN for use in the work.

Remarks:

Name

Street

City..... State.....

The Great Spring Drive

THINGS are beginning to hum in the WOMAN CITIZEN's headquarters! Preparations are on for the Great Spring Drive and no rest is scheduled for either the home office or the expeditionaries until our objective, 100,000 new subscribers has been attained.

Ammunition is being rushed through in the form of special subscription blanks for state and county chairmen and other literature for the bombardment and capture of the non-subscriber is in process of careful preparation.

Meanwhile reports from the field are encouraging. Ohio has adopted a plan for the formation of a dues-paying organization within the state association in which \$1.00 of the dues paid goes automatically to the WOMAN CITIZEN. This is in addition to other plans for increasing the number of subscribers in the state.

The following state chairmen have been appointed:

New Jersey—Mrs. F. H. Colvin of East Orange.

New Hampshire—Mrs. Mary Post of Portsmouth.

Rhode Island—Mrs. Le Baron C. Colt of Bristol.

Kentucky—Mrs. Charles Firth of Covington.

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of Missouri, writes: "Just a word to acknowledge your letter and to say how ashamed I am that Missouri's subscription list to the *best woman's magazine published* is so low. We have a Board Meeting in Kansas City next week, and one of the subjects to be discussed is to be how we can increase the circulation of the magazine in our state."

In next week's column we will tell you about Dr. Jones of Iowa.

When the Federal Amendment has gone through there will be big work ahead for every state.

Do you know that the suffrage sense of a state or a county or a town is directly commensurate with the number of its WOMAN CITIZEN subscribers?

Are you canvassing your state for new subscribers?

Have you personally added at least one name to our subscription list?

Help your state and county to win the WOMAN CITIZEN's 1918 Premium! Begin to-day!

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What the World Never Forgets

"When the name of Lincoln is mentioned to-day the first thought that enters the mind of the world is that he was the emancipator of the slaves. In future generations when the name of Wilson is mentioned the thought of the world will be that the women of the United States were enfranchised during his Administration and largely through his assistance. People forget wars and the incidents of wars, but they never forget a great forward step in human freedom."—Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.

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6 inches, \$3.00, 4.50 per doz.
8 inches, 4.00, 4.50 per doz.
10 inches, 6.00, 6.50, 9.00 per doz.

Tea Napkins—13 inches square, \$6.75, 7.00, 7.50 per dozen.

Centerpieces—

20 inches diameter, \$1.75, 2.50 each.
24 inches diameter, 2.25, 3.25 each.
27 inches diameter, 2.75 each.

Scarfs, Tray Cloths, Tea Cloths, etc.

Hemstitched Damasks—

Napkins, \$8.50, 12.50, 15.00 and 18.00 per dozen.

Tray Cloths, \$1.50, 1.75 each.

Cloths, 36 x 36 inches, \$3.50 each.

45 x 45 inches, 5.00 each.

54 x 54 inches, 6.75 each.

72 x 72 inches, 12.00 each.

72 x 90 inches, 14.00 each.

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A prophet is not without honor—

THESE words have been regarded as a truism for nearly two thousand years. But suffragists have done so many things to truisms. For instance, Woman's Place, you may remember, was once in the Home—and nowhere outside it.

Suffragists have their own prophet in their own country to-day. We believe that they will not wait for the outsider to honor the WOMAN CITIZEN.

The suffrage organizations of thirteen states are pledged to play a vigorous part in the WOMAN CITIZEN'S drive for 100,000 new subscribers in 1918. Is your state among them? Are you helping in your own town? Will you pledge yourself to send us ten new names and thus become a cooperating subscriber?

Begin to help to-morrow!

For details see our circulation column in this week's issue

OUR SLOGAN

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To the
TWENTY-SEVEN MILLION WOMEN
Of Voting Age
in the
UNITED STATES



ARE you beginning to appreciate the importance of your political position? If you are, and you are really honest with yourselves, you know that you have ahead of you work which done with intelligence will carry **good** to the four corners of the globe

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INQUIRING WOMAN VOTER
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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

171 Madison Avenue

New York City

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January 26, 1918

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL FOUNDED 1870



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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

171 Madison Avenue

New York



THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE and
HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted
to Winning Equal Rights and
Especially to Winning Equal Suf-
frage for Women, and published
weekly in Boston, Mass., from
1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE
PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY
and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Head-
quarters News Letter." In suc-
ceeding the National Suffrage
News, The Woman Citizen be-
comes the official organ of the
National American Woman Suf-
frage Association, and as such will
try to maintain intimate contact
between the Association and its
two million members throughout
the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is pub-
lished weekly by the Woman
Citizen Corporation in the
hope that it may prove a self-
perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank
Leslie's generosity toward the cause
of woman suffrage and her faith in
woman's irresistible progress.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue

New York

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Keeps Child Welfare Day

*Monday, January 28, may be a heat-
less holiday, but it is also Child Wel-
fare Day, and the Woman Citizen is
joining with other agencies for a bet-
ter civilization in paying its warm
respects to the childhood of the na-
tion. To this end it has given space
in this number to the subject of
women as protectors of children.*

*A chief interest of women as cit-
izens at all times is the safeguarding
of the young. To their normal inter-
est in child welfare is now added an
extreme concern, lest this country fol-
low the mistakes of European na-
tions in war time and learn only after
sad experience the folly of neglecting
and exploiting children.*

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitu-
tion of the United States Con-
ferring upon Women the
Right of Suffrage.*

*Resolved by the Senate and House of
Representatives of the United States of
America in Congress assembled (two-
thirds of each House concurring therein),
That the following article be proposed to
the legislatures of the several states as an
amendment to the Constitution of the
United States, which, when ratified by
three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall
be valid as part of said Constitution,
namely:*

"ARTICLE

*"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the
United States to vote shall not be denied
or abridged by the United States or by any
state on account of sex.*

*"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power,
by appropriate legislation, to enforce the
provisions of this article."*

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10,
1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COM- MITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators
Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado,
Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington,
and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Represent-
atives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana,
Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado,
Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee⁸
approving.
On the calendar Date for vote not fixed

IN THE HOUSE:

Raker resolution to create a woman suffrage
committee in the House adopted by the House
September 24 by a vote of 181 to 107.

House Joint Resolution No. 1 reported from
Judiciary Dec. 15, 1917, without recommenda-
tion.
New identical resolution introduced in House
by Judge Raker, Dec. 18, and referred to next
Woman Suffrage Committee.

House Vote Jan. 10, 1918, 274 yeas, 136 noes.
VICTORY!

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HELEN FRASER

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G. ARNOLD SHAW



PUBLISHER, NEW YORK

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

January 26, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

What Shocks Women

IF you will get a copy of the printed report of the Hearings before the House Committee on Woman Suffrage, for Friday, January 4, you will find on page 63, this short but significant paragraph:

"(Pause)."

It was the pause that came after Jeannette Rankin, gentle, delicate, but resistless, had leaned forward from her place in the committee's crescent, to ask a white-haired, seventy-year old physician a question that manifestly sent all his wits wool-gathering.

For several minutes this same white-haired gentleman had been talking behind his hand, as it were, in an effort to show that owing to the prevalence of some very bad diseases that must be nameless, and owing to ignorance as to the treatment of the eyes of the new-born—an ignorance due in his judgment, apparently, to woman's interest in politics—a vast number of babies become blind from birth. The Chairman of the Committee, with scientific frankness, had already called attention to the fact that probably 96% of the obstetricians are men, and already had invited the white-haired doctor to tell the committee why these men doctors do not save the eyes of these babies, why the mother, sick unto death, should be held responsible for the baby's care just after birth. And already the white-haired doctor had made answer in this wise: "Very true; I am coming to that point. What we need—the contention is that we should have the energies of the women at all times directed to the care of those children, and they in that way should know, and they should learn that, and that should be common knowledge, and not occupy their attention and their energies with politics."

Then Miss RANKIN. "Will you yield for a question?"

Dr. HOWE. "Certainly."

Miss RANKIN. "How do you expect women to know this disease when you do not feel it proper to call it by its correct name? Do they not in some states have legislation which prevents women knowing these diseases; and only recently, until after the women's work for political power, were women admitted into medical schools. You yourself, from your actions,

evidently believe it is not possible for women to know the proper name of these diseases."

(Pause.)

Dr. HOWE. "I did not like to use the word 'gonorrhea.' I could use others that would shock their sensibilities much greater, but it seemed better to avoid that; that is all."

Miss RANKIN. "May I ask another question?"

Dr. HOWE. "Certainly."

Miss RANKIN. "Do you think anything should shock women as much as blind children? Do you not think they ought to be hardened enough to stand a name of a disease when they can stand the fact that the children are blind?"

Dr. HOWE. "I think they should. My experience has taught me that they would not. If I may, when I come to a point, I would like to refer to that point again later in what I have to say. I am sorry I have taken so much time. I am quite ashamed of that. May I hurry through? I have something much more important to explain."

Ashamed and hurrying through, it is yet time and high time that Dr. Howe realize that his experience has taught him little of woman's new scheme of values if it has taught him that woman today flinches before the name of a disease with whose effects she is called upon to deal in the domestic and social economy, as wife, mother, nurse, physician and social worker. On him and his kind, who fear to shock by naming disease, rests much of the responsibility for much of the physical ruin of today. What shocks today's women as nothing else can shock them is that malodorous fear of shocking that has locked itself in with ignorance and disease, through the generations, to the terrible hurt of the new born and the unborn. True, fifty years ago when the doctor was starting in life a woman could not know the name, she could not admit the existence, of certain diseases, without losing her womanly qualities. But the world has moved, if the doctor hasn't. Women can face names today. If the disease exists they can face—and will ultimately down—the fact of it. What they can't face is the prurient modesty that flutters its outrageous illusion in an effort to hide the sacrifice of babies' eyes and babies' lives behind it.

Dr. Shaw a Present Help in Time of War

SUCH convinced anti-suffragists as ex-President William Howard Taft and Dr. Talcott Williams do not see anything funny in their serious determination to call upon the womanhood of the nation for help in the aims of the League. Its Committee of Management has projected a campaign among women to strengthen opposition to a premature peace and to promote the formation, after the war, of a league of nations.

That this is a capitulation to the fact that women are needed in public affairs and needed right now in the midst of war does not ruffle a hair of their heads. The unconscious humor of asking help from Dr. Anna Howard Shaw whom they, as anti-suffragists, have officially reviled as a pacifist is funnier than anything else, except the fact that another member of the committee working in conjunction with Dr. Shaw is Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, who has swelled the chorus of opposition to women in politics as a detriment to the country as well as to the higher instincts of womanhood.

All of these antis have said that suffragists are everywhere working for a pro-German peace and against the nation's war preparations. Yet Dr. Shaw, who is already chairman of the Woman's Division of the Council of National Defense, is their first resort in time of need. And Mr. Taft as presiding officer of the League, was obliged to read aloud Dr. Shaw's letter which gave utterance to his own views. "My views as to the proper attitude of the United States toward a premature peace with Germany and with regard to the method by which peace may be maintained," said Dr. Shaw, "are in accord with the position taken by the League to Enforce Peace." It is only anti-suffragists who can be so solemn in their humor that they never let on when they see the joke. Is it possible that they don't see it?

Will They Stand With the Kaiser?

THERE is a Latin saying, to the effect that a thousand fantastic visions throng upon the mind of a person who is dying. The opponents of woman suffrage, whose cause is obviously dying, seem beset with all sorts of wild chimeras. One of the wildest is the notion that the German government wants its enemies to adopt equal suffrage, in order to weaken them! Considering that the Australian and New Zealand troops have been distinguished for their extraordinary gallantry, in this war where all the nations involved have fought bravely, there does not seem to be much ground for the belief that doing justice to women tends to weaken manly fibre. The Kaiser may still cherish this idea; it has long been a favorite doctrine of the German government that women must be kept down; but the recent granting of woman suffrage in Canada and the big majorities for it in both houses of the British Parliament show that the English no longer labor under that delusion.

Our anti-suffragists say, and perhaps some of them even believe, that the Germans in this country are trying to get the

United States to adopt woman suffrage, because they think it will be a hindrance to us in war. Yet within the past three months—in full war-time—the members of the German-American Alliance in Nebraska have been working for the repeal of woman suffrage in that State, as they had previously worked against its adoption. During the campaign the officers of the German-American Alliance sent out a circular letter urging all their members to oppose votes for women. In South Dakota, several prominent opponents of woman suffrage have lately been sent to prison for their pro-German activities. In New York city, the First Ward of Queens, which has a particularly large German population, was one of the few wards in the city that voted against the suffrage amendment.

It is historical fact that for half a century the German vote in the United States has been an asset of the anti-suffragists. The bulk of it has been cast against suffrage in every campaign, although there have been noble individual exceptions. In Iowa, recently, the vote of four German counties turned the scale against the suffrage amendment.

In reality, what the anti-suffragists are urging the U. S. Senate to do on this question is to line up alongside of the Kaiser.

A. S. B.

Guarding the Rear

"HOW can you say that suffrage work is war work?" asks a good suffragist, who was active in the past but who feels as if this were no time to bother about the ballot.

In addition to working for the men at the front, it is women's especial duty to help guard the country against enemies in the rear. These enemies are always doubly active in war time. They are all the internal foes—dirt, disease, ignorance, infant mortality, child labor, corrupt politics, graft, greed, and the whole horde of moral evils. All of these tend to weaken a country in war, and some of them are even more dangerous than the open enemies in the field.

Some of these things it has always been considered a part of women's work to deal with; but they need to be equipped with the best modern weapons.

While the attention of the public is fixed on the fighting at the front, corrupt politics is always lying in wait to stab the country in the back, by seizing power in our cities and towns; and under corrupt politics all these other evils flourish. Here is where the mothers and sisters of the soldiers can guard the rear; but they can do it best with ballots in their hands.

Short-sighted women say, "How can you take time to work for suffrage now?" They might just as well ask, "How can you take time to conserve food, or to make munitions?"

A. S. B.

How It Must Worry Wilhelm!

THE woman's department of the Social Democratic party of Germany, the German Imperial Union for Women's Suffrage and the German Women's Suffrage Society are openly campaigning and have issued a manifesto.

Briefs for Suffrage

THE date for the Senate vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment has not yet been set. The filling of vacancies, the illness of Senators, and the dire freight and fuel situation have combined to postpone the suffrage program. Meantime Senator Henderson, of Nevada, appointed to fill Senator Newlands's place, declares himself a suffrage champion.

BBRITISH anti-suffragists are having no luck at all in their efforts to get rid of the Representation of the People Bill. After the overwhelming defeat of Lord Loreburn's Amendment on January 10, Viscount Halifax essayed an amendment on January 16 providing that the question of enfranchising women be decided by a referendum to women. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 90 to 62.

A REQUEST to the *Woman Citizen* from St. Lawrence County, New York, urges us to ask the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General to place a mail box in front of every door on the rural free delivery. By these presents, we do ask him. It's a small request coming from a sovereign elector of the United States of America. There aren't enough mail boxes even in New York city. If it's worse on the rural free delivery, it's time somebody was asking somebody something.

WHEN Mrs. Catt was asked by Mr. Clark, of the House Suffrage Committee, what suffragists expected the ballot to protect women from, she answered unhesitatingly, "Men."

It hurt Mr. Clark. He is an anti, and he said if she felt like that he didn't want to ask her any more questions. The idea that any woman could think that any man could not be relied on to protect women overpowered him.

Almost coincidently a member of the Senate, James W. Wadsworth, of New York, began an attack on the limitation of the hours of women workers on war uniforms. The Senator, too, is among those reluctant to believe that women need to have the vote to protect them from men.

NEITHER the Federal Suffrage Amendment nor the prohibition amendment would be touched by the provisions of a resolution introduced into the New York Legislature this week by Senator Slater, of Westchester. As an amendment to the state constitution the bill must receive favorable action from two different state senates before it can be submitted to the people for ratification. It could not become effective, even if adopted, before January, 1920, and would therefore not affect any of the amendments either submitted by or now pending before Congress. The bill requires that, after the adoption of the Federal Amendment by Congress, an election must intervene before the Legislature can take it up for consideration. The advertised purpose is to give the people of the state an opportunity to say whether they want the Amendment or not. Senator Slater maintains that it would in all likelihood become an issue in the campaigns, with the result that incoming lawmakers would have a mandate from the people to guide them in their action.

From the Solid South

THE growth is about us. We see a liberalizing trend among our neighbors and our friends even now. It will grow. It will hardly reach the South except by national suffrage amendment. * * * North, East and West are fast falling into line for suffrage. And as North, East and West adopt it, so the South will, partly through weight of the movement itself and a growing sympathy with the ends, if not with the methods to secure them, and partly through political coercion of a sort, come in, too.—*The Telegraph*, Macon, Ga.

LET no man who is opposed to woman suffrage because of special interests or of tradition-bound intelligence, attempt to hide behind any plea of state rights as a defense for a vote cast against the submission of the Federal Amendment. In this day of world war, * * * it would be puerile for a man to attempt to defend opposition to the Federal Amendment by any twaddle about state rights. * * * It would be fitting that the Legislature of Kentucky should be the first to ratify the Federal Amendment.—*The Herald*, Lexington, Ky.

THE war has brought woman into new relations with the state; the government in every branch has called upon her for work, money and devotion; she has gone to the front as nurse, ambulance driver and relief worker as unflinchingly as any man has gone. "Now, why," she is asking, "may I not have a dignified place in the body politic?" An answer, other than "Yes," will be difficult for any senator or representative to explain, for it will stamp him as a man of narrow vision unaware of the trend of the world's affairs.—*The Journal*, Richmond, Va.

IN commenting editorially as the House vote on the Federal Amendment drew near, *The American* of Fort Smith, Ark., said:

"The only answer that can be given so far is that it will all depend upon the size and breadth of the average congressman's mind. But in these days of big things and of doing big things in a big way, it can at least be reasonably hoped that that mind has expanded and developed sufficiently to allow of a favorable ballot."

WHYY should there be so much solicitude and alarm for state rights and state sovereignty provoked by the threatened passage of the Anthony amendment while the prohibition amendment is viewed either with unconcern or approval? We do not discern the exact difference 'twixt tweedledee and tweedledum. Is not the enactment of prohibition by amendment of the Constitution just as pernicious an invasion of state rights and just as serious subversion of state sovereignty as would be the passage of the law in the same manner and by the same methods for the enfranchisement of the women? If thirty-six of the states should declare for constitutional prohibition will they not thereby divest the remaining twelve of all voice and vote on this vital question? Assuredly they will. What then becomes of home rule and state's rights and local self government?—*The Times*, Selma, Ala.

Wheeling Into Line

DOES the suffrage amendment to the Constitution give the vote to the women of the District of Columbia?

And if it does, what about the men? Men residents of the District have no vote. It has been assumed that the question of voting qualifications would be determined by existing laws in the several states. For instance, if the ability to read and write were a necessary qualification in a state, and the women were given equal suffrage, in order to become a voter a woman would have to be able to read and write.

By the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment a situation has arisen whereby women in the District of Columbia may be able to vote and the men not. At least some of the District of Columbia women are having a little fun pointing out to the men of the District the wording of the Amendment, which may be interpreted as giving District women the right to vote while the men of the District are still without the pale.

THE suffragists of Mitchell, South Dakota, believe in letting not only their own congressmen but representatives from other states know where they stand on the Federal Amendment. At a recent meeting they adopted a strong set of resolutions calling upon the President and Congress to support the Federal Suffrage Amendment, copies of which were forwarded to President Wilson and the leaders of both parties in the two houses. On the motion of Senator Johnson of South Dakota the resolutions were ordered printed in the Congressional Record.

THE Federal Trades Assembly of Minnesota has endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and the secretary has been instructed to communicate with Senators Nelson and Kellogg urging their support of the measure. There was not a dissenting vote to the endorsement.

The matter was presented to the Assembly at the request of the National Women's Trade Union League. It was pointed out by one of the men present that equal rights has always been a principle of the organized labor movement, and he further stated that the influx of women into the industrial field because of the war made it more essential than ever before that women be given a weapon with which to obtain economic reforms.

IF the legislators of Maryland heed the governor of the state, Maryland women will soon be fully enfranchised. In his message to the General Assembly, Governor Harrington came out unreservedly for equal suffrage, recommending the passage of a measure which would give unrestricted suffrage to the women of Maryland.

IF the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and the National Prohibition Amendment rested with the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Oshkosh, Wis., there would be no doubt about the result. At a recent meeting of the society the two amendments were up for ratification, and the result was a unanimous vote for both. A truly domestic touch that would have satisfied any anti was given by the use of a large bread box for a ballot box.

THE fact was brought out at a recent meeting of the Equal Suffrage Association of Chattanooga, Tenn., that while the Federal Constitution had been amended several times the constitution of the state of Tennessee has never been amended, owing to the almost prohibitive conditions based upon a count in a general election. The suffragists feel that the Federal Amendment route is the one for Tennessee.

The suffragists of Chattanooga are jubilant over the sentiment for suffrage shown by the signatures on the petition that was sent to the Tennessee Congressmen urging them to vote for the Federal Amendment. In a very short time 200 names, representing prominent professional and business men, were on the petition.

"IN Article XIV, for the first time in the Constitution, appears the word male. The forefathers who wrote the Constitution appear to have had a more just idea of a true democracy than did those men who fathered the Constitution of the states, since, with the exception of New Jersey, where women had the right to vote for a while, each of the state constitutions contains a phrase confining the voting power to males. Charles Sumner, who strongly objected to the introduction of the word male into the XIV Amendment, declared: 'Undoubtedly women have a constitutional right to vote,' and he urged the women to bring suit against the introduction of the word male into the Constitution."—London, O., *Enterprise*.

IN anticipation of the passage of the Federal Amendment by Congress, the Equal Suffrage Association of Dallas, Texas, has arranged classes in citizenship which are attracting considerable interest and attention. Men prominent in the affairs of that city and state are giving the lectures along the line of practical citizenship.

THE California Federation of Women's Clubs, representing 500 clubs, strongly endorses Universal Suffrage. At a recent meeting of the executive board of the Federation a resolution was passed endorsing the Federal Amendment and urging its immediate passage by the Sixty-fifth Congress. The resolution which was passed by the general body was repeated and passed with the same enthusiasm by individual clubs.

The club women were prompted in this by a desire "to show their unenfranchised sisters that the California women appreciate the privilege of citizenship and desire to aid them to obtain their rights as citizens."

"HEAVEN will bless you for your justice and wisdom." This telegram was sent to "Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States," Thursday morning, January 10th, by Mrs. Florence Murphy Cooley of Jacksonville, Fla., when she read the morning paper stating that the Democratic Party had been advised by the President to support the Congressional vote for the enfranchisement of women.

Mrs. Cooley was for four years executive head of the Florida Equal Franchise League, two years as vice-president and acting presi-

dent, and two years as president. Although re-elected over her protest, she declined to serve further. This was a state association with a state-wide membership, and affiliated with the National Association. A large private correspondence is kept up by this native Florida woman, both in replying to letters of inquiry concerning suffrage, and in urging Florida's delegation at Washington and others of her acquaintance in official life, to stand for the national amendment. Mrs. Cooley holds that the national amendment is a state rights measure, in that it must be ratified by the states.

The Woman Movement

"THE distorting mechanisms are here quite the same as those that prevent clear vision in the matter of divorce, because we are dealing again with a problem which is eminently a sexual one, and the slogan, 'Woman's place is in the home,' serves equally as a distorting rationalization to deflect attention from the real issues and put a premium on leaving things as they are—the dry rot that calls itself conservatism. So good a rationalization is it, in fact, that it serves yet to delude many intelligent and fair-minded people. In these latter it probably expresses a satisfaction with present conditions for which they are glad to get such a respectable expression.

"The woman movement should be looked upon primarily as a movement to gain for woman a larger world in which to find expression. She has developed, long since, beyond the possibilities which present to the average housewife and her unemployed energies seek new fields to exploit.

"Her cry for the vote is merely the erection of a standard under which to marshal her forces. It is not the vote primarily that she wants, it is an adequate outlet for her energies in satisfying self-expression, and the 'vote' is only the symbol for this great need, far greater than the symbol, at its surface value, indicates.

"In the woman movement woman is at last finding herself. Released from the drudgery of the housewife by the genius of modern business enterprise her energies are made available for better and higher things. To attempt to prevent her from realizing herself and to succeed would be a tragedy. Her success means the raising of the whole love story to a higher plane, the removing of it forever from the barter of the marriage mart, and because woman is independent a demand for something more than board and lodging. When man has to meet woman as an economic equal, then marriage will in truth be free and the natural instincts, which are always seeking for expression at ever higher levels, can be trusted to make for an improved eugenic mating. In fact, the woman movement is a distinct, and, to my mind, the most important because most hopeful, step in the direction of an improved race through better mating. The great bitterness, the long duration, and the severity of the conflict necessary to secure for woman that recognition by society which will give her her rightful opportunities for self-realization only indicate the distorting power of instinct which always makes the road of upward progress so hard."—*Principles of Mental Hygiene*, Wm. A. White, M.D.

Dean Mussey's Naturalization Bill

MRS. ELLEN SPENCER MUSSEY has prepared a bill to allow American women married to aliens to retain their own nationality, a bill which is now in the hands of the Immigration Committee of the House of Representatives. She was the founder of the Washington College of Law and the first dean of a law school. She held this position for seventeen years, and is now honorary dean. She is also the president of the Women's Bar Association of the District of Columbia and the Chairman of the Committee on the Legal Status of Women of the National Council of Women.

Mrs. Mussey is the daughter of P. R. Spencer, author of the Spencerian system of penmanship and the widow of General R. D. Mussey. She practices in all the courts of the District of Columbia and is a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, having appeared there in five cases, winning them all. For twenty-five years Mrs. Mussey was the attorney for the Legations of Sweden and Norway in the United States.

She procured from Congress legislation which made mothers equal guardians with fathers in the District and also secured the right of married women to their own earnings. She was for six years a member of the Board of Education and got the appropriation for the first free kindergarten.

IN view of the pending law for internment alien women residing in the United States, Mrs. Mussey's story of the bill she has drafted to give American women married to aliens the right to choose their own nationality is of marked interest.

A nation wide registration of unnaturalized Germans is to be made by the Department of Justice on February 4. A bill has recently been introduced in Congress to include women in the alien enemy class. In case it passes they too will be registered; but at present every American woman, whether she will or not, must take the nationality of her husband.

In the following article Dean Mussey explains her bill and its application to the status of the married woman's nationality:

"THE National Council of Women, composed of national organizations of women in the United States, aggregating a membership of 7,000,000, and also affiliating to the International Council of Women having representation in twenty-four foreign countries, has for several years stood behind a bill which would give the American woman married to an alien the right to retain her own nationality.

"The bill was prepared by me as chairman of the committee of the National Council on the Legal Status of Women, and it provides that upon marriage to an alien the American woman may retain her own nationality, or she may renounce her nationality in a court competent to grant naturalization.

"Under the law of 1907 the woman, after the dissolution of the marriage by death or divorce, can resume her former nationality by returning to the United States to reside permanently, or if abroad, by filing with United

States consul a declaration declaring her intention to resume her American nationality. The State Department has formulated a procedure to carry out the provisions of this law.

"THE bill was introduced in the house of Representatives in May last, by Miss Jeannette Rankin, and in the Senate by Senator Sheppard of Texas, and in both cases referred to the Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives. This committee gave us a hearing on the 13th and 14th of December which was very fully attended by the members of the committee who evinced a lively interest in the provisions of the bill. The hearing was opened by Miss Rankin with a general declaration of the principle that a woman has a right to choose her own nationality independent of her husband. Miss Rankin afterward left me in charge of the hearing.

"AMONG the speakers were Mrs. Kate Walker Barrett, national president of the Florence Crittenden Mission and formerly connected officially with the Federal Bureau of Immigration. She was followed by Miss Mary Wood, chairman of the Committee on Legislation of the General Federation of Clubs. Miss Wood spoke particularly, as she said, not for American women who have married titled foreigners but for the wives of the middle class man and the laboring man, 'the Marys and the Janes, not the Consuelos and the Gladyses.' In this connection it became evident that in the minds of the committee wealthy American women who had married titles were not thought entitled to much consideration. Judge Raker of California was the champion of this view. Judge Sabath of Chicago said he believed that of the total number of American women married to aliens not more than 1 per cent had married titles. In the World's Almanac for 1917 the list of American women married to titled foreigners is 150.

"MRS. N. E. HARRIS, president of the National Council of Jewish Women, stated that she represented 25,000 women and that they had endorsed this bill most heartily. She believed there were many cases among the members of the Jewish Council of great hardship by reason of the American woman's losing her nationality by marriage with an alien. Mrs. Mary M. North, secretary of the National Council of Women, spoke for the Women's Relief Corps, numbering 160,000, and also for the Rivers and Harbors Congress, all of whom had pledged their support of the bill under consideration.

"Mrs. Myra Kingman Miller, president of the College Women's Federation, spoke for the principle of the right of the American woman to retain her own nationality and also objected to the automatic naturalization by marriage of the alien woman marrying an American.

MISS KATE DEVEREAUX BLAKE, of the Good Government League of New York, stated that her mother, Mrs. Lilly Devereaux Blake was the first woman to peti-

tion for a change in the law. The petition was made about 1903. Mrs. Thomas of Chicago spoke also on the justice of the principle that the American woman should retain her own nationality in marriage if she desired. Mrs. Thomas stated that she did not represent any organization and spoke only for herself.

"THE question was asked by a member of the committee if there was a child of a marriage where the mother and father had different nationalities, which nationality would the child follow? Mrs. Thomas replied very promptly that she believed it should follow the nationality of the mother because she was the more permanent parent, and said that in Chicago they referred to the father as the casual parent because it was so often very hard to find him. She said in social service work in Chicago they found the father an 'intermittent parent.' In this connection I called attention to the fact that under the law of the United States the nationality of the parent has nothing to do with the nationality of the child born in this country, as the locality at birth fixes his status as an American citizen and that this law is practically the same as the law of all the other foreign countries. I stated that the conflict of laws arose over the fact that Great Britain, France, Holland, Sweden and Norway, and nearly all other countries, hold that when a citizen is traveling abroad the child born retains the nationality of the parents so that Great Britain is claiming the children of British parents born in the United States while at the same time the United States is also claiming those children born here."

"DR. SHEARER, a Presbyterian minister from Toronto, spoke of the agitation in Canada on the subject of this bill and that the present ministry had pledged itself to support a measure similar to the one being considered by the committee.

"It was brought out at the hearing that the American woman married to the alien who was visiting abroad, on returning to this country is subjected at the port of entry to the indignities to which the foreign born woman is subjected, both as to restrictions from disease and examination and to the dependent and pauper clauses of the Immigrant Act.

"In concluding the hearing I stated that the International Council of Women had been petitioned by several other countries to urge this change in the law, and that the women of Great Britain, France, Holland, Sweden and Norway, are all agitating the same subject in their own countries so that it is, in fact, a world wide movement. A hearing before the Senate Committee on Immigration will be held some time in January.

"WHILE the granting of suffrage to the women of New York state has raised this vital question of citizenship in many thousands of cases, the disability as to suffrage is not the only disability from which women suffer under the present law. In the District of Columbia and the territories under the Federal law aliens can not hold real estate nor can an alien act as an executor of an estate. These

(Continued on page 175)

Woman's Opportunity in

By Owen R. Lovejoy.

ONE of the most important effects of the enfranchisement of women will be the opportunity for constructive work in the field of child welfare. Now that the Federal Child Labor Law is in effect, preventing all children under 14 from working in factories, mills, canneries and manufacturing establishments, and children under 16 from employment in mines and quarries, one of the next and most formidable tasks is the protection of children in agriculture.

It is not generally realized that the Federal law touched only about one-fourth of the total number of children engaged in gainful occupations in the United States, and that there are at present some 1,850,000 children between 10 and 15, employed in purely local industries, in street trades, and in agriculture.

Unfortunately it is a common belief that the farm is a good place for a child to work. The imagination conjures up a picture of rustic quiet, of association with animals and growing things, and of an education that does not instruct by means of books, but is none the less valuable. And this was to a certain extent true of the older type of home farm where the boy learned under his father in a variety of occupations. But the conception does not take account of the thousands of children employed in the cotton fields of the South, the beet fields of Colorado and Wisconsin, the tobacco fields of Kentucky and Connecticut, and in many other kinds of farmwork throughout the country, that are quite as monotonous, uneducative, and stunting to mind and body alike as the work formerly done by young children in factories.

THE most harmful effect of agricultural work for children is upon education. The average child in the rural districts receives only 65 days of schooling for every 100 days received by the city child. This is due both to the shorter rural term and to the relative slackness of attendance. It is through compulsory school attendance laws, therefore, that child labor can be most immediately influenced in rural districts. If the school regulations are enforced, employers and parents will depend less and less upon children's work on the farms. This enforcement is not so easy as might be imagined, however. First of all, it will be essential in many states to change the supervisory system. Where the official in charge of county supervision is chosen by popular vote and likes his job, he is naturally averse to doing anything so unpopular as strictly enforcing the attendance laws. When the local district officer is a neighbor and friend of the surrounding families, he does not like to prosecute his friends in order to force their children to go to school. The basis for the organization of rural schools must be changed from the district to the county. Secondly, the schools themselves must be vitalized, so that children will find them as interesting as home and farm work. It is not saying much for the schools when it can be



OWEN R. LOVEJOY
General Secretary of National Child Labor
Committee

remarked by a Kentucky farmer of his boy that "He'd rather work than go to school."

But most important of all is the building up of an intelligent, well-informed public opinion which will regard child labor in its true aspect—whether it be on the farm or in the factory—as an obstruction to progress and democracy. In the enforcement of school regulations, in the enrichment of rural education, and in the shaping of public opinion, women have a splendid opportunity to express the ideals for which they everywhere stand.

The President on Child Labor

THE following letter defining President Wilson's stand on the maintenance of labor standards during the war was recently received by the National Child Labor Committee: "As the labor situation created by the war develops I am more interested than ever, if that were possible, in throwing all the safeguards possible around the labor of women and children in order that no intolerable or injurious burden may be placed upon them. I am, therefore, very glad, indeed, that the National Child Labor Committee is diligently continuing its labors and extending its vigilance in this important matter. By doing so it is contributing to efficiency and economy of production, as well as to the preservation of life and health.

"WOODROW WILSON."

ALTHOUGH President Wilson has indicated in a number of his speeches that he does not believe in the relaxation of laws protecting women and children, his letter to the National Child Labor Committee is his first direct utterance on the subject.

"We expect that President Wilson's letter will be one of the greatest factors in preventing further relaxation of child labor laws," says Owen R. Lovejoy of the National Child Labor Committee. "Last Spring, before the Admin-

Child Labor Reform

istration had time to state its position on the question of labor standards a number of states authorized the suspension of their laws. Since then there has been constant pressure in other states on officials charged with the enforcement of labor laws on the ground of war necessity. But the President's letter and a similar one received by the National Child Labor Committee from Secretary of War Baker show clearly what the attitude of these officials and the public at large should be toward any proposals that would 'place intolerable or injurious burdens' upon the women and children."

Suffrage States and Childhood

EVERY full suffrage state but one has a law making mothers equal guardians with the father over their own children. Every one has a mothers' pension law.

One of the first acts of women voters of Washington State was to promote a Lazy Husband Act by which a father who refuses to support his family is made to work for the state and give half his earnings to the support of his wife and children.

Every full suffrage state has a compulsory education law, and the percentage of illiteracy in all woman voting states except Arizona and Nevada is lower than in Massachusetts.

Colorado is said by Dr. Owen Lovejoy to have one of the best if not the best juvenile court laws in the United States.

Many equal suffrage states have passed special legislation for the care of dependent and feeble-minded children. One of the first acts of Montana women voters was a Child Welfare Division of the Department of Public Health and an expert survey of the state's feeble minded.

The food inspection law of Idaho is said to be better enforced than anywhere in the Union.

IN Great Britain some of the first war economies were in the educational system, just as in New York City some of the first fuel economies were made by closing scores of school buildings. The National Child Labor Committee of the United States reports that "in Great Britain, school buildings were taken over for military purposes; teachers enlisted; repairs, building appropriations and supplies were cut down; even schools, medical inspection, school dentistry and free lunches were stopped or curtailed; and thousands of children, many only 11 or 12, were excused from school to go to work. Laws governing hours of labor in munition plants were broken down. Club work, settlement work and general child welfare work were crippled or stopped." The results of all this were that thousands of children in England were without teachers or schools. There were 600,000 children who left school prematurely and about 3,000,000 children between 12 and 17 were out of school in England last year. Juvenile delinquency in England has increased 40 per cent since the war began. In Berlin in 1915 twice as many crimes were committed by children as in 1914, and it was reported last year 8,000 children were working in Prussian mines.

The Death Toll of the

AT its convention in Washington, the National American Woman Suffrage Association defined afresh the forms of war service, it meant to press. In addition to the four branches of aid offered to the government in February, 1916 and faithfully prosecuted from one end of the country to the other, it added two more committees, one on child welfare and one on a mobile hospital unit staffed entirely by women which was taken over by the National as its active force working at the front.

In 1917 the war work of the National included agriculture, food conservation, Americanization and protection of women's labor. The two committees added in December make six forms of war service in all to which suffragists are pledged.

THIS year fourteen Legislatures will sit, in the states of Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Wisconsin and Connecticut. Seven of these are Southern states whose child-welfare records are bad; all are concerned mainly with war emergency measures, three being in special session for this purpose alone.

Last year war emergency measures were understood by certain groups in the Legislatures to include suspension of labor laws. When last year's Legislatures adjourned, Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut and New Hampshire had authorized their suspension by the governor or some other official, and California and New York the suspension of the compulsory school law to allow children to work on farms in Spring and Fall. In the last two states many children have been excused to work in the fields, but only Massachusetts has acted so far under its power to suspend the labor laws. In that state a few, it is only fair to say a very few, of the industries applying for exemption have been given permits.

THIS says nothing, however, of the many states, counties and municipalities in which officials or official bodies have practically suspended the law by administrative regulation, a method infinitely easier, less public and therefore more dangerous than the slow and difficult process of legislation. Thus officials or official bodies, are known to have passed rulings in Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Missouri, North Dakota and Pennsylvania allowing children to leave school for agricultural work without legislation. Probably other states should be added to the list. The ruling in Pennsylvania is the last and the most flagrant. By its terms the Department of Public Instruction provides for the issuance of employment certificates to "mentally defective, subnormal or substandard children" who are below 14 or have not completed the sixth grade. It is hard to believe that this is a product of the twentieth century. It takes us back to the industrial revolution in England before protective labor legislation or public schools existed. We can see with our

mind's eye, the lines of children from the almshouses of the early nineteenth century, the only shelter for the subnormal in those days, driven into the factory by the Overseer of the Poor. It is even more outrageous since it comes from public educators in our eighteenth century.

The Pennsylvania ruling has not been acted on, mainly on account of the public protest made by the National Child Labor Committee, but until it is actually rescinded it will stand as a menace to that class of children around which we are accustomed to throw special safeguards. Another especially bad feature of this administrative order is that it is not limited to agriculture and so would be in effect twelve months in the year.

IN their public protest the Child Labor Committee pointed out that the regulation violated the Federal and State Child Labor Laws, and assumed on the part of the educational authorities a discretionary power which was not theirs. In these two points lies a hint of the methods for those to pursue who wish to fight state or local administrative regulations that break down school and labor laws.

Notwithstanding that Southern senators tried to prevent the Federal Child Labor Law from going into effect last September, on the plea of war need of children in agriculture, it was nevertheless in force on the date scheduled and is still enforced, except in the Greensboro district of North Carolina, where Judge James E. Boyd of the United States Circuit Court has ruled that it is unconstitutional because Congress cannot regulate conditions of labor within the states. This case has been appealed.

CHILD labor in war time is not a problem by itself. It is bound up with the breakdown of the school system and the increase of juvenile delinquency. The old belief that "Satan has some mischief still for idle hands to do," has been disproved by experience both in war and in peace. In 1916, Mabel Brown Ellis made for the National Child Labor Committee, a study of cases in the Juvenile Court of New York City. This showed that working children, whose number is small compared to the numbers of children of the same ages still in school, contributed four times their quota to Juvenile Court cases.

In London, where the schools have emptied themselves into the war industries, juvenile delinquency has increased thirty-four per cent, and in other English cities up to as much as fifty-six per cent. While the work of the courts has increased, the schools themselves are running to seed. Sir James Yoxall said in Parliament, "a large portion of our elementary school system is in ruins; I will not say as desolate as the ruins of Louvain, but there is to some extent a likeness." Sidney Webb believes that "Peace will involve the rebuilding of the nation's educational machinery."

FRANCE also is in despair at the ruin of the schools by the drains of war. Both countries are already starting measures—expensive measures—to repair the damage done. We can prevent these expensive repairs by emulating equal suffrage Australia, New Zealand and Canada, which gave suffrage to women as a war measure, none of which countries have permitted any tampering with child labor or school laws since the war began.

Cradle and the Trenches

THE Children's Bureau has worked out a comprehensive war time program which begins with infancy itself. Under ordinary conditions the death rate of the nursery is, according to a recent writer, seven times as great as that of the trenches. Fifty thousand British soldiers a year have been killed in the war, while three hundred and fifty thousand children die before they are a year old, in the United States under peace conditions.

Fourteen babies in every 100 die in their first year.
Two soldiers in every 100 are killed per year in war.
COMPARATIVE MORTALITY OF THE CRADLE AND THE TRENCH.

From the Infants' Department.

WITH war prices of milk, war shortage of coal and the father's income withdrawn while he is in the army, the baby death rate bids fair to be doubled or trebled in war time. With prices of necessities the Children's Bureau has nothing to do, but it has done its part to make the soldier-father's income secure to his family by pushing most vigorously the act which was passed last Fall providing allowances for soldiers' dependents, supplemented later by insurance policies for soldiers issued by the War Risk Insurance Bureau of the Treasury Department. This provision of a permanent income for families in war time should help in the solution both of the baby's problem of proper nourishment and care and the older child's problem of premature war work.

Brief War Program of the Children's Bureau

THE Children's Bureau in Washington, with Miss Julia Lathrop, good friend of suffrage, at its head, is planning to carry out the war program which is briefly stated here:

I. Public protection of maternity and infancy.

Essentials:

(a) Public-health nurses and suitable medical attention.

(b) The care of babies by their own mothers under decent home conditions.

II. Mothers' care for older children.

Essentials:

(a) Adequate living incomes.

(b) Family allowances for soldiers' families; mothers' pensions for civilians.

(c) Special provision for extraordinary needs, so far as required to enable mothers of older children to afford the home comfort and protection which are the best safeguard against delinquency.

III. Enforcement of all child-labor laws and full schooling for all children of school age. Standards should be maintained in spite of war pressure.

IV. Recreation for children and youth, abundant, decent, protected from any form of exploitation.

Have You Been Enfranchised Lately?

What Every Woman Voter Should Know

A Study Outline

By Henrietta W. Livermore

THE four topics (1) Citizens, (2) Voters, (3) Necessary Steps, (4) Elections will be expanded into a series of articles to be published in later issues of the *Woman Citizen*.

Each topic lends itself to further expansion so as to take in an exposition of our different governmental forms (1) Citizens and Naturalization being derived from the National Government leads to a study of the National Government. (2) Voters, being subject to state qualifications, to a study of the State Government. (3) Counties could be considered with the "necessary steps," and (4) Elections, being held in local districts, could lead to a study of local town or city government. This plan will be followed in the *Woman Citizen*.

Specific and definite duties might be the outgrowth of these studies. Committees to carry on such work could be formed such as (1) Americanization Committee, (2) Committee to follow State Legislation, (3) Committee to follow the local council and local court, (4) Committee to organize and educate the women voters.

From such a study and such schools as have been outlined, a group of women, trained to go out and teach others should be one concrete result. Thus an education in voting essentials could be carried to civic centers, to community meetings in school houses, to existing societies, to groups of women of different spheres, localities, customs and languages, to the end that What Every Woman Voter Should Know may be carried to Every Woman Voter.

I CITIZENS.

FIRST LESSON.

1. Who Are Citizens?

U. S. Constitution Fourteenth Amendment.

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

This means men, women and children.

2. Rights of Citizens.

U. S. Constitution Fourteenth Amendment.

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Basis of representation shall be reduced if right to vote is denied male citizens. Fourteenth Amendment, Section 2.

Right of citizens to vote shall not be denied on account of race or color. Fifteenth Amendment. (See Morse, p. 64, A B C Government, for Rights of Federal Citizens and Rights of State Citizens.)

3. Naturalization.

By Federal Statute, not State.

U. S. Constitution, Article I, Section 8, part 4. "The Congress shall have power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization."

Qualifications for naturalization of men and unmarried alien women, the same.

Five Qualifications:

Five years' residence, not less than 2 nor more

than 7 years' wait between taking out first and second papers

Speak English

Understand the principles of our Government.

Take oath of allegiance.

Be of good character.

4. Citizens by Marriage.

A married woman's citizenship follows that of her husband.

If husband is alien, wife is alien, whether American born or not.

If husband is American, wife is American citizen whether American born or naturalized or not.

If husband is naturalized, wife is American citizen whether American born or naturalized or not. (For this citizenship of widows see Boyd, M. S. in *Woman Citizen*, January 5, 1918.)

"Any woman who is now, or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States, and who might herself be lawfully naturalized may be deemed a citizen." (U. S. Revised Statutes, Section 1994.)

In New York State, when a woman is a "citizen by marriage" she must have lived in the United States 5 years as a State qualification for voting.

5. Americanization.

Citizens by marriage need education in American ideals, government, language and customs. This work is a specific duty of women voters as well as a war measure. (See "Watch Your Vote." Americanization Com. of N. Y. S. W. S. Party, 303 Fifth Avenue., New York City.)

II VOTERS.

SECOND LESSON.

1. The Power of the Vote.

It is the ultimate source of power in a democracy and the foundation on which our Government rests. It gives the voter the kind of government he demands. (See "What Is the Ballot?" Leaflet, Nat. W. S. Publishing Co.)

2. The Duty of Voting.

Who are the slackers? Do your bit.

Why be naturalized?

Why prefer a democracy to an autocracy?

The vote has been obtained through centuries of effort as the most potent safeguard to a nation and the most precious privilege to the liberty-loving individual.

3. The Right to Vote.

The vote is a state privilege.

It protects all other rights.

What are the reasons given for restricting it? (See Cooley, "Principles of Constitutional Law," pp. 264-265. See Beard, "American Citizenship," Chapter 6.)

4. Who Are Voters?

A. General Qualifications:

1. Citizenship is a fundamental qualification, excepting 8 Western States grant male aliens the vote on declaration of intention of becoming citizens ("first papers").

2. Age 21 years.

3. Sex qualification in 36 States.

4. Certain time residence varied.

5. Taxpaying qualification (in small number of States).

6. Educational qualification in one-third of States.

7. Character—various requirements.

B. Qualifications in New York State:

1. Citizen for 90 days preceding election.

2. Age 21 years.

3. No sex qualification.

4. Residence: election district, 30 days; county, 4 months; State, 1 year; in case of citizen by marriage must have been inhabitant of United States for 5 years.

5. Character: not convicted of bribery or heinous crime.

III NECESSARY STEPS

THIRD LESSON

1. Enrollment—Concerns Parties.

A. To vote at a Primary, one must have enrolled as a member of a party (on registration day of preceding year when personal registration is required; or when personal registration is not required, enrollment is made after voting at an election).

Reason why enrollment must be year preceding primary.

2. Primary—Concerns Candidates.

A. Seventh Tuesday before general election is fall primary; enrolled voters may vote for candidates who have been nominated by petitions.

Members of party committee also elected at primary. Party State Committee each even year one from each assembly district. Party County Committee each even year, one from each election district.

B. Old convention system of nominations.

C. Direct primary system.

D. How it has worked out. (See Ray, Intro. to Polit. Parties and Practical Politics (1917), Chapter VI.)

3. Registration—Concerns Voting.

How.

Personal or impersonal registration in selected registration places under election officials. Register is compiled containing name, address, occupation, etc., of every voter residing in the district.

When.

In cities or villages having 5,000 or more inhabitants.

Registration is held Friday and Saturday of the 4th and 3d weeks before general election from 7 A. M. to 10 P. M.

In cities of over 1,000,000 registration is held 6 days of the 4th week preceding general election. In all cases, registration is held on appointed days, several weeks prior to the general election. Why? (See the Election Law.)

IV ELECTIONS

FOURTH LESSON.

1. When.

General election is Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

2. Where.

At the polling place in the voting precinct in which the voter resides.

3. How.

By voting machine or ballot.

Discuss the short ballot, the secret ballot, the use of party emblems.

4. Procedure.

Give name and residence to election inspectors. Receive ballot from ballot clerk. Enter booth and mark ballot and fold it. Give it to

(Continued on page 173)

With the Wadsworthians at Washington

[The reader is going to think that we have done something to this to make it funny. But we haven't done a thing to it. It was just as funny as this as it fell from the lips of the anti's at the hearings before the House Suffrage Committee. All we have done has been to copy it verbatim from the printed reports of those hearings.—Ed.]

M. R. WHEELER: "But what we did point out and what our field secretary of our league, Mr. Eichelberger, who is a good deal of a statistician and who, though he has a German name, is a very loyal American—I told him he might translate his name to 'Oak Mount,' what it meant, and stand on the Anglo-Saxon phrase, but, however, he likes his ancestors and I am perfectly content.

"We will present those figures, but, in brief, our gain was this: It did appear that the vote for the Socialists, who alone stood of all the candidates for mayor on a platform, and he did say in his campaign that he put most stress on that fact, that if it was a question between the two he would rather the voters should vote for political suffrage for women than for himself. So that his vote is simply a suffrage vote, and it is much more than a majority which the suffrage amendment obtained. So that it seemed to us it was perfectly fair to put forward the proposition that it was the Socialist vote, and which, to a large extent, was a pacifist vote. Mr. Hillquit stood on that platform, too, on the opposition to the draft, and on the opposition to the liberty loan, and that turned the scale. It is very unjust to us to bring forward that argument to say that we impugn the patriotism of the women of America. That is not so. We appreciate it most highly. We honor them. We are not satisfied to rest quiet under the imputation of failure to respect and honor and love and cherish the women of America. So do not let us be led aside from the main point by any consideration of that sort.

"IN the presentation of our case to-day it seemed to be, on the whole, that before I present what I have myself to do, which is largely expressed in the brief I have handed up to the committee, I call upon Lucien Howe, of Buffalo, who is a very eminent surgeon of that city, a fellow of the Royal Academy of Medicine and the Royal Academy of Surgeons, one of the very few Americans who have achieved that distinction, and who has some very important propositions to present in regard to the part that the woman has to play in the education of the child and the effect of political activity on that part. I will, therefore, ask Dr. Lucien Howe to address the committee."

DR. HOWE: "The chairman smiles."

The Chairman: "Oh, no; I was smiling because of my conversation with Mr. Clark here."

DR. HOWE: "It is not surprising that you smile. I will come to that afterwards; but while I am a member of the league I want to say that I speak for perhaps a larger number, or speak with them, and that is for those 4,000,000 of voters—about 4,000,000—who have voted in different parts of the country against women's full suffrage, as contrasted with the 3,000,000 who have voted for it; and the reason they have done so is the same reason why it is the home influence and the home reasons, and that is what I venture to speak upon. I see smiles also in the face of some of those in front of me. That is rather a hackneyed topic,

I know, and I know that that is the way it is usually regarded, and therefore I venture to say only a word in regard to that phase of it, because when you ask these 4,000,000 men why they voted against it, they will say, 'Well, I think the field of woman is in the home,' and with that they leave it. If we go a little further and ask some doctor, he will say, 'Yes; it is in the home, and it is better in a sanitary way and an educational way,' just what the chairman was kind enough to say, and in what I thoroughly agree.

"But I want to go a little further, and to make that point a little clearer, if I may; and while speaking of the home I hope you will not think it egotistical if I contrast that with the kind which was mentioned yesterday when one of the ladies said, when asked what they had most to fear, she said, 'The men.' That is not such a home as I have in mind. I do not think that I am saying what I should not when I say that I am here because my wife asked me to come; but she asked me to come, and I always accord with her wishes. And she is a woman in whose judgment I have the utmost confidence, as you do in your wives. She is a woman; I am proud to say she has been the president of the Collegiate Alumnae of Women's Colleges throughout the United States, but she finds other things to do. She was connected for a number of years as one of the trustees with a hospital having now some 300 or 400 beds, and she finds other things to occupy her attention, just as other women do. That is the home that I have in mind.

"BEFORE going further, let us understand what we are talking about, and, first, let us consider the word 'woman.' I use that word in the generic sense, as including not simply the married woman, but that very considerable number—I think about 4,000,000—of the unmarried women, because they have motherly instincts, and if they are not married they expect to be, and they expect to arrive at the dignity of motherhood at some time, or, if we have such beautiful exceptions as the lady who spoke to us yesterday, and as Dr. Shaw, who is really, though not married, a mother, and performs that function and is performing it beautifully to one or two nephews. In other words, we are safe in using the word 'woman' generically.

"Another thing let us understand, and that is in regard to the word 'suffrage.' Confusion in this whole question arises again and again because we do not separate limited suffrage from full suffrage. And limited suffrage, just as the chairman says, should be granted to them in regard to matters relating to hygiene and sanitation, in regard to matters relating to education and also as regards taxes, that is, surely in regard to local taxation. But when you contrast that and having their judgment in such matters with another group of functions and ask them to judge matters in connection with continental transportation or large questions of commerce or manufacturers or strikes, or when we take up the question of the building of fleets, or the fitting of armies, I think that you will agree with me, gentlemen, that that is another question, and that relates to full suffrage; and we must always keep those two things always in mind."

Carlin Grants Woman Suffrage Principle in Proposing Referendum

To the Editor of The Times Dispatch:

Sir—Representative C. C. Carlin, of the Eighth District proposes that the white women of Virginia shall decide whether they shall be given the right of suffrage by voting on the question themselves. Does he not realize that in proposing this he has absolutely conceded the gist of the whole matter, namely, that women, like men, are capable of deciding the most vital questions affecting the State or nation?

Does he not see that if women are capable of deciding whether they shall become self-governing members of the community or remain under the guardianship of men, they are certainly capable of voting on any other great issue that may come up for decision? Can any proposition be more fundamental and vital than the question of self-government?

Again, does he not know, as we know, that if women voted yes in this straw referendum by even an overwhelming majority, such a vote would be binding on no one? Does he not know, as we know, that the Legislature of Virginia could therefore disregard the wishes of women in this matter, and could say to us, "You may think that you want the vote, but we think it would be unwise to give it to you now; wait another generation or two?"

Does he not also know that the delegation of Virginia women who called upon him in Washington declined this plan of his because they know that such a straw referendum could place no obligation of a binding nature upon any member of the Legislature or upon the male voters in the final referendum—that it would, therefore, be a waste of time and money?

Does not he see that we see through his camouflage—that he is simply trying to put off the final decision? And does he not know that the march of democracy cannot be stayed; that right and justice will prevail, though Virginia Congressmen be blind, though they refuse to see that this American people means to have a government which rests upon the consent of the governed; that we are to have democracy at home as well as abroad, and that, therefore, women will vote?

LILA MEADE VALENTINE,
President Equal Suffrage League of Virginia,
in the Times-Dispatch of Richmond, Va.

What Every Woman Voter Should Know

(Continued from page 172)

inspector in charge of ballot box. (See Stapler: Primer for Voters. National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.)

5. For What Public Officers in 1918 in New York.

State officers elected in even years for 2 years by statewide vote.

The Governor and the state executive officers; certain state judicial officers.

Legislation officers, state senator for 2 years; state assemblyman, annually.

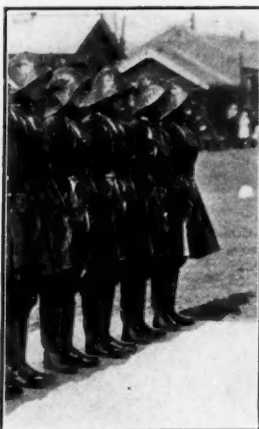
Certain county officers (city officers are elected in odd years).

National congressman, elected even years for 2 years. (Two senators elected for 6 years, election in 1920 and 1922.)

(For practice and interest, stage an election.)

Breaking New Ground

THE women fire fighters of England are making history by their defense work at home, while fathers and brothers make history in the European trenches. Here you see a detail of them



standing at attention while being reviewed by their English majesties, Queen Mary and King George. In many places in England women form the only fire brigades available.

ARULING rendered by Daniel C. Roper, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, removes the sex distinction as a

factor in determining promotions in the tax collecting organization in the country. In the future, recommendations for promotion will be made upon the grounds of "faithfulness, efficiency, adaptability," and "without regard to sex." This is a step in advance as regards women as office holders.

THE women farmers of Kansas met this month in conference at Topeka to form a state organization with the view of rendering the greatest service to the country at this time. The idea of such an association originated with Mrs. Theodore Saxon, who believes that two excellent ways to give the best service are the planting of a full quota of war gardens in every county and girls' training camps where practical farming may be taught. With the proper training the girls would be prepared to be of practical service to the farmers at harvest time.

MRS. OPAL BROWN of Troy, Kansas, has been appointed probate judge of Doniphan County by Governor Arthur Capper, to succeed her husband, Edwin Brown, now a corporal in the National Army at Camp Funston. She will fill the unexpired term of her husband, whom she assisted in his work prior to the war, and will probably be elected to succeed herself next November, it is said.

Mrs. Brown assisted her husband in running the office during his first term and part of his second term, and was appointed judge pro tem. when he became a member of the army.

NORWAY has a woman member of parliament, Miss Sara Christie, who is the Conservative representative of the city of Trondhjem. At the time of the last parliamentary elections, Miss Christie, who was a director of a girls' school in Trondhjem, was elected as a substitute for that city's representative in the parliament, and on his retirement automatically succeeded to his place. No elections are held in Norway to fill vacancies, and the young woman has taken her place permanently in the Storting on the important special committees of which her predecessor was a member. She

has established a reputation as an administrator, and her presence on such an important body as the defense committee, which considers estimates for the army and navy, is the cause of much satisfaction.

Miss Christie was for many years a member of the town council of Trondhjem.

WHEN Herbert Hoover recently called together his representatives in the various states for a conference concerning the food situation, Mrs. Wynn Coman Schramm, of Salt Lake City, had the honor of representing her state. She was the only woman present. Mrs. Schramm, who was deputized by Administrator Armstrong of Utah to represent that state in the conference, is one of the most energetic conservationists in the United States and volunteers her time, receiving in compensation one dollar a year. Utah claims the distinction of being the first state to put through the food pledge card campaign, which was conducted under the direction of Administrator Armstrong and his assistant, Mrs. Schramm. More than 50,000 signatures were obtained within a very short time. The food and fuel publicity campaigns for Utah have been under the charge of Mrs. Schramm.

REPRESENTATIVE HILLIARD of Colorado has introduced a bill providing for the establishment, in the District of Columbia, of a board of Mothers' pensions to administer an act of Congress providing assistance for worthy mothers. The bill provides that the board shall consist of three members, two women and one man, who shall be appointed by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. The provisions of the bill cover pensions for mothers who, by reason of insufficient property, or income, or lack of earning capacity, are unable to support their children.

MRS. MARTHA NELSON McCAN, of Los Angeles, has been appointed field representative of the United States Ordnance department, one of the most responsible positions in the government's vast war machine to be filled by a woman. Under her leadership the government, or, more properly speaking, the war department, will endeavor to enlist thousands of workers required to fill out the rapidly expanding ranks of the department.

Thousands of civil service employees will be recruited to enable the Ordnance department to keep pace with the rapidly expanding needs of the army abroad. Shell and gun inspectors, technical workers, stenographers, clerks, chemists, in fact, almost every trade and profession will be represented in the great army of experts to be raised under the direction of Mrs. McCAN.

THE Citizens' Union has finally awakened to the political status of women in New York City. Chairman William J. Schieffelin has just chosen women to head five of the twenty committees of the Union. The five women are: Mrs. Irene Osgood Andrews, of the American Association for Labor Legislation; Miss Clarice Auerbach, Mrs. F. Robertson Jones—an active worker in the New York City Woman Suffrage Party—Mrs. Helen St. Clair Mullan and Miss Elizabeth Toms.

Lectures of Especial Timeliness

Woman's Dress in the Philosophy of the Hour

Woman, the War, and After

Woman's Opportunity as Citizen

The Armenian Woman in War

By Bertha S. Papazian

"One of the most brilliant orators who has been brought before the public in the Suffrage Cause." Press Department.

—New York State Suffrage Party. "Few speakers have had her training and experience. To these technical advantages still less common is it to find joined her liberal culture and progressive mind. The more there are of such voices, the better it will be for the public."—Mary Gray Peck, Chairman Speakers' Bureau (1915.)

"Reports without exception enthusiastic and favorable."—Violet Morawetz, Chairman Speakers' Bureau (1917.)

Address

Bertha S. Papazian
HOTEL MARTHA WASHINGTON
NEW YORK CITY

Rose Valley Sanitarium

MEDIA, PENNA.

Osteopathy and allied physiological methods used, including Scientific Dietetics, Milk Diet, Hydrotherapy, etc. Ideal for rest and recreation.

RUTH DEETER, D. O., Physician-in-Charge
BOX H MEDIA, PA.

WOMAN'S part in war time is shown in the statistics gathered in a survey of fifteen states. The estimate made on the survey shows 1,266,061 women in the United States engaged in essential war industrial work. In munition factories in 1910 there were 3,500 women employed as against 100,000 employed at present.

MISS MARY O'TOOLE of Washington, D. C., has the honor to be the first woman chosen a member of the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce of that city, the board comprising thirty members. Miss O'Toole is a lawyer by profession and one of the most active suffragists in the district, being president of the State Equal Suffrage Association. In all probability Miss O'Toole will be on important committees.

Here We Are

WE are only a few hours late in getting to press, in spite of everything. And if the post office and the railroads do their part, this issue will be only a few hours late in reaching you. All electrotypes houses were shut down during the five Garfield days. Our own offices could not be used Monday. The print shop was closed. We have had to limp in on one foot, but here we are.

*Specially Prepared Sale***WOMEN'S HOUSE DRESSES****Offering Exceptional Values**

Striped Gingham Dresses with deep white collar; three-quarter length sleeves
Green, Pink, Blue or Gray. **\$1.95**

Percalé Dresses,—figured ground; long sleeves, two pockets; pique collar. Blue
or Lavender. **\$1.95**

Chambray Dresses with long sleeves, organdie collar with embroidery edge. Blue,
Green or Lavender. **\$2.95**

Striped Poplin Dresses with long sleeves; two pockets; pique collar. Blue, Pink
or Black. **\$2.95**

Plaid Gingham Dresses with rolling collar of white pique; two pockets. **\$3.75**

Red Cross Service Aprons of heavy white lawn; "V" neck and long Sleeves. **\$1.25**

Square Kerchiefs. **39c**

James McCreery & Co.

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34th Street

A Letter From Holland

A DELAYED letter from Martina G. Kra-
mers, of Amsterdam, sets forth the sta-
tus quo of suffrage in Holland:

"On December 12," she says, "we witnessed the proclamation of the new Constitution, which brings us an electoral reform with proportional representation, manhood suffrage, compulsory voting; but for women only eligibility."

"The Mayor's reading the proclamation in great official state to the assembled people was greeted by the applause of all democrats in the nation, as if they announced the triumph of true democracy. But the women—the governed, not governing half of the people—have not refrained from uttering their dissatisfaction. All the leading newspapers, with only two exceptions, contained letters from women who protested against the tyranny of taxation and legislation without representation, pointing out that now men are obliged by the law not to hide their light under the corn-measure, whereas all the light the women might give remains deliberately shut up, the legal rule of one sex over both sexes is continued, and the mobilizing of the resources of the country in the present crisis is left in the hands of the men only."

"No doubt the nation cannot fail to see the inconsistency of recognizing the right of women to sit in Parliament and denying them a vote. It is for the Government that will come into power by next year's proportional election to

remedy this mistake, since the new Constitution admits the introduction of Woman Suffrage. Already three of the seven parties represented in the States-General are trying to nominate women for Parliament, and we may hope soon to see the Netherlands join the suffrage states of the world."

Dean Mussey's Bill*(Continued from page 169)*

limitations exist in quite a number of the states, and in no state can an alien be a member of the bar. In most states, also, aliens are not allowed to qualify as teachers.

"Under the theory of the common law the legal identity of a woman upon marriage was merged into that of the husband and she held no property as her own, even her earnings belonging to her husband during marriage. Under the law of King Charles II of England, the mother had no rights in her child and the father could will the child away even before birth. All of these disabilities have been swept away in whole or in part, in the United States, but the fallacy that the husband must govern the nationality still remains for women to combat. It is hoped and believed that women will realize at this time of the nation's demand upon them for their best for the support of the great purpose of democracy and of our nation's integrity that we should at least have the right to decide to what nationality we shall consecrate our devotion and service."

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

627 West 136th Street
New York City

has six new lectures upon subjects connected with the war, which she will give either separately or as a series. Send to her for circular with particulars.

Mrs. Gilman expects to speak for the Boston E. S. A. about February 24, and could make other engagements for that week in the neighborhood of Boston or en route.

Plan Your Year's Food Saving Now

UNDER present milling processes it requires eight bushels of wheat to produce five bushels of white flour, thus 750,000,000 bushels of wheat produces 135,912,000 barrels of white flour and 81,792,000 barrels of waste—almost one barrel for every man, woman and child in the country. This waste is, in itself, enough to supply the entire flour needs of the United States, leaving the balance of 135,912,000 barrels for export. In other words, by utilizing this waste, we could export all the flour we now produce, and still have enough for home consumption with out raising an extra bushel of wheat.

ANOTHER form of waste, or—if you prefer so to term it—perverted use, which could well be curtailed. 69,000,000 bushels of grain are used annually in the making of alcoholic beverages. This amount made into bread would feed the whole United States for 16 days. Counting 60 pounds to a bushel, it would make 4,140,000,000 loaves of bread weighing one pound each—enough to feed all the people for 16 days.

There is still another form of waste we may well consider. The agricultural department reports that fully 50 per cent. of the fruits and vegetables now produced in our country never reach the consumer. They rot on the ground for lack of facilities to preserve them and to transport them. There is a remedy at hand. This is *dehydration*. The name is long and sounds formidable, but the process is simple; it means drying—not by the old method of putting the fruits and vegetables out in the sun for several days to dry and, incidentally, to collect insects, insect eggs, dust, microbes, etc., and to lose much nutritive value; but through a new process which is complete in a few hours whereby the products are put into vacuum dryers, protected from insects and other foreign substances, and whereby the natural flavor and full nutritive value are preserved. Nothing is extracted from the foods by this process except the water. Being free from moisture they do not become mouldy and will keep indefinitely. They can be packed in paraffin paper or paper-lined barrels, thus solving the problem of tin shortage. Because of the reduction in bulk, the use of this process will go a long way toward solving the problem of car shortage, which is acute.

ONE pound of dehydrated potatoes equals about six and one-half pounds of the fresh; one pound of dehydrated onions equals about twelve and one-half pounds of the fresh; a truck load of fresh vegetables and fruits weighs, after dehydration, about one hundred pounds and fills only a single barrel—whereas, on a

shipment of 26,000,000 pounds of canned or fresh vegetables we must pay transportation charges and the cost of labor in handling on 19,500,000 pounds of water, at the same time providing freight cars to carry this enormous quantity of water.

When the products are wanted for use, it is only necessary to cook them in water for a short time, when they return so nearly to their natural size and color that they are scarcely distinguishable from the fresh varieties. The war department has tested the use of these dehydrated products and the commissary has reported them as being very satisfactory. During the last three years the German authorities have placed these establishments in every agricultural zone of the country. It is claimed that our American process is far superior to the German in preserving the flavor and the appearance of the foods thus treated. Here is a tremendous opportunity to save; why don't we use it? Are we suffering from a lack of supply or a lack of wisdom in use?

Rice Waffles

1 cup rice (cold boiled rice), 1 pint milk or water, 2 eggs, $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoon soda, 1 teaspoon cream of tartar, 1 teaspoon salt, flour to make a thin batter. Fry in a waffle iron.

Parsnips in Particular

Parsnip Stew—Fry four slices of fat salt pork until a nice crisp brown. Add four parsnips scraped and cut in slices lengthwise, four sliced potatoes and a little pepper. Let stand on back of stove twenty minutes, pour in sufficient hot water to cover and let cook one hour. Just before serving add two cupfuls of hot, sweet milk and a dozen oyster crackers split in halves.

Baked Parsnips—Cut four or five parsnips in slices and put them in casserole with three cupfuls of brown gravy, left from fricaseed chicken or meat or stewed veal or lamb. Let bake until parsnips are tender and serve in dish in which they were cooked.

Parsnip Muffins—Mix together one-half cupful grated parsnips and one-half cupful grated potato, add one teaspoonful sugar, one-half teaspoonful salt, one tablespoonful fat, two-thirds cupful milk, and two cupfuls of flour sifted with two teaspoonfuls of baking powder. Beat thoroughly, stir in a beaten egg and bake in hot buttered muffin tins in a moderate oven.

Parsnip Fritters—Cook parsnips and chop fine, to each cupful of parsnip add one-half cupful of sweet milk, three beaten eggs, one teaspoonful of baking powder and flour to make a stiff batter. Fry in hot fat as you would doughnuts, dropping the fritters in in large spoonfuls.

Fried Parsnips—Cook parsnips but not too tender. Cut in slices, dip in beaten egg, then

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Mrs. Nanette B. Paul, LL. B., President,
Author of "Paul's Parliamentary Law" and "The Heart of Blackstone"

in cracker crumbs, dust with salt, white pepper and a little confectioners' sugar and fry.

Parsnip Muffins—Cook parsnips and mash with potato masher. To each cupful of parsnip add one cupful of milk, one-half cupful of sugar, one beaten egg, two tablespoonfuls of melted fat, one teaspoonful of soda, one and one-half teaspoonfuls of cream of tartar and two large cupfuls of flour. Sour milk may be used instead of sweet and the cream of tartar omitted. Mix very thoroughly and bake.

L. M. THORNTON,
Waverly, N. Y.

Canadian War-Cake

MILKLESS—EGGLESS—BUTTERLESS

Put into a saucepan

1 cup brown sugar,
1 cup water,
 $\frac{1}{2}$ cup lard,
2 cups seeded raisins,
1 teaspoonful cinnamon,
1 teaspoonful cloves,
 $\frac{1}{4}$ teaspoonful nutmeg, grated;
Pinch of salt.

Boil these together for three minutes. Stand aside to cool. When cold, add

1 teaspoonful baking soda, dissolved in
 $\frac{1}{2}$ cup hot water,
2 cups flour, into which is sifted
 $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoonful baking powder.

Put mixture into two large cake tins. Bake in a moderate oven. Use lemon or almond icing for top, and for filling if desired.

A Correction

IN the *Woman Citizen* of January 19, Mrs. Brodie Higley was referred to as the first woman to be put on the State Board of Charities. This is to overlook entirely, if inadvertently, the long and distinguished service rendered by the late Josephine Shaw Lowell, who, as an appointee of Governor Tilden's, was on the New York State Board of Charities for ten years. She was as effective as she was faithful, and the many reforms initiated by her still testify to her woman's ability for public service.

The Book Stall

GETTING men out of the depot department and into line regiments is a job which stirs the enthusiasm of this department's officers. Said a young lieutenant from an Ohio camp the other day. "I have the finest job in the army. All the dullards and the aliens come my way. But it's worth all the trouble they give me, to have one of those foreigners, speaking broken English, rush up to me and grab my hand, thanking me for getting him out of the backward squad and into a line regiment. The opportunity given to men fresh from the backwoods and the mines to mix with the general soldiers' mess, to join in their sports, to get their viewpoints, to attend the camp schools is making them into fine American citizens. The United States will soon realize that, war or peace, such training must never be given up in the future."

Getting people out of all the old depot departments of life and into line regiments of public service is the aim of two books just published.

The Vital Question: How to Get Real Democracy in the United States, by William N. Osgood (The People's Service League, Boston. Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50 cents), and *Universal Citizenship and Public Service*, by William H. Allen (Macmillan and Co., N. Y. \$1.50), present programs to this end. They are planning now to make permanent use of the social consciousness bred from this war. Mr. Allen says the world has gained a new definition of patriotism. Today's patriotism talks less of pride and more of responsibility. Where yesterdays patriotism was saying, "Why don't they do something?" today's is asking, "Why can't I do something? What can I do?" The new patriotism has ceased to be egocentric; its citizens "live at the center of the world."

BOTH of these books are appreciative of the awakened energies of women. The basic thought in Mr. Allen's program is that "Citizenship and public service should not segregate sexes." The minimum "essentials for citizenship" are the same for both men and women. Mr. Allen's first minimum essential is a public service motive and this is as apt to be possessed by women as by men. The core of his book is the idea that all the normal people in a community may be trained for permanent public service in peace just as effectively as they are now being trained for special service in war.

The book is a detail drawing of Mr. Allen's plan. As the author is the director of the "Institute for Public Service," his plans are those of an expert. They are not drawn at a venture.

Mr. Osgood's book is less synthetic and more analytic. It gives general definitions of a comprehensive scheme of real democracy, elements of which are, direct legislation, woman suffrage, equality of taxation and a better understanding of the fact that capital and labor are not in opposition to each other, but are in the main identical. Brief outlines for local leagues of public service are appended.

NOW is the time for the people of the East to read Mr. Fred B. Morrill's political novel, *The Campaign*. Mr. Morrill is a lawyer in Spokane, Washington. He is a friend to woman suffrage, having found out from experience

that it is a good thing, and he wants to pass on this information. This he has done through the lively plot of a political novel. In the scenes of this novel John Brennan, a political leader without conscience, sets the stage for a big election day coup. There is, of course, a clean-minded young hero who believes in real democracy, not the sort counterfeited in a back room behind closed doors—and John Brennan, smooth-faced boss, who has never failed to carry out his own ends his own way, finds himself face to face with something new.

His own daughter has got hold of this new democracy and shows an embarrassing interest in the dark-room policies which he has hitherto carried on by means of submarine methods and party heelers. The program upon which the reform party rides in to victory includes woman suffrage and direct legislation.

The action is brisk. It never lags. The book's diction is crisp. The scenes are well visualized and the denouement is, of course, satisfactory. *The Campaign*, Fred B. Morrill. The Neale Publishing Co., New York.

IF witness from a famous physician as to the saneness of the woman movement is wanted it will be found in the positive statements of Dr. William A. White in his recently published *Principles of Mental Hygiene*. This is a book worth any reader's while. It is a study of the principles of psycho-analysis in their adaptation to the social problems of insanity, crime, prostitution, inebriety, pauperism, feeble-mindedness, and the score of manifestations which the great puzzle of asocial individuals resolves itself into. These are not many problems, but fundamentally one—the duty of society to understand. When the fit are wiser the unfit will be fewer, or, at least, they will represent less human suffering and less social waste than at present. As to the "woman movement," Dr. White sees it as "the most important because the most hopeful step in the direction of an improved race through mating." *Principles of Mental Hygiene*. Wm. A. White. Macmillan & Co. \$2.00.

Helping France

THE women physicians of Minnesota, although busy practitioners, have found time to make a record as knitters and workers in behalf of war relief. Some of the very active ones are Dr. Ethel E. Hurd, who has knitted twenty-five pairs of socks, in addition to inspecting all the knitting that passes through the suffrage rooms—a very active Red Cross center. Close on this record comes Dr. Annah Hurd, Dr. Ida McKeen and Dr. Florence Baier. Dr. Addie R. Haverfield, with the assistance of her housekeeper, has sent out from her own home 692 new garments for the women and children of France and Belgium. Most of these garments were made from remnants from the knitting factories.

Dr. Anten Pine and Dr. Edith Fosnes, of St. Paul, working for the American Women's Hospitals, have communicated with every medical woman in Minnesota and solicited her aid in behalf of this work. Dr. Fosnes, who is giving her whole time to the work, has sent more than 4,000 garments to be distributed through the American Women's Hospitals Organization to the needy women and children of the stricken countries.

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The Woman's Department at
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is in charge of
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and is
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The fundamental questions treated. Labor Problem, Direct Legislation, Trusts, Equable Taxation, Scientific Management, Woman Suffrage, Minor Questions, Plan of Action Outlined, etc. All profits to be used to advance world democracy during the war, and real democracy in the U. S. at the close of the war. Mailed on receipt of price—Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50 cents.

The People's Service League, Publishers
Tremont Building Boston, Mass.

SUFFRAGE RESTAURANT

3 EAST 38th STREET
NEW YORK

Prospects and Premiums

HAVE you ever had a Big Idea? An idea that fairly seemed to revolutionize the world—your world, at any rate? You took it all warm and shining to a friend, a faithful friend, who admired it extravagantly as an *idea* and then passed on to the consideration of more practical matters. You still had faith. Your parents examined it with caution and were non-committal. You grew more reckless and introduced it into conversation with chance acquaintances and they were unequally polite but equally unresponsive. What happened to the Big Idea? It died in a few weeks' time. Not because you lost faith, but because **IT TAKES MORE THAN ONE PERSON TO PUT AN IDEA ACROSS.**

THE *Woman Citizen* has an idea so big that it will reach not only from San Francisco to New York but all the way up to Alaska and across to Hawaii. It wants to be the best and most advanced woman's magazine published in America, just as it is already the only big national political weekly for women. We want to have the public say "The Magazine that was founded by the suffragists has taken its place in the very front rank of American weeklies." What a splendid tribute to the suffrage movement and its founders!

THAT'S our idea. Don't just admire it and then let it die. **WE NEED YOUR HELP NOW TO MAKE IT A REALITY.**

Find out who is the *Woman Citizen* Circulation Chairman for your county. Help her to get new subscribers.

Do this at once.

Persuade your friends to subscribe.

Advertise the magazine at your Club, your Church, the Y. W. C. A., the Settlement House and the Grange.

Never hold a meeting of any kind without making an announcement for the *Woman Citizen*.

And never forget that the future success of the *Woman Citizen* depends absolutely upon the support given to it by suffragists during the year 1918, in its drive for **One Hundred Thousand New Subscribers!**

At the Washington Convention thirteen state associations pledged 100 new subscribers apiece. One county association—that was the Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County, Michigan—likewise pledged 100 new subscribers. Two state associations raised their own pledges to 200—they were the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association and the Louisiana Woman Suffrage Party. Twenty-six state associations have pledged nothing, but we believe that they will as soon as they realize the advantages of getting into the race.

A race it is to be, with rewards for the winners. The *Woman Citizen* sets forth below the schedule of premiums upon which it has decided for the exhilaration of the contestants:

FIRST PREMIUM—CASH, \$50

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the

state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

SECOND PREMIUM—CASH, \$25

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

THIRD PREMIUM—CASH, \$25

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *WOMAN CITIZEN*.

FOURTH PREMIUM—CASH \$25

To the Co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *WOMAN CITIZEN*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

PLEDGE CARD

I wish to become a Co-operating Subscriber to the *WOMAN CITIZEN* and I hereby pledge myself to help in the drive for 100,000 NEW subscriptions. I agree to secure ten (10) NEW subscriptions to the magazine for which I will pay \$1.00 each.

Kindly send me subscription blanks and copies of the *WOMAN CITIZEN* for use in the work.

Remarks:

Name

Street

City..... State.....

And They Won Every Time!

DEAR *Woman Citizen*:

I am sending you one dollar and ten cents for which please send me the *Woman Citizen* for a year.

We are so happy over the New York victory. We feel sure we will have woman suffrage all over the United States very soon.

I am thirteen and I am in the eighth grade. I have debated four times on woman suffrage and we won every time. This I owe to the *Woman Citizen*:

Sister is a member of the suffrage league in Boston.

Wishing you much success, I am,

Yours sincerely,

ELIZABETH HIGGS.

Greenville, N. C., Dec. 29, 1917.

When writing to advertisers please mention the *WOMAN CITIZEN*

Miss Gertrude Barnum

Associated for twenty years with women in Industry

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illustrating from her sketches "My Immigrant Neighbors"

Terms reasonable

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585 Boylston Street, Boston

Miss Barnum served on the Federal Industrial Relations Commission and is a member of the National Women Industry Committee, advisory to Council of National Defense.

"Raker Knew"

Scene, the House Floor. Time, January 10, 1918.

Mr. Raker. I want to recall to my Republican friends this fact, and I want to say to you, my Republican friends, that your action on this matter is ideal, although it followed hours, and even days, after the declaration of the President. You deserve credit for the position you have taken.

Mr. Denison. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Raker. I yield for a question.

Mr. Denison. It was known by the committee that went to see the President that the Republicans were going to take this matter up and pass it in caucus, was it not?

Mr. Raker. I want to say to my Republican friends upon this question that I have been in conference with the President for over three years upon this question, and that over three weeks ago I went to him for his advice and to ask him how the matter stood. He told me the same then as he told the committee yesterday afternoon; and I leave it to the members of that committee if this was not his own language. He said: "Raker knew, but he knew how to keep his advice and counsel until the proper time." [Applause.]

Social Suffragists in Washington

MRS. CARL VROOMAN, wife of the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, was hostess recently at the second of a series of weekly teas at National American Woman Suffrage headquarters in Washington. Mrs. Newton D. Baker, wife of the Secretary of War, was the guest of honor. Mrs. Vrooman was assisted by a committee of hostesses, composed of Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, Mrs. Hugh Wallace, Mrs. Robert Brand, Mrs. Everit Macy, Mrs. Cordelia Powell Odenheimer, Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, Mrs. Gilbert Grosvenor, Mrs. Theodore Noyes, Mrs. J. Norment Powell, Mrs. Le Baron Carlton Colt, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, William C. Gorgas, Mrs. Harriet Blaine Beale, and Mrs. Victor Murdock.

Assisting at the tea table were Mrs. John F. Shafroth, Mrs. Albert E. Cummins, Mrs. D. U. Fletcher, Mrs. A. A. Jones, Mrs. William H. King, Mrs. Edward Keating, Mrs. John E. Raker, Mrs. Horace M. Toner, and Mrs. Charles Curtis.



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5,250 Linen Sheets

8,500 Pillow Cases



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Pure Linen Sheets and Pillow Cases of reliable quality, which are a very scarce commodity anywhere these days, are here in abundance in every required size. We cannot guarantee present prices after the end of this month. The greater part of these goods came from Belgium nearly two years ago.

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Single-Bed Sizes, \$10.50, 12.50, 13.75, 14.50, 15.50, 17.50, 23.50, 25.00, 27.50, 32.50 per pair.

Double-Bed Sizes, \$14.50, 17.50, 20.00, 22.50, 27.50, 32.50, 36.00 per pair.

LINEN PILLOW CASES

22½ x 36 inches, \$2.25, 2.75, 3.25, 3.50, 3.75, 4.50, 5.50, 6.50, 7.50 per pair.

25 x 36 inches, \$3.25, 3.75, 4.25, 6.00, 7.50 per pair.

27 x 36 inches, \$3.50, 6.00 per pair.

Now is the time to lay in a stock of Household Linens before prices go higher. They are bound to advance in the very near future owing to increased scarcity of goods.

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to help?*

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Woman Citizen

is asking for

One Hundred Thousand New Subscribers in 1918

Will you send us the names of ten?

See page 178

To the
TWENTY-SEVEN MILLION WOMEN
Of Voting Age
in the
UNITED STATES



ARE you beginning to appreciate the importance of your political position? If you are, and you are really honest with yourselves, you know that you have ahead of you work which done with intelligence will carry **good** to the four corners of the globe

If you are an
INQUIRING WOMAN VOTER
read
THE WOMAN CITIZEN

It will give you week by week political help which you cannot get elsewhere and will keep you authoritatively informed of suffrage news from all parts of the world

If you are not a subscriber, become one at once

Tell your friends about the **WOMAN CITIZEN** and point out to them the important part it will fill in guiding the voter to a better understanding of her many new responsibilities

Help to make possible the **HUNDRED THOUSAND NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS** we are working for in 1918

Every **NEW** subscription has a value of its own

Fifty-Two Numbers for \$1.00

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

171 Madison Avenue

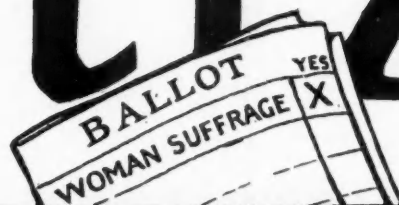
New York City

5 cents a copy
February 2, 1918

THE **W**oman **C**itizen

THE WOMAN'S

FOUNDED 1870



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OF FREEDOM**

“CONTINUOUSLY PRAYING”

**CITIZENSHIP IN NATIONAL
GOVERNMENT**

A CORNER ON PUBLICITY

NOTE TO READER: When you find this magazine please place a stamp on this notice, hand same to your employer and it will be placed in the hands of our soldiers and sailors at the front. No wrapping, no address. R. BURTON, Postmaster General.



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of Wool Scrim or Poiret Twill

No. 70—**Women's Wool Scrim Dress**, an entirely new spring fabric, in navy or beige; straightline model with waist and irregular tunic elaborately silk-embroidered in self-color braid design, trimmed with self-covered ball buttons; sleeves and skirt of black satin, white satin roll collar.

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Both models in white and flesh

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THIRTY cents in itself is not a large sum but when it is multiplied by one hundred it takes on a new importance. WE WILL SEND A CHECK FOR \$30.00 to any suffrage league turning in one hundred new subscriptions for the WOMAN CITIZEN.

A MEMBER pays one dollar to her suffrage league for which she receives fifty-two numbers of the WOMAN CITIZEN and is credited with a donation of thirty cents to the league treasury. Even in normal times one could hardly expect greater returns from one dollar. And added to this, for good measure, the subscriber will have the satisfaction of knowing that she has done her bit in helping in the drive for ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND NEW SUBSCRIBERS IN 1918.

Send your dollar at once and start a fund for your treasury

THE WOMAN CITIZEN
171 Madison Avenue New York



THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE and
HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY
and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief. Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

The office of publication is at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. The business manager is Florence E. Bate.

The price of The Woman Citizen is five cents a copy (\$1.00) for one year. Postage to foreign countries fifty cents extra.

Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class Matter, under the act of March 3, 1879.

The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue
New York

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THE VOTE AND THE VOTER

In this issue of the Woman Citizen there is an article on Citizenship in National Government.

How many people, men or women, know just what rights of citizenship are given them by the Federal Government?

By their State Governments?

How many would like to know?

The Woman Citizen plans to tell just such things from week to week.

It aims to make the vote and the voter well acquainted. Later it will explain some of the complexities of the income tax.

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2 and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferred upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington, and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Representatives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE: Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee^a approving.
On the calendar Date for vote not fixed

IN THE HOUSE:

Raker resolution to create a woman suffrage committee in the House adopted by the House September 24 by a vote of 181 to 107.

House Joint Resolution No. 1 reported from Judiciary Dec. 15, 1917, without recommendation.

New identical resolution introduced in House by Judge Raker, Dec. 18, and referred to next Woman Suffrage Committee.

House Vote Jan. 10, 1918, 274 yeas, 136 noes. VICTORY!

B. Altman & Co.

THE FINGER OF FASHION points to TAILORED SUITS OF SILK

as the Spring novelty that will captivate feminine fancy throughout the United States.

Advance models that are the embodiment of style and charm are now ready for selection in the Department on the Third Floor.

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Seeing is Believing—

THE NEW ART OF DRESS

BERTHA HOLLEY, a patriotic American artist, is doing her bit during wartime by designing women's clothes which combine beauty and usefulness with the strictest economy.

Three million people will soon have viewed the moving picture film, *The New Art of Dress*, captioned as above. The subject was chosen as an "educational" feature worthy of note. An interesting booklet sent on request.

BERTHA HOLLEY

Twenty-one East Forty-ninth Street
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**Correct Uniforms for Maids
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Uniforms from 2.75
Caps and Collars... " .15
Aprons, Coats, Bonnets

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also Made to Order**

SEND FOR CATALOGUE B. M.

JUST PUBLISHED

The most vitally interesting as it is the most timely book for American women organizing for war service. Written by an official of the British Treasury, who is also a member of the Executive Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies of England.

WOMEN AND WAR WORK

BY
HELEN FRASER

"Miss Fraser's book is a piece of history. The new lessons of co-operation and selfless devotion learned from this book will, I confidently predict, within a few months be translated into action by women's War Service Committees in every state of our land."
Introduction by PRESIDENT MacCRACKEN of Vassar College.
Price \$1.50. 16 Illustrations

G. ARNOLD SHAW



PUBLISHER, NEW YORK

The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

February 2, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

One Way to Save

"IT conserves not only food and fuel, but time, and strength, and women." In these concise words, Mrs. Ferdinanda W. Reed, in a recent address before a gathering of suffragists, summed up the advantages of a unique experiment that she is carrying on in Cambridge, Mass.

Mrs. Reed is a member of the local school board. She got the board's consent to let her serve hot soup to the children of the Peabody school at cost, and also sell it to such of the parents as wished to buy.

Special pains were taken to make the parents understand that it was in no sense a charity. The Mayor sent his daughter to buy a jug of the soup; the Superintendent of Schools did the same; and the people of the district soon learned that the Peabody School soup was good.

IN the clean, concrete-paved basement of the school stands a kettle holding 150 quarts. The soup is made and served out by a woman living in the district, who is a good cook. It simmers over a gas stove. A local grocer and provision dealer, who has a child in the school, supplies most of the materials at cost. Bought at wholesale, the price is low; and Mrs. Reed is constantly finding ways to bring the expenses lower still. Thus she began by buying celery at 28 cents a bunch, but has now found a market man who sells her, for 50 cents, a bushel of the outside stalks, not white enough to look well on the table, but perfectly good for soup. They have three kinds of soup a week—one on Monday, another on Tuesday and Wednesday, a third on Thursday and Friday; and they vary the kinds from week to week.

THEY are able to serve the soup to the children at two and a half cents for a half-pint helping; and the children like it, for sometimes they take three helps. For 25 cents, each child gets a card that pays for ten half pints, and each meal is marked off when eaten.

The soup is sold to parents and neighbors for ten cents a quart, or three quarts for 25 cents. The delivering is done by the children, who call for the jug or pail on their way to school, and

leave it on their way home. The customers pay the child two cents for delivering a quart, or three cents for delivering a larger quantity. Even with this cost added, the soup is cheaper than if it were made by each family for itself. The materials cost less when bought in bulk, and one fire cooks the whole.

ANOTHER advantage is that a child is no longer wholly dependent on the prosperity of his family for his power to get a good meal. He can earn it for himself. Any child securing two customers who take two or more quarts of soup three times a week earns nine cents a week by delivering it—18 cents a fortnight. In consideration of his having increased the trade of the Peabody School center, he is allowed to buy with this 18 cents a 25-cent ticket entitling him to ten half pints of soup. This covers the ten school days of the fortnight. Or, if he prefers, he can use the money otherwise.

The sale of this "neighborhood soup" has not only paid all expenses, but since November it has made almost profit enough to cover the \$100 guarantee which the school board put up to enable the thing to get started as an activity of the school center. It has also drawn the people of the neighborhood together in an added friendliness.

MRS REED'S object was not only to put something hot and nourishing into the children, but also to convince their parents of the value of soup as a food. Two hundred tons of meat bones are sold by the Boston butchers as refuse every week. They are boiled for the sake of the grease, which is used for soap-fat. The bones are saved to be made into fertilizer. Then a sluice is opened, and all that good soup is poured into the sewer. The same is the case in most cities.

This waste is wicked in time of peace. It is doubly and trebly wicked in time of war, when a large part of the world's population is starving. Here is one of the points where women can help. The minute household economies have always been part of "woman's sphere." It has not been men's affair to think of them. The special training that women have had in the home from time immemorial they can now apply for the benefit of the state.

They have already done it in England. The women were horrified by the throwing away of all the bones and other garbage from the camp kitchens. They protested and protested, and finally brought about a reform. Now Miss Helen Fraser tells us, as a direct result of the women's efforts, every bit of garbage from the English camps is used to feed pigs, and even the grease from the dishwater is siphoned off and turned into glycerine, which makes possible the manufacture of a huge quantity of shells.

THE men were not much to blame for the earlier waste. Domestic details are not in their line. But this is only one example of many ways in which women can make a really valuable contribution to the public weal; and their suggestions will be listened to sooner and much more respectfully when they have a vote.

Nearly half a century ago a prominent clergyman said he was in favor of woman suffrage "precisely because few old women keep house so wastefully as Chancellors of the Exchequer keep the states." He was convinced, he said, that women's particular gifts, when utilized in public affairs, would prove "extremely economical and beneficial." Let the United States Senators remember this when they come to vote upon the suffrage amendment. Meanwhile Mrs. Reed's plan for the conservation of food, fuel and human health might well be tried in other school centers.

A. S. B.

Clear the Way

THE world situation grows daily more tremendous. The weighty problems before Congress become constantly more pressing and more insistent. Every grain of sand in the wheels ought to be taken out. No avoidable cause of friction should be allowed to waste time that is more precious than money. For this reason, in addition to all the others, the vote to submit the woman suffrage amendment to the states ought to go through the U. S. Senate with the least possible resistance.

In the British House of Lords, recently, a little group of willful men used up two whole days in a futile fight to keep woman suffrage out of the Representation of the People bill. They knew their fight was futile. They knew they were utterly outnumbered, and that the adoption of woman suffrage was a foregone conclusion; yet they spent two precious days in kicking against the inevitable.

The U. S. Senate has a chance to show more wisdom. Everybody knows that this amendment is bound to pass Congress before long. Until it is passed it must inevitably be a source of trouble. "Unsettled questions have no mercy upon the repose of nations." When it has been handed along by the national body to the states, not one minute of the Senate's valuable time will ever need to be spent upon it again. So far as Congress is concerned, it will be out of the way for good and all.

We have said it before, and we say it again: at this crisis to take up the time of Congress by spinning out resistance to the inevitable is not the part of a patriot.

A. S. B.

"Wilson Criticized"

SO run headlines on a story that is going the rounds of the newspapers. The criticizing is done by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, the secretary of which is Mrs. Robert Lansing, whose husband is a member of the Wilson cabinet. That it is done by means of implication makes it none the less venomous and none the more subtle. Publicly Miss Minnie Bronson, executive secretary of the anti-suffrage association, accepts as true a report that President Wilson sent a secret emissary to reassure Miss Paul, while she was in prison, on the score of Mr. Wilson's changed attitude toward the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The Antis had branded the report as untrue. A public acceptance of it as true gave a much desired opportunity to criticize the President under the guise of an apology to Miss Paul.

Mrs. Lansing disclaims responsibility for the apology and the criticism, but the disclaimer still leaves her as secretary of the association that has sought to belittle the Chief Executive under whose favor Secretary Lansing holds office.

No Polls for Women Only

IN various towns of New York State efforts have arisen to demand separate polling places for men and women voters. The best defined of these efforts is included in Senate Bill 14 for amending the charter of Peekskill, New York, a bill already introduced into the Legislature at Albany. One of the provisions of this bill is separate polling places for men and women and separate ballots, one to read "women's ballot" and the other "men's ballot."

This provision does not meet with the approval of suffrage leaders generally, and has so far few sponsors among men politicians. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, acting chairman of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, has received a letter from a prominent official, whose name she does not feel at liberty to divulge, which expresses keen disapproval of the segregation provisions in the Senate bill. "If the franchise as granted to women is to accomplish anything at all," says this correspondent, "one of the first reforms it should bring about is the making of the balloting places respectable. This is far from the condition at the present time. A large number of them have the atmosphere of a saloon rather than that of a governmental institution. Furthermore, I do not see that there should be any special designation of the ballots. It is no business of the public to know how the women vote any more than it is to know how the special races, classes and interests use their franchise."

In reference to the last objection, the *New York Times* of January 28 also pointed out a very real danger.

"To follow out that plan (of segregation)," says the *Times*, "would be an infringement on, if not subversive of, the idea of complete political equality and duty as between the sexes which is now the law of the state."

"It would be worse than that, however, in that to an appreciable degree, it would diminish the secrecy of the ballot which our new law, as did our old one, demands and promises. It would

be interesting, of course, to everybody to know how the votes of women, as women, were cast, but nobody has any more right to know it than to know how any other class of voters do the same thing, and anything of that sort would be hotly and properly resented by the whole electorate.

"In only rare instances will women have in the common polling places experiences at all dangerous or painful or embarrassing, and when trouble comes it will have to be endured as part price of the eagerly sought change."

Circularity of Thought

There are people who can take a simple bit of logic like this:

"Woman suffrage is coming.

"The Federal Suffrage Amendment shows the quickest and best way for it to come.

"So let's have the amendment without delay."

And make out of it this:

	Woman	
	is	the
	coming	quickest
Federal Suffrage		and best without
Amendment		gives the
shows the		so let's
way		delay
	suffrage	

Briefs for Suffrage

BY a vote of 72 to 17 the New York Assembly passed a resolution informing the United States Senate that New York State wishes to have the Federal Suffrage Amendment passed at once. The resolution was acted upon by the Senate, passing that body by a vote of 18 to 8. The measure went through under the chaperonage of all parties, Republican, Democratic and Socialist leaders all favoring it.

MRS. ELLEN O'GRADY, of Brooklyn, is New York City's first woman police deputy. Appointed by Mayor Hylan, she was sworn into office and took up her new duties on January 29th. Mrs. O'Grady has been a probation officer in Brooklyn for ten years. The need of a woman in authority on the police force has long been recognized by the women of the city and daring as Mayor Hylan's experiment may seem to the fearful, its development will be watched with hospitable interest. A fuller account of Mrs. O'Grady's new duties and her qualifications for them will follow in a later issue.

NEW YORK'S legislative leaders have agreed on a bill to pave the way for women to vote in the special congressional and local option elections this Spring and in the primaries next Fall. The bill, which will be enacted shortly, takes care of women voters in the coming congressional elections, providing three days for their registration, and also takes care of them so far as the primaries are concerned, setting aside two days in May (the third Friday and Saturday) for their enrollment in any of the regular parties.

What Editors Say

"AS for the woman suffragists, they are to be congratulated on the long step which has been taken toward their goal. The amendment is not up to the States yet, for the Senate has not acted on it, and in that body it is apt to have less easy sailing than in the House. But there is little reason to doubt it will be passed by the Senate before the present Congress adjourns."—*Pittsburgh Gazette-Times*.

"WOMEN of this state have been voting for more than five years, and the infant mortality rate hereabouts remains so low that it is hardly worth bothering with. Most of the men of this state stopped drinking two years ago, and instead of embracing narcotics they have consoled themselves with near beer and chocolate creams. These facts may not be logical, but they are facts nevertheless. The anti-suffragists and the anti-prohibitionists ought to heed the advice of Horace Greeley and go West for a while."—*Spokesman-Review*, Spokane.

"IF the British House of Lords can concede the enfranchisement of women by a vote of 134 to 60, which virtually settles the question, since little further procedure is necessary, the United States Senate can afford to indorse the measure, which still leaves tremendous work to be accomplished in the various states before American women are similarly recognized as human beings, entitled to political justice. It were the height of ingratitude for the Senate to refuse to approve the resolution in view of the splendid war service given by the women. Republican Senators are likely to vote en bloc for the measure. The Democrats have the example set by President Wilson, who gives the amendment his unqualified support. Unless the United States Senate is hopelessly lost to a sense of justice, gratitude and political expediency, it will approve the resolution by a majority safely in excess of the necessary two-thirds."

Richmond, Va., *Journal*.

FROM its remote Northern pinnacle of omniscience the Rochester, N. Y., *Democrat-Chronicle*, undertakes to manage the suffrage subject for the South in this wise:

"The vicious feature of suffrage by constitutional amendment is that it would involve votes for women in Southern states where there is a large negro population, and where the general standard of education is so low that enlarging the franchise would place the ballot in the hands of a mass of voters who were not qualified to vote and who would inevitably be easily swayed by the demagogue and the foe of the national welfare. Southern women are just beginning to take an interest in suffrage. They should be given an opportunity to catch up with their Northern sisters before they assume the responsibility of voting."

It may be a just criticism, but in face of the vigorous suffrage work of the women in Tennessee, in Texas, in Arkansas, in Kentucky, in Virginia, it is hard to believe. Our own idea is that it is Southern men who lag behind, not Southern women.

Pushing Suffrage at Washington

REPUBLICAN initiative in the passage of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment will be as pronounced and as potent in the Senate as it was in the House, according to the prediction of Colonel Roosevelt. In a letter to Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire, made public through the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the Colonel writes:

"MY DEAR SENATOR GALLINGER:

"I am glad to know that so large a proportion, not less than 75 per cent., of the Republicans in the Senate are going to support the Woman Suffrage Federal Amendment.

The vote in the House, 165 yeas, out of the total of 198 of the Republicans voting, shows that the Republican Party is taking the leading part in the liberal and inevitable movement for enfranchising women.

"I hope that when the vote is taken in the Senate it will be found that the few yet unconvinced Republicans will be ready to unite with the majority in giving such a total vote as will demonstrate to the entire country that the Republican Party is a unit on this vital question.

"The Republican Party will do as it has done in the past and take the lead in completing the work of giving a square deal to the women in this country, who are at this very moment standing shoulder to shoulder with their husbands and fathers, their sons and brothers in the great war for liberty and justice.

"Yours sincerely,

"(Signed)

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

THE loss of two suffrage votes in the Senate by the death of Senators Newlands and Brady has been made good in time for the vote on the Suffrage Amendment by the prompt appointment of their successors. The two new Senators from the West, Senator Henderson of Nevada, and Senator Nugent of Idaho, who, promptly interviewed on their arrival in Washington, are both ready to stand up and be counted among those who will vote and work for the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the Senate. Both have so stated to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Mrs. Maud Wood Park, president and congressional chairman, respectively, of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

"No need for the ladies to come to see Senator Nugent about suffrage," according to the Senator himself. "I am prepared to hang a card on my door announcing that I am a suffragist, always have been a suffragist, and am ready to vote for the Federal Amendment whenever it comes up. We have suffrage in Idaho, and everybody likes it."

Senator Henderson has been equally emphatic. "Why, of course," he says. "My wife and I have always been for suffrage. Nevada approves of suffrage, and anything I can do or say to help I stand ready to do. Of course I

shall vote for the Federal Amendment."

Suffragists consider that the prospects in the Senate are most favorable, and that the amendment will pass by a good majority. Even senators of the opposition are declaring that although they can not themselves vote for the amendment, they hope it will pass.

Social Side of Suffrage in Washington

WHILE the Congressional Committee in Washington is pursuing Senatorial votes for the suffrage amendment, the chairman of headquarters social activities, Miss Mabel Caldwell Willard, has been no less successfully reminding social and official Washington of the

William Gibbs McAdoo, wife of the Secretary of the Treasury, was the guest of honor. The hostess on this occasion was Mrs. V. Everit Macy, of New York, who is living in Washington this winter. Honor guests on other occasions have been Mrs. Newton D. Baker, wife of the Secretary of War, Mrs. Champ Clark, wife of the Speaker of the House, and Mrs. Robert Brand, formerly Miss Phyllis Langhorne, of Virginia, whose husband is at the head of the Northcliffe Commission in the United States.

Among the other prominent women who have dispensed hospitality at these weekly teas are Mrs. Joseph S. Freylinghuysen, wife of the Senator from New Jersey; Mrs. Park Trammell, wife of the Senator from Florida; Mrs.

Charles S. Thomas, wife of the Senator from Colorado; Mrs. Morris Sheppard, wife of the Senator from Texas; Mrs. William M. Calder, wife of the Senator from New York; Mrs. Gilbert M. Hitchcock, wife of the Senator from Nebraska; Mrs. John F. Shafroth, wife of the Senator from Colorado; Mrs. Albert B. Cummins, wife of the Senator from Iowa; Mrs. Duncan U. Fletcher, wife of the Senator from Florida; Mrs. Charles Curtis, wife of the Senator from Kansas; Mrs. A. A. Jones, wife of the Senator from New Mexico; Mrs. William H. King, wife of the Senator from Utah; Mrs. Edward Keating, of Colorado, Mrs. John E. Raker of California, Mrs. Horace M. Tower of Iowa and Mrs. Charles B. Timberlake of Colorado, whose husbands are members of the lower House of Congress; Mrs. Victor Murdock; Mrs. William C. Gorgas, wife of the Surgeon General of the Army; Mrs. Carl Vrooman, wife of the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; Mrs. Cordelia Powell Odenheimer, past President General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; Mrs. Le Baron Carleton Colt, daughter-in-law of Senator Colt of Rhode Island; Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip of New York and Washington, and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, Mrs. Gilbert Grosvenor, Mrs. Theodore Noyes, Mrs. J. Norment Powell, Mrs. Harriet Blaine Beale, Mrs. Hugh Wallace, Mrs. Thorndyke Howe, Mrs. Middleton Beaman, Mrs. L. V. Shepherd, Miss Celeste Childs, Mrs. Floyd Porter, Miss Ellen Hayes,

Miss Elizabeth Stevenson, Miss Enid Sims, Miss Margaret Devereux and Miss Mary Duncan Gibson, all of Washington.

Wisconsin's Proud Boast

REPRESENTATIVE NELSON, of Wisconsin, voted aye on January 10, not nay, as he was recorded by error in the *Woman Citizen's* House poll. Representative Nelson is one of the truest friends suffrage ever had. Wisconsin's Woman Suffrage Association is

(Continued on page 189)



HON. HENRY A. BARNHART, OF INDIANA

In reply to inquiries from about 45 readers, we hasten to say that the reason we did not publish a photograph of Representative Barnhart of Indiana, with those of other members of the Hospital Honor Brigade of House Members, was because we couldn't get one in time. Here it is. Mr. Barnhart was brought from the hospital to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. "Publish some more pictures of the men," writes one reader. "It helps us identify them on the floor of the House and the Senate."

pending suffrage issue, by means of hospitality to its wives and daughters. Suffrage House at 1626 Rhode Island Avenue is the center, every Wednesday afternoon, of a gathering of large numbers of the most prominent women in Washington—which nowadays means not only the most prominent women of Washington, but the most prominent women of the United States, for the most distinguished citizens of the country, men and women both, are now mobilized at the nation's capital for war service.

At the fourth of a series of weekly teas, held Wednesday afternoon, January 30, Mrs.

The Contagion of Freedom

THAT a movement for electoral reform for

German women has attained considerable prominence is evidenced by the press reports of a manifesto issued by three national organizations of women within the empire. In spite of the Government's resistance to any recognition of this question until after the war, the woman's department of the Social Democratic Party, the German Imperial Union for Women's Suffrage, and the German Women's Suffrage Society have recently begun a determined campaign for woman suffrage. Their manifesto reads:

"Up to the present Germany stands in the lowest rank of nations as regards women's rights. In most civilized lands women have already been given a large share in public affairs. German women have been granted nothing except within insignificant limits. In New Zealand, Australia, and most American States, and even before the war in Finland and Norway, they had been given political rights. To-day England, Sweden, Russia, and many other countries give them a full or limited franchise. The war has brought a full victory to the women of England, Canada, Russia, and Denmark, and large concessions are within sight in France, Holland, and Hungary.

"Among us Germans, not only the national, but even the communal franchise is denied, or even a share in the industrial and commercial courts. In the demand for the democratization of German public life, our legislators do not seem to admit even the existence of women—the question is limited to the extension of the share of citizens of the male sex in administrative and legislative affairs.

"BUT during the war the cooperation of the women in public life has unostentatiously grown from year to year, until to-day the number of women engaged in various callings in Germany exceeds the number of men. The work they are doing includes all spheres of male activity; without them it would no longer be possible to support the economic life of the people. Women have done their share in the work of the community. Does not this performance of duty involve the right to share in the building up and extension of the social order?

"The women protest against this lack of political rights, in virtue both of their work for the community and of their worth as human beings. They demand political equality with men. They demand the direct, equal, and secret franchise for all legislative bodies, full equality in the communes and in legal representation of their interests. This first joint pronouncement on women's demands will be followed by others until the victory of our cause is won."

THIS bold appeal of German women suffragists is the more significant because it comes from federated bodies of women working for electoral reforms. In 1916, at a convention in Weimar, two societies, the Deutscher Verband and the Deutscher Vereinigung für Frauenstimmrecht amalgamated. Out of the Union grew the present Imperial Union, or Deutscher Reichsverband für Frauenstimmrecht.

Various societies in all the states of the Empire are represented in this union. Its officers are: Frau Marie Stritt, Dresden, president; Dr. Li Fischer-Eckert of Haven-Eppenhhausen, vice-president; Frau Alma

Dzialoszynsky of Berlin, corresponding secretary; Frau Illa Uth of Duesseldorf, recording secretary, and Frau Ida Dehmel of Hamburg, treasurer.

When the union was consummated, in 1916, it was not expected that any general demand for national suffrage would be made until the close of the war. On October 8 and 9, 1917, another meeting of the union was held, when the question of "gaining new rights" was presented to the conference by Dr. Margaret Siebert of Leipzig. When the Prussian Franchise Reform bill was announced votes for women were not even hinted at, and anti-suffragists in Germany, who seem to be synonymous with the present controlling forces in the German Government, are trying very hard to suppress all public discussion of women's enfranchisement. They have not only stifled news of the American and British suffrage victories, but are vociferously decrying the intrusion of women into political affairs, Count von Reventlow holding that votes for women will bring about the complete ruin of Germany.

Documentary Evidence

THOSE 1,020,000 signatures of New York women who wanted the vote have served a good purpose. They are still serving a purpose and will continue to do so for a long time, according to a statement made by Mrs. Charles Tiffany, the new chairman of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party for Manhattan Borough.

In a speech at the board meeting of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association at the Hotel McAlpin on January 25, she pointed out the fact that these lists will make a basis for educating women of the state and for getting out the woman's vote at election time.

"Getting that white enrollment list of the women was the best thing we ever did," said Mrs. Tiffany. "We had the signature of every woman who said she wanted to vote, and, no matter how illiterate she might be, it was her signature, and she had sworn that she had never signed another list. It made the greatest impression on the men. In some small townships we had more women than there were male Republicans and Democrats together in the place. The men might be hidebound anti-suffragists, but they had no arguments to answer such documents as that. We shall continue to use those lists in reaching the women who want to vote.

"We want New York State to be the first to ratify the Federal Amendment. Then we want to educate the women in the technique and principle of voting. We want the women to determine their political principles for themselves, becoming Democrats or Republicans as they think best. That is why we, as a suffrage party, have remained non-partisan."

Taking Men's Places

A NOVEL way in which a man's place is being taken by a woman is the election of Mrs. Ralph Smith to the seat vacated by her husband's death in the provincial parliament of British Columbia.

The election occurred on January 24, and the returns on January 25, showed Mrs. Smith as leading in every ward of the city.

(Continued from page 188)

proud of him and not in the least inclined to have him listed in the wrong column by mistake. Mrs. Theodora W. Youmans, president of the association, says that "Analyzing the vote in the House of Representatives on that historic day, January 10, I find that my own section of the country, the Middle West, demonstrated its leadership in progressive democracy, following close after the equal suffrage states. The states of North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Arkansas and Oklahoma cast a total of 120 votes in favor of the amendment and a total of five votes against it. Is any non-suffrage section of the U. S. A. prepared to contest our claim to championship?"

What's the Matter With the New Senator from Nevada?

Senator Charles B. Henderson, who was appointed by Governor Boyle of Nevada to succeed the late Senator Francis G. Newlands, has announced his firm determination to champion political freedom for all American women. "I am for woman suffrage because I do not consider that persons are free unless they have a voice in the government under which they live," the Senator declared.

Ten million women: "He's all right."

Iowa Celebrates

PRACTICALLY every congressional district in Iowa had its special celebration in honor of the victory in the House. A reception at the home of Miss Anna B. Lawther, state suffrage president, brought together the men and women of Dubuque who worked to bring Iowa into the suffrage column two years ago. The state executive board of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association was in conference on January 22, to outline a three months' campaign of work. There was much rejoicing over the ten votes given by the Iowa congressmen for the Federal Amendment, only one vote of the eleven going against the measure.

Citizenship in Nebraska

ALTHOUGH the State of Nebraska denies full suffrage to its women, it has been placed in the position of extending the rights and privileges of citizenship to many thousands of alien enemies. An examination of draft questionnaires returned by the men of military age in the state showed that approximately 20,000 men were claiming exemption from service on the ground that they are aliens, although they have been exercising all the rights of a citizen for many years. Many years ago the State of Nebraska, in making a bid for foreign settlers offered full citizenship to all men who took out their first naturalization papers. The result was that thousands of these aliens never went farther than their first papers, though many of them have been living in the state for more than twenty years. The patriotic men of the state are now conducting a campaign to amend the constitution so that rights of citizenship may be taken away from alien enemies, and the Council of Defense is circulating a petition asking the Legislature to set the proper machinery in motion. Patriotic Nebraskans are indignant because their soldiers in the army are denied the right to vote while the country's enemies are entitled to participate in the government.

A Corner in Publicity

TIME was when woman suffrage crept into the newspapers by way of the local column along with the church sociable and the sewing society. Time was when it gained headlines only as brave women marched with banners on foot through the streets. Time was, and that not so long ago, when some newspapers not so quick of perception as others were calling suffrage "a dead issue." Such a time happened late in 1915 after four states of the East had lost in one election. But "the dead issue" became a phoenix and rose on mighty wings.

Now it needs no banners, no pageants, to make suffrage a space getter. Newspaper returns here shown partly cover two recent Washington events, the National American Woman Suffrage Association's 49th Annual Convention, in December, and the House vote on the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment on January 10. These are only some of the newspaper returns. Some returns for all that.

THE story of the Convention alone shows that newspapers in 44 states were interested in the fact that suffragists had gone to Washington for their annual convention. More than 300 of these stories were illustrated with pictures of suffrage leaders, not of women doing dramatic stunts, but of women making quiet speeches to their Senators and Congressmen and appealing for the enfranchisement of themselves and their sisters. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone, speaking for the same cause, were the butt of press ridicule.

In this publicity there were no less than 500,000 words, none in ridicule and most of them in sympathy. Together the two stories aggregated 2,700 clippings from 1,100 newspapers, 24,620 inches or 1,200 newspaper columns. Translated into the terms of length and breadth, this is 427 square feet of space, or it is sufficient length to extend more than 10 city blocks. It would reach from Broadway to the top of the Woolworth Tower nearly three times over, or across the East River span of the Brooklyn Bridge with 500 feet to spare.

OR, to put it all in still more familiar terms, when the Woman Citizen went to press and this history was halted, the printed words used by the newspapers of the country in telling the stories of these two events bulked more than 1,000,000 words. They would make the stylish modern trilogy, the twentieth century substitute for the old three volume novel, look like a tract. Even Jean Christophe or the entire series of Nexo's Pelle, the Conqueror, would be out-distanced by this romance of freedom.

Out of the 500 editorials returned to headquarters within the first few days after the House vote, far the greater part were in approval of a favorable and swift settlement of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment.



THEIR SY D

A CORNER IN PUBLICITY IN THE OFFICE OF EDITORIAL PARTIAL RETURNS ON THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION



OVERCOME Y THE

A FEW NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS ON THE PASSAGE OF THE AMENDMENT THROUGH THE HOUSE ON JANUARY 10. AFTER THE VOTE WHEN ONLY THE FIRST FRAGMENT RETURNED TO THE

To Light Him on His Way

SUFFRAGISTS may have cornered the market on news but they are neither monopolists nor profiteers. None of this publicity is to be wasted. After a continuous story is filed so that the children's children of the women of to-day may read what women did and said in the year of our Lord 1918 to get their enfranchisement, the remainder will be used to do its war conservation bit.

The filed record will show the appeals made by the women of state after state to their representatives in Congress. It will hold forever dear the names and memories of men who spoke for the freedom of one-half the adult members of the Republic of the United States. But after the story is complete, basketfuls of clippings which repeat the same facts will remain. These will not be thrown away; they will be used to light the boys in the trenches.

WHEN Miss Katherine Fairbairn, head-worker of Armitage House, saw these masses of long newspaper streamers already cut into convenient strips, she asked that they should be sent to the boys of one of her clubs who are cutting newspapers into just such strips and making them into trench candles.

It takes just 8 columns of tightly rolled newspaper to make one candle. Two long columns are rolled very tight for a central stem. Then the other six are rolled around this stem and tied with a fine cord. To judge if the candle is firm enough it is held to the light, and if no glimmer gets through, it is sufficiently compact. For every 250 candles \$1.00 worth of paraffin is necessary. The candles are rapidly boiled for 15 minutes and then slowly steeped in the hot paraffin for another 35 minutes when they are fished out with a fork like a very hot doughnut, and set up to harden. This they do at once. Candles made in this manner will burn with a big hot flame for two and one-half or three hours. Soldiers use them to heat their food and dry their clothes and even for warmth and light.

AMERICAN boys in France from Idaho and Nebraska and Maine and Texas will be warming their food or writing their letters home by the light of the candles rolled out of their home papers on which are printed the immortal words of the struggle for democracy waged for seventy years by their mothers and mothers' mothers in the land for which they are fighting and enduring great sacrifices. And the trench candles will be one more symbol of the fact that democracy for men and women, for old and young, for France and Italy and Armenia and Serbia and the United States is all one.

NEITHER the Convention story nor the Federal Amendment story was complete when this accounting was made. On both stories clippings were still coming in at the rate of 165 a day, but the counters were very tired and the press was waiting.



WOMAN DAY

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN,
CONVENTION FROM 44 STATES ARE HERE SHOWN



THE NEWS

AGE OF THE FEDERAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMEND-
THE PICTURE WAS TAKEN IMMEDIATELY
FRACTION OF THE CLIPPINGS HAD BEEN
THE OFFICE

"Continuously Praying"



HENRIETTA W. LIVERMORE

THE very first Amendment to the Constitution of the United States guaranteed "the right of the people to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Under this constitutional right, women for a long series of years have petitioned Congress and their state Legislatures to give them a voice in their own government. Petition upon petition has been laboriously collected, ending always in humble plaint, "for this your petitioners do continuously pray." This continuously praying business has been overdone. It has reached its limit in the mammoth petition of one million twenty thousand women of New York state who wish to vote.

To form a slight idea of the effort the women have expended, just glance back over the long list of recorded petitions that women have rolled up in the past. This list is culled from the History of Woman Suffrage as the petitions happen to be mentioned in its pages. It must of necessity represent but a very small part of the total number of petitions which the women of the United States have rolled up at uncounted cost, labor and sacrifice.

THE first recorded woman's rights petition was gathered by Mary Ayres and presented to the New York Legislature in 1834. It was ten or fifteen feet long and presumably is still buried in the vaults of the Capitol at Albany.

Signatures

1836	Mrs. Ernestine Rose—First Petition for Married Women to Hold Real Estate in Own Name—to New York Legislature	5
1853	Massachusetts Constitutional Convention Petition	2,000
	Massachusetts Petition for Temperance Law	50,000
	New York State Petition for Prohibition Law	28,000
	New York State Petition for Suffrage	13,000

1854	Massachusetts Legislature Petition	5,931
	Massachusetts Senate Petition ..	4,164
1857	Ohio—Petition—Canvassing	10,000
1859	Indiana—Petition	1,000
1861	Woman's National Loyal League Mammoth Petition Against Slavery	400,000
	Many refused to sign, as slavery was "a divine institution"—One woman who had lost her husband and two sons travelled 100 miles on foot for 1,000 names.	
1865	Reward—"Male" inserted in XV Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Petitions at once vs. "Male". "Endless Petitions"	50,000
1867	New York State Constitutional Convention Petition	20,000
	Petitions for XVI Amendment ..	6,000
1869	Petitions to Massachusetts Legislature	8,000
	St. Louis received "2,000 Petitions of taxpaying ladies, owning assessed property of \$14,490,119"	2,000
1870	Nebraska Legislature	1,000
	Petitions rolled up—New York State Legislature praying for the right of suffrage.... "Numberless"	
1873	Ohio petition to Constitutional Convention	1,500
1875	Indiana Petition—Temperance Women	10,000
1876	Petitions from one State..... "Some from every State" (estimate)	35,000
	Names at Centennial	1,050,000
	Names at Centennial	50,000
1876	Petition for Presidential Suffrage made in New York State; reported adversely by Judiciary Committee	"Unnumbered"
1876	Call for new petitioners for XVI Amendment	300,000
	Petitions to 44th Congress.....	10,000
1877	November—National Suffrage Association sent out thousands of petitions. Poured into Washington at rate of 1,000 a day from 26 different States	26,000
	In one month (estimate).....	1,000,000
	10,000 names in a day to the House	10,000
	W. C. T. U. sent.....	30,000
	Lucy Stone	6,261
	In One Session	70,000
	Illinois Temperance Petition....	180,000
1878	Missouri Legislature	6,000
	Senator Frye of Maine presented Miss Willard's petition for woman's right to vote on temperance question	30,000
1879	Massachusetts sent 98 petitions..	98,000
	Illinois Temperance Petition....	180,000
1880	Petitions to State Legislatures—no count, but if as above, another million	1,000,000
	House documents	66,000
	House signatures	12,000

1881	Indiana Petition for Presidential Suffrage	5,000
	Bill lost—declared unconstitutional.	
1882	Petition for women to be admitted to Columbia College.....	1,200
	Total	4,778,061
1866	In England, John Stuart Mill presented the first Woman Suffrage Petition of.....	1,499
	March 28.....	33,559
	April	3,161
	Parliamentary Session	13,497
1868	75 Petitions—Names	50,000
1869	255 " "	61,475
1870	663 " "	134,561
1871	622 " "	186,976
1872	829 " "	350,093
1873	919 " "	329,206
1874	1494 " "	430,343
1875	1273 " "	415,622
	10 yrs. 6137 Petitions	2,091,773

As a result of these ten years work "it became evident that Parliament cared little for a long roll of names from unrepresented classes."

Here we pause for want of breath, before even one state has been carried by a suffrage referendum. As the great suffrage movement becomes stronger and stronger, petitions are redoubled. On every possible occasion the women "roll up" petitions—their one constitutional weapon.

IN the 1915 campaign in New York state, there were 183 campaign committees with 2,500 women holding unpaid official positions, giving most of their time. There were 1,200 school teachers devotedly serving. More than 200,000 women were actively working throughout the state. More than 10,000 meetings were held in the last six months. On Election Day 6,330 women watched at the polls.

There were three other large states, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, who carried on a similar campaign in 1915.

Multiply these enumerated activities by four, and you can form some idea of the suffragists' battle for one year.

The total number of referenda to the voters that the women have achieved is 50.

Multiply the above by 50 and you are still more enlightened as to the work necessary by the "continuously praying" method.

THIS country is at war. To win, it will need the utmost of devotion, money, time and efficient service of every man and woman. Release the unenfranchised women from their continuous praying that they may not be obliged to carry the double burden of work for the ballot with the exacting work of patriotic service. This nation needs its women. The women need the ballot as never before. Never has an unenfranchised group of men made one-thousandth, nay, one-millionth part the effort that the women of this land of liberty have been forced to make to obtain the vote.

Men of America, the eyes of the world are upon you. The new born Russian republic watches you. The German autocracy watches you. Are you fighting for Democracy? Then prove it. Make democracy win at home. That battle is in your hands.

HENRIETTA W. LIVERMORE.

For the Federal Suffrage Amendment

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association was organized in 1869 for the express purpose of petitioning Congress for a Federal Suffrage Amendment. Its leaders have appealed to every Congress since that date. As early as 1866 they had begun to carry their case to the national law making body, and their continuous arguments have made a chain of protest against women's national disfranchisement from then until now.

Excerpts from the speeches of the early leaders here given in chronological order show how the whole ground of reasoning for the Amendment was covered by these pioneer women before those now pleading with the Congress for this Amendment were born.

"FOR twenty years we have labored to bring the statute laws of the several states into harmony with the broad principles of the Constitution, and have been so far successful that in many of them little remains to be done except to secure the right of suffrage. Hence our prompt protest against the propositions before Congress to introduce the word 'male' into the Federal Constitution, which, if successful, would sanction all state action in withholding the ballot from women. As the only way in which disfranchised citizens can appear before you, we availed ourselves of the sacred right of petition. . . . Some tell us it is not judicious to press the claims of women now; that this is not the time. Time? When you propose legislation so fatal to the best interests of women and the nation, shall we be silent until after the deed is done? No! As we love justice, we must resist tyranny. As we honor the position of American Senator, we must appeal from the politician to the man."

From Address to Congress Protesting Against the Word "Male" in the 14th Amendment, Prepared by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony and Adopted by the National Woman's Rights Convention in 1866.

"WE ask you to enfranchise the women of the District this very winter, so that next March they may go to the ballot-box, and all the people of this nation may see that it is possible for women to vote and the republic yet stand. There is no reason, no argument, nothing but prejudice, against our demand; and there is no way to break down this prejudice but to make the experiment. Therefore, we most earnestly urge it, in full faith that so soon as Congress and the people shall have witnessed its beneficial results, they will go forward with a Sixteenth Amendment which shall prohibit any state from disfranchising any of its citizens on account of sex."

Susan B. Anthony Before Joint Con-

gressional Committees of the District of Columbia, 1870.

"WHEN we come asking protection under the new guarantees of the Constitution, the same men say to us that our only plan is to await the action of Congress and state Legislatures in the adoption of a Sixteenth Amendment which shall make null and void the word 'male' in the Fourteenth, and supply the want of the word 'sex' in the Fifteenth. Such tantalizing treatment imposed upon yourselves or any class of men would have caused rebellion and in the end a bloody revolution. It is only the close relations ex-

the basis of a government that can be called just."

Isabella Beecher Hooker Before Senate Judiciary Committee in 1872.

"SOME say that 'privileges and immunities' do not include the right of suffrage. We answer that any person under Government who has no voice in the laws or the rulers has his privileges and immunities abridged at every turn, and when a state denies the right of suffrage, it robs the citizen of his citizenship and of all power to protect his person or property by law. Disfranchised classes are ever helpless and degraded classes. . . .

"All power centers in the people. Our Federal Constitution, as well as that of every state, opens with the words, 'We, the people.' However this phrase may have been understood and acted on in the past, women today are awake to the fact that they constitute one-half the American people; that they have the right to demand that the constitution shall secure to them 'justice,' 'domestic tranquility,' and the 'blessings of liberty.' So long as women are not represented in the government they are in a condition of tutelage, perpetual minority, slavery.

"We have declared in favor of a government of the people, for the people, by the people, the whole people. Why not begin the experiment? If suffrage is a natural right, we claim it in common with all citizens; if it is a political right, that the few in power may give or take away, then it is clearly the duty of the ruling powers to extend it in all cases as the best interests of the state require."

Elizabeth Cady Stanton Before Senate Judiciary Committee, 1872.

"THE time is coming when the demand of an immense number of women of this country cannot be ignored. When you see these representatives coming from all the states of the Union to ask for this right, can you doubt that, some day, they will succeed in their mission? We do not stand before you to plead as beggars; we ask for that which is our right. We ask it as due to the memory of our ancestors, who fought for the freedom of this country just as bravely as did yours. We ask it on many considerations. Why, gentlemen, the very furniture here, the carpet on this floor, was paid for with our money. We are taxed equally with the men to defray the expenses of this Congress and we have a right, equally with them, to participate in the government. In closing, I have only to ask, is there no man here present who appreciates the emergencies of this hour? Is there no one among you who will rise on the floor of Congress as the champion of this unrepresented

(Continued on page 196)



"IT'S THE ONLY WAY OVER, SIR."

isting between the sexes which have prevented any such result from this injustice to women. . . . Although I am a Quaker and take no oath, yet I have made a most solemn 'affirmation' that I will never again beg my rights, but will come to Congress each year and demand the recognition of them under the guarantees of the National Constitution."

Susan B. Anthony Before Senate Judiciary Committee, 1872.

"YOU sit here, gentlemen, in judgment on my rights as an American citizen, as though they were something different from your own! By whatsoever title you sit in these seats and make laws, wise or unwise, just or unjust, for this great people, by that same title do I claim my share in this great responsibility, owing allegiance to God and my own conscience alone. I may have been born with less capacity than the least among you, with small chance of growing to your mental stature, or reaching your standard of moral elevation; but I have a perfect right to sit in your midst, pigmy that I may be, since I am one of 'the people' who did ordain this glorious old Constitution, and one of 'the governed,' whose consent is made

Citizenship in National Government The Vote and the Voter

By Mary Sumner Boyd

WHAT is Citizenship? For the time being, in order to have a working definition, we will say that citizens are of two kinds: full or "active" citizens who have both political and civil rights, and partial or "passive" citizens—these will give us some trouble later—who have civil rights alone. Only as citizen of a state can an American have full citizenship for only in this way can he have voting rights. But only as a citizen of the United States does he gain the fundamentals of civil rights.

With certain important limitations, the Federal Constitution leaves to the states the decision as to who shall be full voting citizens and who shall not. On their part, the states with the exception of eight, in conferring voting citizenship lay down as one requirement that a voter must have first of all that degree of citizenship which the United States Government alone can give. The eight exceptional states (Arkansas, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota and Texas) give voting rights to aliens who have taken out their first papers, "declared their intention" to become citizens of the United States. Among jurists there is doubt as to whether these states have not assumed a power to which they have no right in allowing persons not yet naturalized to vote for members of Congress. A case has never come to Federal courts however, and the Federal Constitution, in the first of its four important references to voting qualifications, specifically provides that electoral qualifications in respect to Congress shall be left to the states. Article I, Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States says: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen . . . by the people of the several states and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature."

IN only two respects, one minor and one major, does the Federal Constitution control voting citizenship. Of presidential elections, Article II, Section 2, says: "Each state shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof shall decree a number of electors." The United States decrees that not the electors enumerated by state constitutions but those decided on by the state legislatures shall elect the president of the United States.

The major limitation on the states' power to determine voting citizenship is the XV Amendment of the United States Constitution. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

Historically this amendment was preceded by Article XIV, Section 2, which attempted indirectly to give the franchise to male negroes in respect to federal officials and legislators by providing that representation in Congress should be reduced in the same proportions as the number of male citizens twenty-one years and over, denied the franchise by a state bears to the whole number of male citizens of voting age in that state.

THE conferring of civil rights is another matter, for on the one hand many civil rights are conferred by the state, and on the other, both Federal and state governments confer many civil rights on citizen and resident alien alike. It is because of these three classes of civil rights that the civics books are so unsatisfactory in their definitions of the word citizen. "Citizens," says one primer, "are all the people, men, women and children, who live in one place." "Citizens," says the ordinary person, going to the other extreme and including all possible citizens' rights, "are voters." "Citizens," we may say, leaving out the political or "active" group and limiting ourselves to "passive" rights, "are those who have full civil rights in the United States and in the state wherein they reside."

State laws determine many civil rights; they may, for instance, as in Virginia, prevent a woman—who, the opponents of suffrage are apt to tell us, has equal civil citizenship with men—from practicing law, or as in Delaware, from having an equal claim with her husband to her children, or, as in Louisiana, from having equal control of the community property with her husband. Since there are forty-eight states with forty-eight codes it is impracticable to specify here what the state civil rights of citizens consist in.

THE first eight amendments of the Federal Constitution are always thought of as giving civil rights to American citizens. They did, in fact, give civil rights to all residents or inhabitants of the country, alien or citizen. These rights are freedom of religion, of speech, of assemblage and of petition, right to bear arms, to public trial, to trial by jury, security from seizure of life, liberty or property without due process of law, from excessive bail fines and penalties and from the burden of quartering soldiers in time of peace.

Justice Miller of the United States Supreme Court in the Slaughter House cases sums up the Federal Civil rights of citizens and inhabitants. The citizen of the United States has "the right to seek its protection, share its offices, transact business and engage in administering its functions. He has the right to free access to its seaports through which all operations of foreign commerce are conducted, to the sub-treasuries and land offices in the several states."

"Another privilege of the citizen of the United States is to demand care and protection of the Federal Government over his life, liberty and property on the high seas or within the jurisdiction of another government. Right to use navigable waters of the United States, however they may penetrate the territory of the states, all rights secured to our citizens by treaties with foreign nations are dependent upon citizenship of the United States and not citizenship of a state. A citizen of the United States can, of his own volition, become a citizen of any state of the Union by bona fide residence therein, with the same rights as other citizens of the state."

Lectures of Espacial Timeliness

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Woman, the War,
and After

Woman's Opportunity
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The Armenian Woman
in War

By Bertha S. Papazian

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Deferred Conventions

THE Alabama Equal Suffrage Association has decided to postpone its state convention, announced for February, until some time later because of the difficulties of transportation and other unpropitious conditions. The executive board came to this decision at its session held in Birmingham last week, and at the same time the board projected comprehensive plans for a state-wide campaign for the Federal Amendment.

Several hundred were present at the Birmingham celebration of the passage of the Federal Amendment in the House. Mrs. J. B. Parke of Selma, State Chairman, and Mrs. Solon Jacobs were among the speakers.

MICHIGAN'S big convention scheduled for January, has likewise had to be postponed.

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Add a Fourteenth Star to the Suffrage Service Flag

ANOTHER star has been added to the suffrage service flag in honor of Dr. Ethel Lyon Heard of Galveston, Texas, who is serving with the American Red Cross at Chalons, fifteen miles from the German guns. Dr. Heard left Galveston to enlist in war service work last August, shortly after her husband, Dr. Allen G. Heard, had been commissioned in the medical corps and had left for Europe. She sailed last September in company with nine women physicians of the Child's Welfare Division of the Red Cross. Just prior to leaving Galveston, Dr. Heard was president of the Woman's Health Protective Association of that city and vice-president of the Galveston Equal Suffrage Association, being also one of its past presidents.

Shortly after taking up her work in the Red Cross headquarters at Paris there came a call from the directors of a foundation of the English Société des Amis for a resident physician, and Dr. Heard was assigned the position, which took her to Chalons, from which point she writes: "One hears the guns by day and by night—they shake the house. One can see aeroplanes any time, and streams of cannons and ambulances and all such go by all day long. We are about fifteen miles from the lines."

Mrs. Heard pays unqualified tribute to the work of reconstruction being done by the Society of Friends, and tells of the tremendous

work being carried on for the women and children. Stationed, as she is, at a maternity hospital, Mrs. Heard sees this phase of the work first hand. More than 500 babies have made their entrance at this particular hospital since its establishment and at the time of writing there were twenty-five little tots, under three years of age, waiting to be sent to homes. They had been sent out of the region near the battle line because too little to wear gas masks.

Something of the spirit of the



DR. ETHEL LYON HEARD

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worker is shown in Dr. Heard's closing paragraph, "We work under all sorts of difficulties and all sorts of adverse conditions—but it doesn't matter a bit so long as we get things done. One learns quickly to expect to be cold, muddy and meagerly fed."

Dr. Heard tells of her husband's attempt to order a bedroom and bath at a Paris hotel, using his own brand of French to accomplish the feat—the result was unexpected. Two bottles of beer were handed him.

Still Womanly!

AT the Agricultural and Industrial Exposition held at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, the Minnehaha County Franchise League carried off the \$50 prize for the best exhibit of needlework at the exposition. The prize was awarded in competition with several other societies famed for their ability to fashion useful and pretty things. The suffragists of this same county organization for the last two years have held the record for selling the greatest number of Red Cross seals. Minnehaha County recorded, at the last election, a gain of more than one thousand votes for suffrage, or about one-sixth of the gain of the entire state.

When writing to advertisers please mention the WOMAN CITIZEN.

Federal Suffrage Amendment

(Continued from page 193)

half of the people of the United States?"
*Lillie Devereux Blake Before House
 Judiciary Committee, 1880.*

"I HAVE mentioned eight classes of United States voters, and yet not one of the states has been deprived of the powers necessary to local self-government. To states belong all matters of strictly local interest, such as the incorporation of towns and cities, the settlement of county and other boundaries; laws of marriage, divorce, protection of life and property, etc. It has been said the ordaining and establishment of a constitution for the government of a state is always the act of a state in its highest sovereign capacity, but if any question as to nationality ever existed, it was settled by the war. Even state constitutions were found unable to stand when in conflict with a law of the United States or an amendment to its Constitution. All are bound by the authority of the nation. . . . I ask for a Sixteenth Amendment because this republic is a nation and not a confederacy of states. I ask it because the United States not only possesses inherent power to protect its citizens but also because of its national duty to secure to all its citizens the exercise of their rights of self government."

*Matilda Joslyn Gage Before House
 Judiciary Committee, 1880.*

"THIS is the fifteenth year we have appeared before Congress in person, and the nineteenth by petitions, asking national protection for women in the exercise of their right to vote. In the winter of 1865 and 1866 we sent your honorable body a ten-thousand prayer, asking you not to put 'male' in the second section of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment; and again we appealed to you by thousands of petitions that you would add 'sex' after 'race or color' in the Fifteenth, but all to no avail. Then by an eighty-thousand petition in 1871 we demanded the enactment of a declaratory law that women had the right to vote under the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment. This, too, was denied us, not only by Congress but by the Supreme Court, which held that the framers of the amendment had only 'colored men' in their thought, therefore none others could come within its purview. From 1876 to the present we have from year to year poured into Congress hundreds of thousands of petitions asking you to take the initiative step for another amendment which shall specifically prohibit the disfranchisement of women. But, you say, why do you not go to your several states to secure this right? I answer, because we have neither the women nor the money to make the canvasses of the thirty-eight states, school district by school district, to educate each individual man out of the old belief that women was created to be his subject."

*Susan B. Anthony Before Senate and
 House Committees in 1884.*

"IT is in the grand order of these ideas that I stand here to advocate the enfranchisement of my sex. Morally, socially, intellectually equal with men, it is right that we should be politically equal with them in

a society which claims to recognize and uphold one equal humanity. I do not say it is our right. I say it is right—God's right and the world's. In the name of high sentiment then, in the name of all that good men profess, I ask that the gracious act may be consummated which will admit us to the place that henceforth befits us, that of equal participants with you in the sovereignty of the people."

*Mrs. Julia Ward Howe at the National-
 American Convention, 1890.*

"THE ballot has been for man a means of defending these natural rights. Even now in some localities of the world those rights are still defended by the revolver, as in former days, but in peaceable communities the ballot is the weapon by means of which they are protected. We find, as women citizens, that when we are wronged, when our rights are infringed upon, inasmuch as we have not this weapon with which to defend them, they are not considered, and we are very many times imposed upon. We find that the true liberty of the American people demands that all citizens to whom these rights have been accorded should have that weapon."

*Mrs. Chapman Catt at the National-
 American Convention, 1892.*

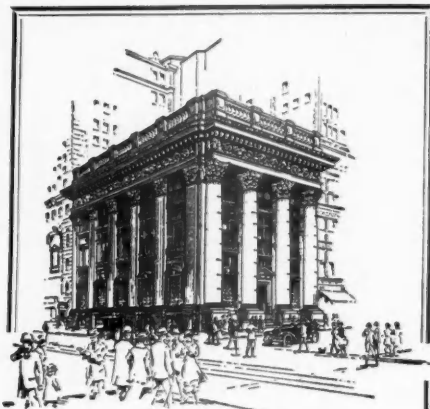
"YESTERDAY I noticed in a report of our hearing before the Judiciary Committee of the House the headline, 'Appeals to Deaf Ears.' And I said, 'Has it come to this, that when earnest and sincere women of this great country make an appeal to the heads of the Government it is dubbed an 'Appeal to Deaf Ears?' Time was when the British Government thought our ancestors had not sufficient merit in their cause to be heard. Then they made an 'appeal to deaf ears.' But the time came when those ears were unstopped and they heard, and what they heard was the cry of victory by a free people. We may be appealing to deaf ears today, but the time is coming when it will not be so. Men will hear and, hearing, they will answer, because ultimately men desire the right. If I were asked what I conscientiously believe the real condition of the hearts of most men to be, I should say they are positively ignorant in regard to the justice of this matter, and if it could be brought properly before them, they would stand on the side of justice and right for women."

*Dr. Anna Howard Shaw at the National-
 American Convention, 1892.*

"I COME before this committee with the sense which I always feel, that we are handicapped as women in what we try to do for ourselves by the single fact that we have no vote. This cheapens us. You do not care so much for us as if we had votes, so that we come always with that infinite disadvantage."

"But the thing I want to say particularly is that we have our immortal Declaration of Independence and the various bills of rights of the different states (George Washington advised us to recur often to first principles), and in these nothing is clearer than the basis of the claim that women should have equal rights with men. A complete government is a perfectly just government."

*Lucy Stone at the National-American
 Convention, 1892.*



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Women's Oversea Hospitals of the U. S. A.

IT has just been decided by the National American Woman Suffrage Association that the title of the hospital unit in France to be established with its backing shall be "Women's Oversea Hospitals of the U. S. A."

For about ten seconds the title was "Women's Foreign Service Hospitals," but the new and more euphonious name came along and superseded the other.

Under the guidance of Drs. Gregory, Edward and Van Sholly, three of the women doctors of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, founded by that pioneer woman physician, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the unit is completing its final arrangements, preparatory to leaving for France by the middle of February. This is in answer to a message from France cabled by Dr. Caroline Finley, director of the unit, who went to France to make preliminary arrangements several weeks ago. Dr. Finley cables her colleagues to bring six doctors, twelve nurses, eighteen aides, an aurist, a dentist and "not to forget the mechanicians." A fifty-bed hospital is to be established at Guiscard, in the department of the Aisne, about ten miles back of the junction of the British and French forces. Three adjoining buildings with a walled garden house the hospital. The services of an agriculturist have been secured and seeds will be taken from this country with the thought of making the walled garden productive this spring. The wounded of the shelled towns will be given first attention by the hospital corps.

WOMEN'S CLUBS throughout the country are becoming interested in the plucky little unit that has finally found both a local habitation and a name and undoubtedly a great sphere of usefulness ahead of it. The Colony Club of New York City has already donated a motor truck. Sorosis and Civitas are two other clubs among several that are showing a special interest in the undertaking.

In a cablegram received from Dr. Finley the need of the French people for the help to be secured through the hospital is set forward in a startling sentence or two—"Great need for unit. Civilians taken many miles for hospital treatment. Must do much surgery, need specialists, dispensaries, ambulance service."

It will be recalled that the French High Commissioner, Tardieu, was most hospitable to the idea of the unit from the start. Soon after Dr. Finley's arrival in France, arrangements were made with the French Government whereby the undertaking was given the final stamp of official approval. The Red Cross furnishes the hospital equipment.

Dr. Finley has written that the hospital unit's type of work finds greater favor with the French hospital authorities than the plan of sending separate doctors into various districts because the unit includes various specialties and with greater equipment can be more exact. The women surgeons in the unit will do the gynecological operative work that has been so greatly neglected in France since the war began.

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Hardy Trees, Shrubs and Roses—the kind that live, thrive and bring quick results. EVER-Bearing Strawberries—fruit from June to November, a full crop of large delicious berries in September and October, the first season planted. Try them.

In Alabama

ON the ground that a discussion of anything political or sectarian is not germane to the policy of their work the Federation of Women's Clubs of Alabama did not take action on the suffrage resolution, as was at first reported. An interesting situation arose in regard to the matter and the press of the state heralded the result as a suffrage victory. Mrs. Julian B. Parke, president of the Alabama State Suffrage Association, presented the suffrage resolution to the Resolutions Committee, but it was not reported out. Knowing that the general sentiment of the body was favorable to the movement, Mrs. Parke offered the resolution from the floor. The vice-president objected to its consideration, but was overwhelmingly defeated on the vote, receiving not more than a fourth of the vote. The Federation's president, however, ruled the resolution out of order and the Alabama Federation remains one of the few that has not endorsed suffrage for women.

THE Birmingham Equal Suffrage Association is offering free instruction in stenography for all those who need such instruction.

Where Is Your State?

FEBRUARY is upon us and we are still straining our ears for a sound from

Texas
Tennessee
Florida
Nebraska
Michigan
Indiana
Maryland

Where are you?

Perhaps you are like Virginia which sends word: "We have been so busy planning a subscription campaign that we have not even taken time to tell you so." Please write so that we may send you our handsome new subscription blanks and receipt books.

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Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane of New Orleans
Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York of Augusta
New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin of East Orange
New Hampshire: Mrs. Mary Post of Portsmouth
Rhode Island: Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt of Bristol
Kentucky: Mrs. Charles Firth of Covington

Mrs. Post of New Hampshire has sent out over 200 letters in opening her subscription campaign.

Miss Mary E. Gayer, of Akron, Ohio, writes: "I do not know if Ohio is going in to win this contest. If so, I will turn any credits I have over to my state. Meanwhile I will work as a Co-operating Subscriber, and send you such dollars as I may wring (or wrest) from the innocent bystander. I heard Margaret Foley say at St. Louis, 'You're not a suffragist if you don't read the Journal.' I have quoted this many times. Here's hoping that a thousand suffs feel as strongly as I do and get an oriental hump on."

The Milwaukee County Woman Suffrage Association is sowing seeds of suffrage propaganda and good citizenship by placing *The Woman Citizen* on the table in the welfare rooms of women in factories of Milwaukee. Mrs. L. M. Warfield, acting president, wrote to employers asking permission to place the *Citizen* on the girls' reading tables and the offer has been gratefully accepted in a number of instances. A member of the Milwaukee County association pays the price of each of these subscriptions. Up to this time the girls employed at the office of the Wisconsin Telephone Company, the Monarch Mfg. Co., Ed. Schuster & Co., The Holeproof Hosiery Co., The Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Co., and The Palmolive Co., have been assured the reading of the *Citizen*. Wisconsin recommends this as an admirable missionary plan.

Mrs. John L. Pyle: "I can assure you it is our purpose in South Dakota to have as large a circulation of *The Woman Citizen* as possible."
Mrs. Emma S. Pierce: "North Dakota will do its best to raise its subscriptions to *The Woman Citizen*."

If our premium contest had started back in the summer sometime, we believe that Dr. Effie McCollum Jones of Iowa would have carried

off a whole state prize single-handed. She has sent us 119 new subscribers in the last few months. This is of course only incidental work for Dr. Jones, who has campaigned for suffrage during the past year in West Virginia, Indiana, Minnesota, Ohio and Maine, beside pursuing her usual duties as lecturer and Methodist minister. We have written to Dr. Jones asking her to tell us just how she does it and we expect to print her answer in an early issue.

Our Subscription Drive is gaining hourly in momentum. Have you felt the shock of it in your local league? How many women in your town subscribe to *The Woman Citizen*? What are you doing to increase the number? Don't lag behind. Get a head-start for the Third Premium.

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
 2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
 3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
 4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
 5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.
- And never forget that

the future success of *The Woman Citizen* depends absolutely upon the support given to it by suffragists during the year 1918, in its drive for One Hundred Thousand New Subscribers

For a Just and Permanent Peace

THE Woman's Peace Party's latest literature sets forth its "common determination to fibre our efforts upon the declared purpose of the leading statesmen of the world so to end this war that it shall insure a just and permanent peace." At its two previous annual meetings the Peace Party was able to send greetings to the members of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace as citizens of a neutral nation. At its third and last meeting: "Now, with the entrance of our country into the world war, we, as loyal citizens of a belligerent nation, are less able to serve that International Committee and to be in friendly communication with all its members.

"We are not, however, released from the obligations of international comity and we are still sympathetic to all the efforts making throughout the world toward the substitution of law for war in the adjustment of human relationship. We have always been devoted to the higher interests of our national life and are today pledged, both as individuals and as an organization, to such national service as may help toward the establishment of world-wide democracy as a condition of permanent peace. Our special part in the agitation and propaganda of this hour of trial is the cultivation of even-handed justice, largeness of vision and breadth of sympathy which may even now, while the battle rages, weave threads of a better social fabric yet to be."

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

627 West 136th Street
New York City

has six new lectures upon subjects connected with the war, which she will give either separately or as a series. Send to her for circular with particulars.

Mrs. Gilman expects to speak for the Boston E. S. A. about February 24, and could make other engagements for that week in the neighborhood of Boston or en route.

International Woman Suffrage News

(*Jus Suffragii*)

The Only Paper That Prints the
Suffrage News of the World

The latest number contains

A Special World Survey of Suffrage Triumphs and Prospects.

The First True and Only Authentic Story of How Russian Women Got the Vote, written by Actual Leaders in this Wonder Drama.

Will Women Suffrage Really Triumph in the Dual Now Being Fought in the British Parliament? And other important features.

The International Woman Suffrage News
Published in London

Monthly official organ of the INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE
(Carrie Chapman Catt, President)

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New York Office, 171 Madison Avenue



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Time Savers

Just now when dietitians and nurses have more duties than ever before, minutes count. Such helps in the kitchen, dining room, hospital ward or sick room as save minutes are surely worth accepting.

You may rely upon Jell-O as being one of these.

No cooking, no adding of sugar or other material, but everything ready for the finishing touch which is given in a minute.

Minutes Count

Not only do minutes count, but time spent in unnecessary "fussing" is worse than wasted, for it is attended with a desire to say bad words or kick something. When you have figured it out that time is saved by using the ready-made Jell-O for desserts and salads instead of "puttering" with different materials in attempts to get the same result, you will not need to be told that you save money too.

Cost Savers

For Jell-O costs only 10 cents a package, and that includes sugar and *everything*.

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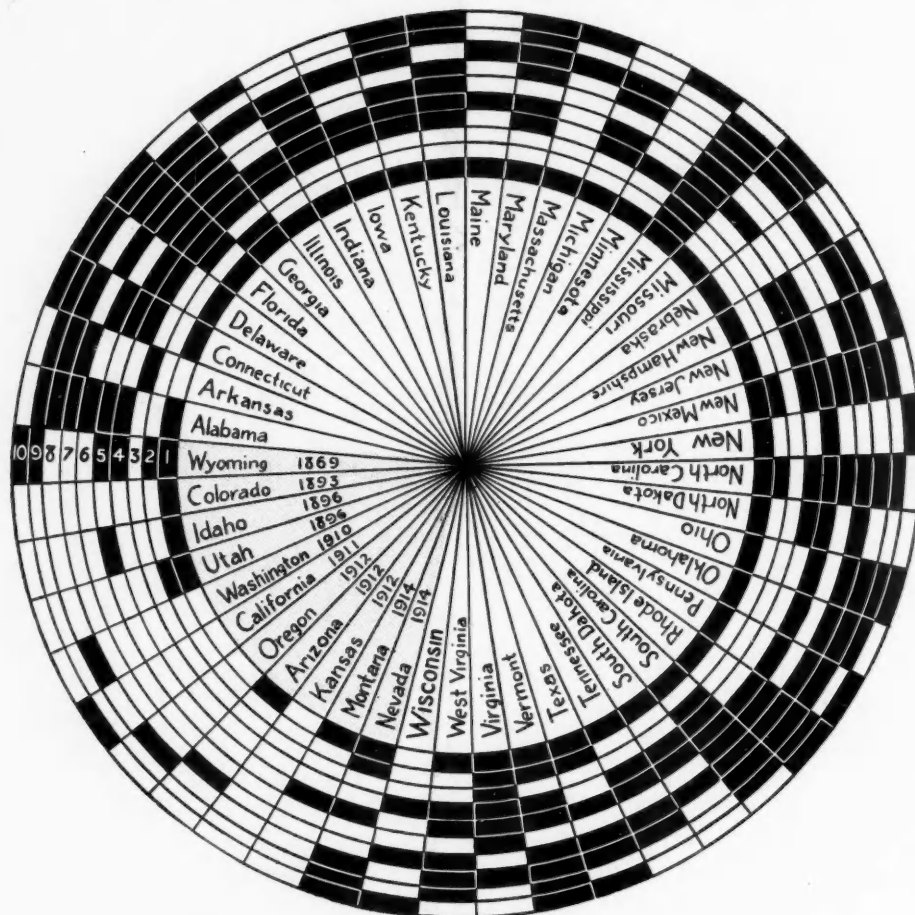
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2 Child Labor—14 year limit. Guarded exemptions during vacations are allowed and poverty exemptions when these are neutralized by Mothers' Pensions laws

Circle 3 Compulsory education—State wide

4 Eight or nine hour day for women
5 Minimum wage
6 Mothers' pensions
7 Equal guardianship
8 Age of consent, 18 years—chaste or unchaste
9 Red light abatement
10 Prohibition

Note: Neither Illinois nor any of the Victory States of 1917 are included as full suffrage states in chart analysis

THE WOMAN CITIZEN
WOMAN'S NATIONAL POLITICAL WEEKLY
171 Madison Avenue New York City

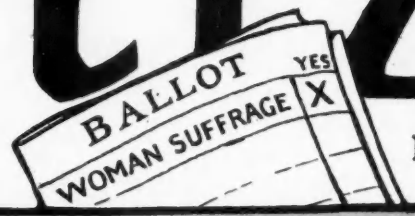
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February 9, 1918

FEB 16

THE **W**oman **C**itizen

THE WOMAN'S

FOUNDED 1870



PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS

By Commissioner Whitney

THE WOMEN AND THE SENATE

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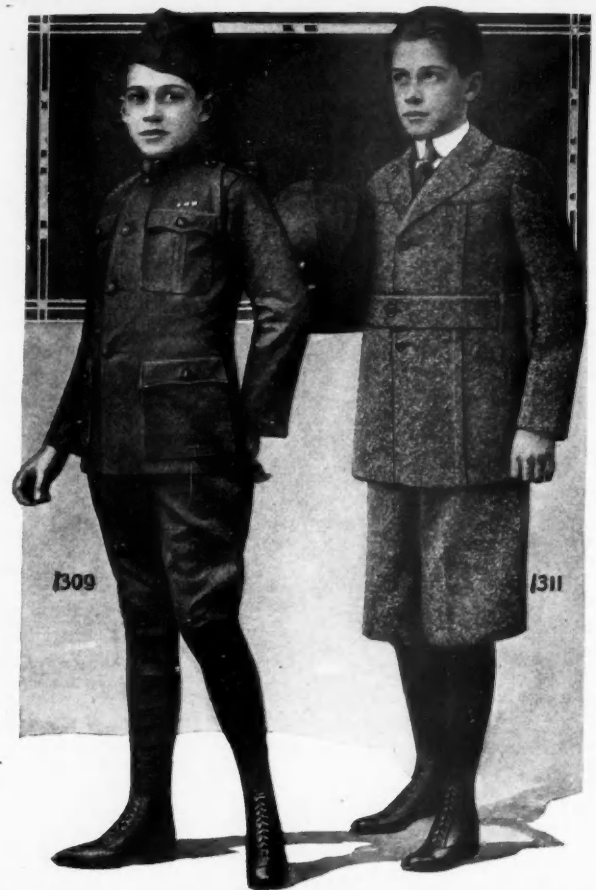
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It is a hat admirably designed for serviceable wear and comes in such smart combinations as navy with sand, brown with sand as well as all brown and all navy.

A Magazine Depends Upon Its Circulation For Its Life

If for any reason it is in your thought to let your subscription to the WOMAN CITIZEN lapse, reconsider and decide to renew it for another year. The price is small, much less than the actual cost of manufacture. If the dollar charged for it is more than you wish to spend at this time get two friends to subscribe to the magazine for a year and send us your check for \$2.60 thereby securing your renewal for sixty cents

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION HAS A DISTINCT VALUE

Do not persuade yourself that one subscription less will make no difference for it will. It is our purpose to publish a Woman's National Political Weekly that will be a power in print. You cannot afford to make this magazine one of your economies. You must know the truth about your status as a citizen

The WOMAN CITIZEN will give you this

RENEW - RENEW - RENEW



THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief, Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

The office of publication is at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. The business manager is Florence E. Bate.

The price of *The Woman Citizen* is five cents a copy (\$1.00) for one year. Postage to foreign countries fifty cents extra.

Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class matter, under the act of March 3, 1879.

The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue, New York

February 9, 1918

Vol. II (New style) No. 11

Copyright, 1917, by
THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the
WOMAN'S JOURNAL
Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE and HENRY B.
BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the
WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910
By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
OF NEW YORK CITY

and the
**NATIONAL
SUFFRAGE NEWS**

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, *The Woman Citizen* becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confering upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays 136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.

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 DIRECTOR, CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
 DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
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JANUARY 23, 1918



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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

February 9, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Catching Up with Our Pioneers

THE next number of the *Woman Citizen* will commemorate the 98th birthday of Susan B. Anthony. Dr. Shaw, it will be recalled, is a straight suffrage valentine, her birthday falling on February 14. Miss Anthony is a near suffrage valentine, her birthday falling on February 15. The *Woman Citizen's* next issue falls on February 16, and will be off the press on the 14th, so that it may very well be the medium of a double valentine message in honor of these two inimitable leaders of the suffrage cause.

Perhaps one of the truest revelations in suffrage work is the revelation that when we think we are looking back at our pioneers, invariably we find that we are looking forward. They and their influence have moved around in front of us and what we thought was a memory has become a beacon.

Can we overtake them?

Only when we shall have overtaken complete victory.

For the Benefit of a Teacher in Civics

THOSE of us who eat, sleep and drink the Federal Suffrage Amendment are fain to suppose that everybody else is as familiar with its place on the political map as we are forced to be. Comes a subscriber this week with this query:

"If Congress passes the amendment, does that grant suffrage to the states that voted against it?"

"Thanking you in advance if you will give this point space for a brief explanation—as I have asked several men, and one was a teacher in civics! None seemed to know just where such states stood on the question. Of course, we all know there are many suffrage parties in the southern states that voted solidly Nay—but just the position of these women, politically, is yet a puzzle to me."

Shut your eyes, some of you, while we tell it all over again for the benefit of that teacher in civics.

There is a resolution before the Senate of the United States proposing an amendment to the constitution of the United States. That amendment sets forth that the right of United States citizens to vote shall not be denied on account of sex. It has passed the Lower House. It must now pass the Senate—and it's going to. When that happens, that will not mean that nation-wide woman suffrage has been granted. That will mean only that the amend-

ment is ready to pass on to the Legislatures of the forty-eight states to be ratified. Not until the Legislatures of thirty-six, three-fourths, of the states ratify will nation-wide suffrage be a fact, and American women be given the same protection in their voting rights that American men are given. It is an outrage that the constitution of the United States has been so interpreted as to impose this dire task upon one-half of the people while insuring to the other half a full and free national protection in their suffrage rights.

An outrage, but the lugubrious truth!

A Recipe for Recipes

FROM the SECOURS AMERICAINE 14, Rue Gaudissart, Amiens (Somme), France, we received the other day a request that we thank warmly the kind friend who "so thoughtfully sees that the *Woman Citizen* is sent to me." We do not ourselves know who the kind friend is, but if she reads this she will understand that we would thank her if we did know. The note of appreciation of the *Woman Citizen* was very particular to include "the recipes—although they would be even more welcome if only we could have corn meal over here."

FROM Yonkers, New York, we received, also the other day, a belligerently humorous plea to "have just ONE paper representing women's interest both political and civic, and have it absolutely free from omnipresent recipe."

The two correspondents do not stand alone. Some want recipes. Some want none. Isn't there a common ground? Never was the line of connection between cupboard and civics so direct. Never were politics and parsnips so intimately allied. Many women's interest is following the primrose trail from kitchen to capital with a new alertness. And the Government itself is following the trail back to the kitchen with a new valuation of the woman herself.

WHAT with the Food Administration and the Fuel Administration, you can't in these heatless, meatless, sweetless days see politics and civics very sharply dissociated from butter and eggs and the coal for the cook stove. Our idea has come to be that recipes are part of the Government's Food Conservation program at this juncture, and so part of politics and of civics.

Joyfully Corrected

MRS. MINNIE FISHER CUNNINGHAM, president of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, not only won't be revered by "Mr. Bailey of Texas," but she won't admit that Mr. Bailey is of Texas. In a letter to the *Woman Citizen*, dated January 29, Mrs. Cunningham seems to keep a perfectly straight face while she "respectfully protests" against our editorial head- in the *Woman Citizen* of January 12, "Being Reverenced by Mr. Bailey of Texas."

"It is the 'of Texas' part to which I object; why 'of Texas'? Wasn't he born in Mississippi? Did he not go astray in New York? And does he not reside in Washington? When in Washington last month I beguiled an idle hour, when too tired and footsore to see another congressman for the Federal Amendment, by going sight-seeing in one of the autos popularly styled 'rubber-neck wagons,' and one of the sights pointed out by the 'barker' was Mr. Bailey's home. I have spoken in Texas on suffrage, and lately on the Liberty Loan, from one end of the state to the other, but never has any spot in Texas been pointed out to me as Mr. Bailey's home! Will you please make the correction?"

"All the other things you say in this splendid editorial we agree with and especially we say 'Amen' when you say 'And having a vote you thanked God for it as a measure of protection from such reverence.' We hope that the women of Texas will soon have equal cause to thank God, but in the meantime, we thank Him, who fights ever on the side of justice and righteousness, that He gives us strength to repudiate and disown as a true son of our great state, a true brother to our splendid Texas men, that 'model statesman,'* Joseph Weldon Bailey."

*"If you look up the word *model*, you will find that it means a small imitation of the real thing!"

Two Standards of Patriotism

THE opponents of equal rights have always two standards of ethics, one for themselves and quite a different one for the suffragists. They have just given a fresh and laughable illustration of this habit of mind.

Only lately they were denouncing the suffragists for making a campaign in war time. Whatever the intrinsic merits or demerits of the suffrage question might be, they insisted that it was unpatriotic for women to try during war time to change the status quo. But that was only while the status quo suited them. Now the status quo in New York permits women to vote; and forthwith a little group of antis announce that they are going to undertake a campaign to change it. Not a word now about the wickedness of diverting women's energies from war work!

Of course, they have not the least chance of being able to repeal equal suffrage in New York, and probably most of them know it. The announcement is just a bit of camouflage, to throw dust in the eyes of the simple, and to break (if anything can) the overwhelming force of the New York suffrage victory upon public opinion.

When it was announced in 1912 that a group of opponents had started an initiative petition for the repeal of equal suffrage in California, anti-suffragists here at the East boasted almost as

loudly as if suffrage had been already repealed. In California then, as now in New York, it was declared that 80 per cent of the women were opposed, and that the women themselves were going to repeal it. In the printed circulars, which the California anti-suffragists sent through the state (afterwards on exhibition for months at the *Woman's Journal* office), they said:

"A majority of the men and a majority of the women are opposed to woman suffrage. If this be true it will surely be repealed."

Of the initiative petitions for repeal, they said:

"The expenses so far for printing, obtaining signatures, etc., amount to more than \$1,500. They have been paid entirely by the voluntary subscription of the members. We now think the burden should be distributed a little. If you are opposed to woman suffrage, we hope you will aid us to remove it forever from this state. Any subscription you see fit to make will be gratefully received and promptly acknowledged. Please make your check payable to treasurer Woman's Initiative League."

The College Equal Suffrage League of California informed us that the promoters of this attempt at repeal paid the circulators of the petition five cents apiece for signatures. There were in California about 1,500,000 men and women of voting age, and both men and women were eligible to sign; yet they failed to get the meager 32,000 signatures needed to resubmit the question.

Such of the opponents as are really hopeful of accomplishing anything by their repeal move in New York should take a lesson from the outcome in California. Meanwhile, by making the attempt they have shown the utter hollowness of their professed belief that in war time women should devote their whole energies to war work. If they really thought so, they would put off their campaign for repeal until after the war. The status quo is sacred to them only when it is their kind of status quo—as the German government wants peace, but only provided it is a German peace.

A. S. B.

Respectfully Submitted to the "Boneheads"

THE *Woman Citizen* is in receipt of a letter from one of its readers that makes as worthy a contribution to suffrage propaganda as has been presented in a long time. Coming as it does fairly out of the heart of private experience, it puts theory to the blush. Here is a woman who wants to vote because it has been borne in upon her that it takes mother as well as father to make a slate, just as it takes father as well as mother to make a home. The letter follows exactly as written:

"DEAR EDITRESS!

"It seems the Bill which will give Women the Vote will pass and I am gladly sending in my small dues.

"Wonder if it would turn the opinion of some of those boneheads who are blocking the way for progress if they would listen to the story of a every day life.—Here is my own plain story, it is like a great many other wimmen's.

"My half grown children and myself had to go working every day, while my husband was in the saloon drinking and drinking. He is reformed now after all, works, steady, but that time we had h—— on earth. He generally came home in the middle of the night cursing and swearing terrorising everyone. I was aw-

ful uneasy then, to think that he was leading other men astray. I thought we were backing him up in his evil ways, without us he would have to work.—I was a coward then, backward and dull. I went and wrote the german newspaper (you see I am german but since they went to war—I almost hate everything thats german) asked them please to write an article and advise people to practice temperance or prohibition but they only jeered and laughed at me, they thought I was a joke. So it was my conscience which drove me to your work. Later I found out that Woman could bring on much more reform beside temperance. When my oldest son went astray my heart nearly broke, and I came to realis we have the great responsibility without the right authority.

"A mother can not come up for the shortcoming of a father, the evil influence of the saloon degrades the whole family. My daughters were always good, but a boy needs the firm hand and kindly protection of a good father, and thats why so many young boys go astray in this country. It is the evil influence of the saloon, which prevents a father to take the right interest in his family. My son has since diet, and it was just a relieve to us. Is there a mother who would not rather have her child death in grave where he is save, than have him prison? but why should we long for our childrens death. We will strive with all our might to bring on reform so they may lead a good, clean blessed life.

"Hope not to bore anyone with this writing, it may help to change some ones opinion, it is like the life of many other people."

Senator Wadsworth's Choice

THE senior Senator from New York must support the Suffrage Amendment in the Senate or surrender his seat. There is no other choice for him. He cannot vote against the amendment and keep his seat in the Senate.

At the last election the men voters of New York gave a majority of nearly 100,000 for woman suffrage. At least 90 per cent of the women of New York are for suffrage. The sentiment of the electorate of New York—men and women—is for suffrage. The Suffrage Amendment to the constitution, passed by the House, is now in the Senate for action. Support of the Amendment, and the principles for which it stands, was adopted as a Republican policy by the House caucus by an overwhelming vote. President Wilson, speaking not only for the Democratic party, but for the country, declared himself for the national enfranchisement of women by means of the Federal Amendment.

Mr. Wadsworth was sent to the Senate by the people of New York as their spokesman. If he works or votes against the Amendment he will be working or voting against the wishes and convictions of the great majority of his constituents. He will be misrepresenting the voters who sent him to Washington as their spokesman. He will be misrepresenting his party. He will be going counter to the sentiment of the American people as expressed by the President.

If Mr. Wadsworth should explain his opposition to suffrage on the ground of principle he would definitely declare himself as opposed in principle to the views of the majority of his constituents. In that case he would have no choice but to resign his seat.

The senior Senator must vote for the Suffrage Amendment or retire from the Senate. There is no alternative course for him.

—New York Evening Mail, Jan. 28.

What Editors Say

THE extension of suffrage to women throughout the nation upon equal terms with men—which is nearly at hand—will be the crowning glory of American political achievement since the republic was founded.—*The Georgian*, Atlanta, Ga.

WOMAN suffrage is coming, even the most conservative economists recognize that. It has been evident for some years, we can see it now as inevitable. * * * National recognition of it may not come this year or next, but it is surely coming.—*The Constitution*, Atlanta, Ga., Sept., 1916.

"AS to the women," declares Stephane Lazanne, editor of the *Paris Matin*, of his *compatriotes*, "they have not been less courageous than the men. Let me give you one figure. At the beginning of the war we had 25,000 women working in our manufactories for ammunitions. Last year we had 225,000 women working in these factories, and at the moment I am speaking we have 475,000 women, nearly half a million, working in these factories."

THE *Japanese-American Commercial Weekly* tells of the first Japanese Imperial Conference of women teachers held in Tokio late last October. Its objects were (1) to improve the physique of women; (2) to improve the efficiency of teachers; (3) to reduce working hours and to improve the pay of married teachers. The recognition of married women teachers in the far east is especially interesting in view of our backwardness in the matter. Between 1890 and 1914 the number of women teachers in Japan increased from 3,738 to no less than 44,648, though hours, wages and opportunities for training are bad.

THE *American Issue* characterizes the states rights argument against the Federal Amendment as "camouflage." In the debate on the Prohibition Amendment Caraway of Arkansas offered to prove that there was not a consistent states rights man in the House. "There is not a man here," said he, "who will not swap his position on that question any time the question at issue is one that he either approves or disapproves." He then proceeded to read from the *Congressional Record* and proved that one congressman after another had voted for or against federal amendments or federal legislation which affected the states just in accordance as he was for or against the subject matter of the federal legislation.

AS against the Metropolitan Street Railways Company of New York and the Lehigh Valley Railroad, where equal pay does actually prevail in the men's positions now occupied by women, the American Federation of Labor *Newsletter* states that street railway workers in Kansas City and elevator men in Omaha are being discharged in favor of women, not because there is a shortage of men, but because the women are cheaper, in some cases to the extent of ten to fifteen dollars a month.

Anything more fundamentally wrong than the undercutting of men's wages by women—wrong for the men, wrong for women, wrong for society—it would be hard to conceive. It is the thing of all things about which there must be clear thinking and collective and uncompromising action by both men and women.

Suffrage in the Senate

MR. CATT, who spent a few days of this week in New York, brought up the good word from Washington that success will shortly crown the efforts of the National Suffrage Association to have the amendment put through the Senate and sent on its way to the states in time to secure ratification by those Legislatures that are in session this winter. There are ten such legislatures including New York, whose state Senate has just adopted a resolution asking Senator Wadsworth and Senator Calder to vote for the suffrage amendment.

The North Dakota Legislature has adopted a similar resolution, asking the North Dakota senators also to support the suffrage measure.

SENATOR GRONNA, of North Dakota, last week presented a resolution to the United States Senate from the Tri-State Grain and Stock Growers' Association, which gave its unanimous endorsement to the Federal Suffrage Amendment and urged its immediate passage, while in convention at Fargo, North Dakota.

The resolution read:

"Recognizing in this great crisis as never before the important service women have rendered the Government, we earnestly request and recommend the passage of the Federal Amendment for woman suffrage."

The North Dakota Implement Dealers in their annual convention last month passed a similar resolution and forwarded it to the North Dakota senators and the Senate Suffrage Committee.

THE members of the Supreme Court of Colorado in a telegram addressed to Senator John F. Shafroth have again made it clear that Colorado believes in suffrage for women. The message, dated January 21, on motion of the Senator was read into the Congressional Record. The endorsement of suffrage from Colorado's highest legal body reads:

"If there is in the minds of any senators a doubt as to the feeling in Colorado for woman suffrage, we urge that you inform them that the people of Colorado, after 24 years' experience, are more strongly in favor of it than ever before.

(Signed)

WILLIAM A. HILL,
JAMES H. TELLER,
S. H. WHITE,
TULLY SCOTT,
JAMES E. GARRIGUES,
MORTON S. BAILEY,
GEORGE W. ALLEN."

Supplementing the telegram with the statement that the judges signing had lived in the state during the full period of the operation of the woman suffrage law, Senator Shafroth told the Senate: "There never has been even a bill introduced into the general assembly of Colorado for the resubmission of the question of woman suffrage; there never has been even a petition presented to either the senate or the house of representatives of that state to resubmit the question." These are the best indications that the people of Colorado are thoroughly sat-

isfied with the operation and effect of equal suffrage.

THE Democratic State Central Committee of Indiana unanimously endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment, "as an act of justice to the women of the United States," at its meeting held in January at Indianapolis, and urged its passage at this session of Congress. The Indiana members in Congress were forwarded copies of the following resolution:

"While it is no part of the duties of this organization to make the issues for the democratic party and we do not assume to do so, yet we feel the justice of equal suffrage; therefore, Be it resolved, that we, the democratic state central committee of Indiana, endorse the Federal Amendment for women's suffrage, because we consider it an act of justice to the women of the United States of America, and we urge its adoption by this session of Congress, and consider this the quickest way of placing woman suffrage before the states for ratification."

Mrs. Isaac Borne and Miss Julia Sanders,



FIRST STEPPING STONE

representing the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana, addressed the committee during the adoption of a resolution favoring equal suffrage as a party measure.

"THE Senate will unquestionably sustain the vote in the House. Ohio must ratify and Cleveland, as the metropolis of the state, must lead the way," said Mrs. Roger G. Perkins in her address at the third annual convention of the Woman Suffrage Party of Greater Cleveland, in January. Following so closely upon the victory in the House, the Cleveland convention resolved itself into a victory celebration, with the address of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt at the mass meeting as the climax of the sessions. Bishop Charles B. Williams, who has recently returned from service under the Red Cross in France, was also a speaker at the mass meeting, speaking on "Woman's Service in War Time." Madame Rachel Frease Green, formerly of the Paris and Boston Opera companies, was the soloist of the evening.

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Southern Sentiment Changing

"IT is not going to surprise anybody when the United States Senate passes the Federal Suffrage Amendment," says Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, "but there will be a surprise for some if any of the states of the solid South should be among the first to ratify. Yet that very thing may happen. Nobody who is not in touch with the new thought in the South can adequately realize the change of sentiment that Southerners are undergoing with regard to federal suffrage."

POINTING what Mrs. Catt has to say comes a statement from George Foster Peabody, prominent publicist, and Southerner by birth and education. In tendering his congratulations to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, "upon the splendid success which has crowned its efforts to secure the necessary two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment," Mr. Peabody expresses his confidence that at an early date the necessary two-thirds vote of the Senate will be obtained.

MR. PEABODY'S statement follows in full:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

May I express my congratulations to the National Woman Suffrage Association, upon the splendid success which has crowned its effort to secure the necessary two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and I venture now to express my hope and confidence that at an early date the necessary two-thirds vote of the Senate of the United States may be obtained.

I have felt, prior to the success of the campaign in New York State, that the Federal Amendment was of secondary importance, because of the temper of our American people, which was too likely to develop a strong sectional feeling, which would lead to division, until a large body of sentiment was developed in the eastern part of the country, pledged to back up a real democracy, which will be only achieved when women as well as men can vote. The state of New York is the throbbing center of the whole United States and the city of New York is the great social solvent, and this is especially true with reference to the people of the South, whose commerce so largely centers here. I am therefore now most earnest in my advocacy of the early adoption of the Federal Amendment, and particularly so because, of all the women of the country, there are no more earnest, truly democratic leaders than are found in the South, and in the great world fight now upon us, we need their help in the right solution of the great problems before the nation. We should not now have to waste the time and energy to secure by state vote what in my judgment is the natural right of every woman—a due share in the shaping of the Government, which must be made the best possible for her own development and for the proper birth and training of the children she bears at so great a cost.

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY.

New York, January 29, 1918.

With the Wadsworthians at Washington

ONE of the richest contributions to the cause of suffrage was supplied at the hearings before the House Suffrage Committee by the anti-suffragist, Mr. J. S. Eichelberger, who was introduced as the head of the Wadsworthian publicity bureau, and whose assigned task was to demonstrate that Socialists, pacifist and pro-German votes carried the New York election.

MISS RANKIN: "Whom do you refer to when you say 'we?'"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "The anti-suffragists. When I say 'we' I mean the voters who voted no. We find on this chart that in three of these five boroughs the Socialist gain and the suffragist gain is practically synonymous. For instance, in Manhattan the Socialist gain was 38,787 and the suffrage gain 39,204. In Brooklyn the suffrage gain was 41,000 and the Socialist gain 37,000; in The Bronx the Socialist gain was 23,000 and the suffrage gain 18,000; in Queens the suffrage gain was 12,520 and the Socialist gain 10,580, and in Richmond the suffrage gain was 1,728 and the Socialist gain was 1,235.

MR. BLANTON: "What about the fourteenth district?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "I would have to get another chart because I have not that offhand. I have other charts showing the thing running by assembly districts and I will leave those with the committee, if I may."

MR. BLANTON: "We would like to have the fourteenth and twelfth districts."

MR. EICHELBERGER: "I do not claim, of course, that this thing necessarily continues in every district."

MR. BLANTON: "The twelfth and fourteenth districts are known as the Socialistic assembly districts, are they not?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "Yes; but in those districts the Socialists received their normal vote, because it would be in those districts that the vote would be about the same."

MR. BLANTON: "Can you give the votes cast in those two districts?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "I have here charts which show the votes. Can the members of the committee see this line which runs here?"

MR. LITTLE: "Can you point out with your finger the twelfth and fourteenth districts?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "We find a difference between the suffrage majority and the Socialist vote of 600, I think, in the fourteenth district."

MR. LITTLE: "Which received the greater number of votes?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "The suffragists received the greater number of votes; the suffragists had more votes in the fourteenth district; that is, they had a larger majority."

MR. MAYES: "How about the twelfth district?"

"Well—er—"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "In the twelfth district the Socialist vote was relatively low and the suffragists vote was a little bit—well, the Socialist vote—"

MR. BLANTON: "Just give us the figures."

A Mathematical Demonstration

Who Laughed?

MR. EICHELBERGER: "I have not the figures on these charts. I would have to figure it out, you see, because these charts are drawn to scale. There is a lady laughing over there who probably has never had much to do with map making."

MR. BLANTON: "You have brought us the figures as to certain other precincts, and I would like to know why you did not bring us the figures for the twelfth and fourteenth districts?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "I did not bring the figures for any districts."

MR. CLARK: "You know, Brooklyn contains a number of districts, and he did not bring the



IT SHALL NOT RING

figures for all of the districts, but he says he will do so."

THE CHAIRMAN: "You have a tabulated statement there?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "Yes; and I have charts."

THE CHAIRMAN: "You may insert the tabulated statement in the record."

MR. EICHELBERGER: "All right. Now, I want to show you another demonstration here. As Morris Hillquit said, several days after election, 'Now that we have the election figures the question is no longer a matter of theory but a mathematical demonstration that the Socialists did it, that the Socialists put over woman's suffrage on New York.' And I will show you what a change of 30 votes would do out of a total vote of 230. Here we have a district showing 130 Republicans, 90 Democrats, and 10 Socialists in 1915. In 1915, 50 of those Republicans voted for suffrage and 80 voted against it, 40 Democrats voted 'yes' and 50 'no,' and 10 Socialists voted for suffrage. I do not think there is a suffragist here who will dispute the fact that every Socialist is for woman's suffrage, because they have carried that on their signs in all suffrage

parades except the last two or three. There we had 100 votes 'yes' and 130 votes 'no.' In 1917 the suffragists still have their 50 Republican votes, they still have their 40 Democratic votes, but 15 of the Republicans who voted against suffrage two years ago have been converted to pacifism, 15 of the Democrats have been converted to pacifism and have voted for suffrage and also for socialism. Consequently, we now have the suffragists carrying that district by 30 votes."

MR. BLANTON: "What precinct is that?"

Putting It Over

MR. EICHELBERGER: "This is not an absolute precinct; this is merely a mathematical demonstration of how this thing can be put over."

MR. BLANTON: "You mentioned it to us as being a district."

MR. EICHELBERGER: "I did not give it to you as being from some particular district."

MR. BLANTON: "What is it? Is it just a compilation of figures that you have gotten up?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "It is a mathematical demonstration of how 30 Socialists or how 30 pacifists in an assembly district can compel that assembly district to change its vote on woman's suffrage."

MR. BLANTON: "Then you have the vote for 1915 and 1917, and I would like to know whether those figures represent an actual precinct in New York? Do these figures represent the votes cast in New York in the years 1915 and 1917, as shown on that chart?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "These are not actual figures; no. I have just used these figures because they were convenient."

MR. CLARK: "Where did you get these figures?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "I use these figures—"

MR. CLARK: "Why do you use those figures?"

Convenient

MR. EICHELBERGER: "These figures are used instead of some other figures because they are more convenient."

MR. CLARK: "Were these votes actually cast?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "These represent proportionately. This is a mathematical demonstration."

MR. BLANTON: "I object to that going in the record."

MR. LITTLE: "Is that a proportional representation of the vote itself you have?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "Yes; I think it is a fair proportion of the vote of the city."

THE CHAIRMAN: "I haven't taken any part because I don't want anybody to say that those opposed won't have full opportunity. This is nothing more or less than a compilation of figures, as a sort of idea of your own, as to show what certain votes could do or certain figures would do?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "That is the idea."

THE CHAIRMAN: "Nothing else?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "That is all."

THE CHAIRMAN: "You don't pretend that

(Continued on page 215)

I FOUND a young woman, a hand in an underclothing factory, busy in the public library over an illustrated book of folk art—the crafts of her foremothers, all printed in her foremother's native tongue. And I said to her, "Are you working to improve yourself in your trade, so that you can get promoted?"

"There's nothing to promote me to but forewoman," said she, "and I wouldn't be a forewoman for anything. A forewoman has to think the thoughts of the boss, and they are mean, cruel thoughts. No, I am filling my mind with pretty and honest things so that as I earn my living by making a million times one little piece of an ugly and dishonest thing I can be thinking of something that the women who went before used to make."

Who was it in the Old Testament who wanted to be excused by the true God if when he took his heathen master to the temple he bowed his body to the false?

In the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City there is an exhibition of handwork of Bohemian peasants, mainly peasant women. The exhibits are of such things as every peasant family owns, finely wrought embroideries, household linens, laces and pottery. These treasures have been lent by their American owners. Several figures are dressed in the two aprons—before and behind—the waist and bodice, and the figured ribbons of the peasant woman's costume. There are cases of wonderful caps.



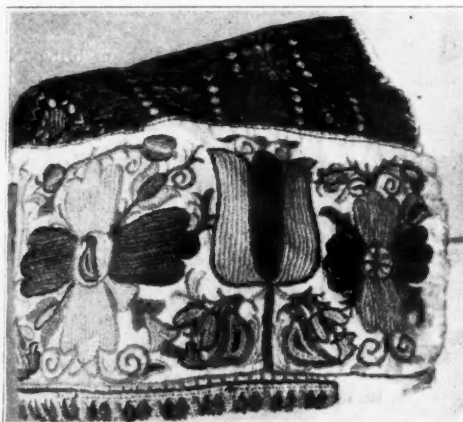
"An Embroidered Costume Worn in the Old Home"

What Shall "Made in A

By Louise Conn

MOST of the things displayed came from New York homes, but some were loaned by American collectors, chief among whom is Miss Emily Green Balch, of Wellesley.

One case shows what is happening to the people's art nowadays. There are such coarse, hastily made embroideries as are sold to travelers in the streets of Prague and Vienna by women in peasant costume; and there are bits of modern costume, trimmed indiscriminately with old and new lace, crudely matched; and there are pieces of modern American pottery painted here in New York with imitations of old Bohemian designs, but also with quite sophisticated new designs, using the old mo-



A Motif from the National Flower—the Tulip

tives. And there are the brilliant, metallic, machine-woven ribbons worn nowadays by Slovak girls.

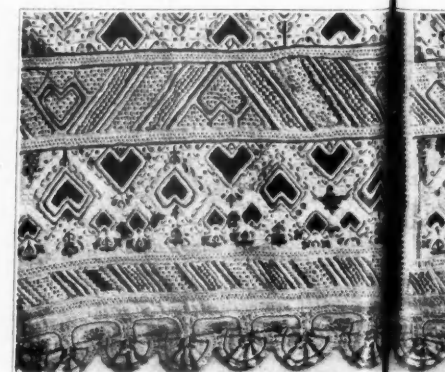
AND there are books, showing that the old people's art is reverently treated in these days by authors and artists, and even by publishers, in both the old and the new world.

A map showing whence came these people, and incidentally why their home region is the real pivot on which turns the fate of western civilization, is hung against the wall, with scenes showing Bohemian architecture and peasant life, and a portrait of Jan Huss greets the entrance.

For many generations women of the old world labored. The mother worked with the daughter, and when she became a grandmother, still she worked, reluctantly letting go of the finer sort and returning to the simple problems with which once she had begun. Children watched the labors of the older women, and learned by the joyous mimicry of play. Young girls invented new manners of work out of the light-hearted exuberance of energy to spare; maidens did fine deeds and wrote glowing poems in line and color, thus expressing the life hopes yet but half formed in their hearts; young wives put into their products the gospel of ever recurring vicarious suffering; matrons lavished their tenderness on symbols and lethed their disappointments in monotonous detail; and the old once more resigned the production of beauty for the ruggedness of the useful. Thus the cycle of labor resulted in the spiral of beauty and the long gestation of Art moved to its accomplishment.



MISS LOUISE CONN, author of *Value of Museum Education*, is in the Library of Newark, New Jersey, where she is studying the value of Bohemian peasant art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. The pictures on the cover of *The Woman Citizen* by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



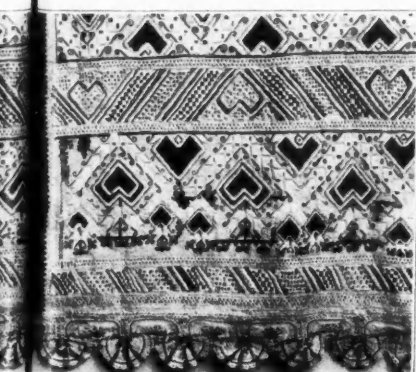
"The Stitchery the Good Put In"

in America" Stand For?

Louise



ONM author of "The Educational Museum," educational expert of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, were made expressly for the Metropolitan Museum.



Put Into Their Petticoats"

FOR in 1621, just as Freedom, though in very precise guise, landed in America to prepare a home for many motley followers, the light of Bohemian civilization was extinguished.

Everyone who had had leisure or learning was put to death or expatriated in the Battle of White Mountain, when Rome and the German Empire vanquished religious opinions and the Czech. And all Bohemian books were burned with their readers, save a few hidden in manure piles and smuggled off to England.

There was left the soil for the raising of food and the peasants for the brooding of crude peasant language and naive peasant art.



An Original Peasant Design

Hence the value of the stitchery the good wives put into their petticoats, and of the chatter with which they accompanied its making.

FOR when France had led the way by speaking the three mystic words, and America had fired the shot heard round the world, and Luther had trumpeted the song of Huss, and Germany had shown what an awakened national spirit could do for a people, then the sons and daughters of this long line of faithful working women took from their mothers' hands and lips their heritage, and the Czech-Slovak nation awoke once more with mother songs on its lips and mother craft in its finger tips. Bohemian national consciousness, Bohemian literature, Bohemian art, after two centuries of silence, saluted the new world. Prague filled her university with Czech-Slovak students; German-speaking fathers trained their children to be Czech-speaking citizens and readers of Czech-Slovak newspapers; learned treatises were published in the Slovak language, and we began to hear about the historians, the musicians, the artists, the poets, and even the philologists of Bohemia.

The territory claimed by the Czech-Slovaks as rightly belonging to the Kingdom of Bohemia is all that mountain encircled tract, lying between Germany on the north and west and Austria-Hungary on the south and east, within which a majority of the people acknowledge allegiance to the Bohemian national idea.

THE government of this Bohemia consists of a committee in Paris; the army of Bohemia consists of hundreds of thousands scattered among the Allied forces; the resources of Bohemia are either held by the Central Powers or are pouring across the Atlantic from Chicago, St. Louis, New York, and the farms of Minnesota, Nebraska, and other western states.

In New York, in a rather compact region, between Fiftieth and Ninetieth Streets, east of Fifth Avenue, are from thirty to fifty thousand Czech-Slovak people. They have shops and stores and banks; they run schools and churches and settlements and newspapers; their sons and daughters labor in factories and shops and stores and in the professions; their musicians and artists occupy orchestra seats in our theatres and stools in our editorial offices, or display their wares in our art exhibitions.

A few of these families hoard in their apartment homes or their suburban houses those things of beauty that were the treasures of their European homes—bits of pottery, hand-made and hand-decorated by the farmer who made it for daily use; embroidered costumes, lace bedecked, worn in the old home; pieces of pillow lace made by the peasant grandmother of thread spun by the winter fire from flax grown in the summer field. And as they show it to their children—cut it? never!—they tell how the home farm was so subdivided into long narrow strips that the three brothers who owned it could converse as they hoed their way across hill and hollow, each cultivating his own farm with his own hands, fat and lean lands in succession, as equitable division demanded. And they tell how when they married and went to the new home the mother and aunts for weeks

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The Hand-Made Cap of the Married Woman

Good Work in Old Virginia

LEARNING that the Hon. William Jennings Bryan was passing through Richmond on January 31 remaining over a few hours between trains, four members of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia interviewed him at the Jefferson Hotel and escorted him to the Capitol where he called to pay his respects to the retiring Governor—Henry Carter Stuart. Accompanied by Governor Stuart, Mr. Bryan appeared before a joint session of the Virginia Legislature assembled in the House of Delegates to hear him. Floor Leader R. H. Willis introduced Mr. Bryan, who spoke as follows:

“**G**OVERNOR STUART, members of the Virginia Legislature, ladies and gentlemen, this will probably be the shortest speech you will ever hear me make, as I am on my way to the train, and simply stopped by to pay my respects. I wish to congratulate Virginia upon her prompt ratification of the national prohibition amendment. Speaking in Massachusetts the other day, I said that the northern states would have to hustle to catch up with the South. The northern states said the South would not ratify that amendment on account of states rights, but I felt sure the South would abandon the shibboleth of states rights to the Brewers' Association. The next matter of national impor-

tance which will come before you for action will be the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. I trust that you will be as prompt to ratify this measure as you were to ratify the prohibition amendment. I wish you to note that the conscience of woman was for prohibition long before the business sense of man was converted to it. If we had trusted the conscience of woman we should have had prohibition long ago.

“**I**, FOR one, am not afraid to trust the conscience of woman, which is the meaning of the extension of the franchise to her. I understand that there is some discussion in the South as to the fear of the vote of the negro woman. I have met many Southern women, as I have met many Southern men, and I have no fear that the Southern white woman will not be able to hold her own against the negro woman as well as the Southern white man has been able to hold his own against the negro man. This is merely an introduction—I'll come back and finish this speech some other time.”

The suffragists who acted as Mr. Bryan's escort to the Capitol were: Mrs. John G. Munce, Miss Kate Meade and Miss Adele Clark of the Richmond League, and Mrs. John T. Lewis of the Clarksville League.

Breaking New Ground

WOMEN baggage masters have come to stay in Washington, D. C., as the result of experiments conducted with a group of twelve young women who have been holding positions in the baggage rooms of the Union station for the last six months. Each day they handle several hundred pieces of baggage, from heavy trunks to light suit cases and bags, and have done so well that they have become a permanent institution. These girls are well paid and are well cared for.

MISS JEANNETTE RANKIN, congresswoman from Montana, was honored, following the consideration of the Federal Amendment in the House of Representatives, by the presentation of a large American flag which flew from the House flagstaff during the debate. The presentation was made by Doorkeeper J. J. Sinnott.

LA FRANCAISE tells of the creation of the office of Inspectrice du Personnel in the Ministry of the War with Mile. Jane Guillemin as incumbent. The office is designed to deal with the difficulties arising from the employment of women at men's work and, in general, to preside over the welfare of women war workers.

ACCORDING to the *National Enquirer*, thirty-seven out of forty-two women who took the physical examination for positions on the sanitary police force in Cleveland were found in perfect physical condition. Only twenty-two men out of a total of seventy-two were successful in passing the same examination.

THE club women of Idaho are interesting themselves in a movement to place three women in the Legislature of that State. The State Federation of Women's Clubs feels that woman's viewpoint as well as man's viewpoint is needed in the legislative body.

“**T**HE suffrage question in my opinion has become national in scope,” wired Representative J. W. Fields of Kentucky when asked by Mrs. Samuel D. Castleman, President of the Louisville Woman Suffrage Association, to vote for the Amendment. Time was when Mr. Field had said he believed only in the state by state method, but Mrs. Castleman persevered. The day previous to the taking of the vote in the House she sent the following telegram to Mr. Fields:

“Three million dollars of the war tax comes from the wages of women, earned under hard economic conditions due to the unenfranchised state of women. We are giving our money, our services and our life blood to the Government and we ask this same Government to recognize our demand for political justice as a war measure.”

Representative Fields sent back the following:

“Heretofore, I have regarded the question of woman suffrage as local in character and, properly, subject to individual state control. Since the requirements of the nation are drawing on every home and using the patriotic impulses of American womanhood in the common cause, as never before, the question, in my opinion, has become national in scope. I shall therefore vote to submit the proposed Federal Amendment for ratification by the states.”

Pennsylvania Women's War Work

A WAR Relief Council has been created within the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, to be composed of five committees—Liberty Loan, Red Cross, Registration, Education and Child Welfare. The work of the committees corresponds to the work of the committees similarly named in the Council of National Defense.

A convention in every county, preceded by borough and township conventions, is the program for the month of February and, weather and coal conditions permitting, it will be carried out.

The Pennsylvania suffragists are pleased with the support which is being given the Federal Amendment by that state through the editorial columns of the press, and report that each day sees additions to the list of papers, standing by the women in their fight for political freedom.

First Ward of Queens Went Pro-Suffrage

IN a recent editorial in the *Woman Citizen* it was set forth that the First Ward of Queens was one of the few wards in the city that voted against the Suffrage Amendment.

Mrs. Annie E. Gray, First Assembly District leader of Queens, calls attention to the fact that the First Ward of Queens carried for suffrage by a majority of 1,344, her figures being 5,380 for and 4,036 against.

In the December 29th number of the *Woman Citizen* it was noted that the First Assembly District in Queens won by 816 votes.

Maryland's Program

ALIVE little bulletin of suffrage news made its initial bow at Baltimore, Maryland, in January. It is published as the organ of the City Committee of the Woman Suffrage League of Maryland.

The program of activities as set forth in the bulletin shows many things under way and more projected. The work for the passage of the Federal Amendment goes steadily forward and the drive for \$1,000 for the Woman's Overseas Hospital Unit is on. The Agricultural Committee is laying plans for the spring and the knitting and sewing of garments for the Red Cross is being pushed.

Maryland has set out in earnest to win in the Subscription Drive which has been launched by the *Woman Citizen*. “No suffragist can keep closely in touch with her cause, or with the activities of women in general who does not take the magazine,” says the Maryland Bulletin in spurring the women on to victory.

A Pioneer League of Mass.

THE Woman Suffrage League of Roxbury, Mass. will celebrate its thirty-second anniversary in March. At its recent session Mrs. Hattie A. Burr was elected president to succeed Mrs. Louis Prang, who had filled the office for nine years and who will now take the office of first vice-president. Other vice-presidents elected were Mrs. S. E. D. Currier, Mrs. R. F. Ford, Mrs. A. M. Lancaster, Mrs. Frank Tucker and Miss L. M. Peabody. Mrs. R. F. Oliver is secretary and treasurer and Mrs. Frances S. Mosher, Mrs. Rosa Prang Heinzen and Mrs. Edmond Prand are on the executive committee.

The Glory of the Republicans

To the Editor of the *Woman Citizen*:

A good deal of the comment on our late victory in the House indicates that suffragists believe that when the President "came out" for suffrage, both at the Suffrage Convention in 1916, and now, before the House vote, that he was doing something unique for suffrage, and also making suffrage by Federal amendment a Democratic party activity.

I do not seek to diminish the gratitude that should go to the President. I join with suffragists the world over in appreciation of his service to the cause. But I do deprecate that many suffragists are forgetting that so far as this victory is a party matter, the glory should go to the Republicans.

In a Democratic Congress, with a Democratic President sending a message the day before the vote, with a Cabinet all but one in favor of the question, with three of the Cabinet members writing and speaking in behalf of the measure publicly, there were three and one-eleventh times as many Democrats voting against the amendment as there were Republicans. Only 33 Republicans voted "No"; 102 Democrats voted "No." Five-sixths of the Republicans voting, voted yes. The Democratic vote was little more than half. To put it perhaps more graphically:

	Republicans	Democrats
Yes	165	104
No	33	102

As against the prestige and strength of a party in power, the Republican vote is the result of an unorganized and individual sentiment among the Congressmen. There was no leader within or without the House to wield any party influence, or anything in the nature of a whip. Mr. James Mann, the leader of the Republican minority in the House, though a friend of the cause, had been away, ill unto death for months. The acting leader, Mr. Gillett, of Massachusetts, was opposed to the amendment. It is true that many Republican leaders throughout the country had long been friends to the cause and had not hesitated to express their hopes for its success. But without any leadership or party direction of any kind, it was known a month before the date of the vote that three-quarters of the Republicans intended to vote for the amendment. The actual vote is more, for exactly 83½ per cent did vote for it.

Since we are on this subject, may I not point out that suffragists in referring to the President's help, often seem to forget that before Mr. Wilson came to their convention at Atlantic City in 1916, and declared himself for suffrage, Mr. Hughes had already declared for suffrage, and for the Federal amendment. Indeed, I am informed that a resolution had been introduced at the convention that the Suffrage Association pledge its support to Presidential candidates who had declared for suffrage. At that time, Mr. Wilson had taken no stand; and, as it was well known that Mr. Hughes had taken such a stand with great vigor, there was opposition to the resolution from some Democratic women in the suffrage organization. It was after this incident that Mr. Wilson came to Atlantic City, and declared for suffrage, though not for the Federal amendment. Mr. Wilson was elected Presi-

dent. As occupant of that high place, his friendliness to suffrage has undoubtedly been of great value. But if Mr. Hughes had been elected, there would have been in the White House a man not only pledged to suffrage by way of the Federal amendment, but also, as shown by the House vote, with his party behind him.

This is not to say that we should not thank the 104 Democrats in the House who voted for the Woman Suffrage Federal Amendment; nor that I do not appreciate the President's help. But it is a plea to remember the 165 Republicans who made it possible even to think of passing the amendment in the present Congress. It is, in short, a plea for fair play.

ROSALIE LOEW WHITNEY.

Brooklyn, February 4, 1918.

Humanizes Government

EDWARD LAIRD MILLS, of the board of Home Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, says:

"My work requires me to travel extensively over the eleven Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast states and I do not know of any state which has given the suffrage to women in which there is the slightest chance of returning to the old regime. The doctrinaire arguments against suffrage so much used in the conservative East afford only amusement out here where suffrage has actually been tried. In brief, woman suffrage has humanized government."

For Social Betterment

THE Plymouth Council of Sociology of Des Moines, Iowa, unanimously voted in favor of petition to Congress in behalf of the Equal Suffrage Amendment.

Change in the Times

By ROSALIE JONAS

*IN China, Russia, British Isles,
The Suffragists are wreathed in smiles
Because their freedom seems so near,
And there are symptoms even here
That give us cheer.*

*Very like "snows of yesterday,"
The frozen Antis melt away.
E'en Uncles R. and double U.—
Whose backs are always toward the view
Of pastures new—*

*Now turn and whisper, "Girls, please note
How your wise sisters won the Vote?"
They laid Unreasoning Force aside,
And Militancy, Sex, and Pride,
And softly hied*

*To where the gentle Bomb is made;
And garbed as "Tommy," learnt his trade
(Some say with even greater skill)
Of how to mutilate and kill
What Nature still—*

*O wanton Nature! yet again
Would have them bear with risk and pain.
And that which "Tommy" used to Hoot
When clad in trouser-leg or boot,
He now calls "Cute!"*

*And Anti, as aged Vivandière,
Would "hand us dope," to make quite clear,
'Twixt Militant and Militree,
And Tweedledum and Tweedledee,
The difference—See?*

At the Suffrage House in Washington

SOCIAL activities at national headquarters in Washington included this week a tea on Wednesday afternoon (February 6) in honor of Mrs. James R. Mann, wife of the Minority Leader of the House. Mrs. Theodore W. Noyes, of Washington, was the hostess, assisted by Mrs. Carl Vrooman, Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, Mrs. Hugh Wallace, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Mrs. Cordelia Powell Odenheimer, Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, Mrs. Gilbert Grosvenor, Mrs. J. Norment Powell, Mrs. Le Baron Colt, Mrs. William C. Gorgas, Mrs. Harriet Blaine Beale and Mrs. Victor Murdock.

At the tea table were Mrs. Joseph E. Ransdell, of Louisiana; Mrs. Thomas P. Gore, of Oklahoma; Mrs. William F. Kirby, of Arkansas; Mrs. Joseph I. France, of Maryland; Mrs. Howard Sutherland, of West Virginia; Mrs. William H. King, of Utah, and Mrs. Allen W. Barkley, of Kentucky.

Tennessee Suffragist Honored

NO confidence was ever more deserved or better placed than that which was shown by the Tennessee Commission for the Blind in unanimously electing Miss Sue S. White of Jackson, executive secretary of the commission. Upon her falls the chief responsibility of establishing this new department of social service undertaken by the state, and the suffragists of Tennessee who know and appreciate the unselfish and devoted spirit and the executive ability of "Sue White," as she is familiarly called by her many friends throughout the state, say that a better choice could not have been made. She goes into the work in the spirit of service, sacrificing a splendid court reporting practice and the prospects offered by studious application and preparation for the legal profession. Her action in thus breaking away and entering a new field is not difficult to understand by those who know her. It is her patriotism that actuates her, for, aside from the present needs for such work, she sees in the future, as the war progresses, a greater need and a greater responsibility to care for the blind and will do her part in preparing adequate agencies to meet those demands. Her activities will be state wide, and the influence of her fine personality will be felt in every county, as she seeks to arouse the public to its responsibility to help the blind to become independent, self-supporting members of society. Her powers as an organizer are already recognized. As State Chairman of Registration of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense she was in charge of registration day on October 13th, when the results surpassed all expectations, fully 75,000 having presented themselves for registration.

Suffrage and Democracy

"THIS is a war of and for democracy. There can be no democracy which is not democratic. It is not democratic to deny the suffrage to half the people of the country—a half which pays its bills and upholds its due share of the burdens of the Republic. Congress must do the square thing, for these are days of square dealing with the people."
(Boston, Mass., Record.)

The Vote and the Voter

Public Service Commissions

By Travis H. Whitney, Public Service Commissioner, New York

IN all of the states of the Union, except Delaware, there are now state commissions with power to regulate one or more classes of public service corporations, in addition to the Interstate Commerce Commission which has special jurisdiction over interstate matters relative to railroads. This result has been a gradual growth.

Originally, Legislatures and other public authorities were ready and anxious to grant charters to railroads to secure the development of the country. Gradually, as abuses arose, conditions were placed in the new charters. As railroads extended and other corporations came into the field rendering other public services, the need for laws fixing rates, prescribing the kind of service, prohibiting discrimination among passengers and customers became important. Accordingly, commissions were created in several of the states. Gradually it came to be realized that more and more power should be given to these commissions in order that they might the more adequately perform their duties.

THE movement for commissions received a great impetus in 1906 and 1907 with the investigation and recommendations of Governor Hughes. In that year both New York and Wisconsin passed laws providing for greatly increased powers to the state regulatory bodies, New York and Wisconsin were followed by other states. Without going further into the development of commission regulation an outline of the general jurisdiction and functions of regulation in New York will be illustrative.

New York is divided into two districts, the First District, the counties comprising the city of New York; the Second District, the other counties in the state. There is a commission of five members for each. These commissions have jurisdiction over railroads and street railroads, gas and electric companies, steam companies and several other classes of minor transportation companies. In addition the Public Service Commission for the Second District has jurisdiction over telephone and telegraph companies throughout the state and the Commission for the First District succeeded to the duties of the old Rapid Transit Commission and has broad power to lay out, construct and provide for the operation of additional rapid transit lines.

THE commissions are charged with the duty of keeping informed with respect to the condition, finances, service and other conditions that go to make up the relationship of such public service corporations to the public. They may hold investigations and may require the attendance of witnesses.

The corporations are under the affirmative duty of rendering adequate service with proper equipment at reasonable rates, and the commissions are given the power to require improvements in service or in equipment or may in certain cases change the rates charged to the public. Any person may make complaint with regard to the service and equipment or any other mat-

ter relating to the public service corporations, which is promptly investigated by the commission and if there is merit to the complaint the company is asked or required to make improvement of the particular thing complained of. The commission makes its requirements effective by orders, which if the company fails to obey may be enforced by court proceeding.

DURING the early years of commission regulation the attitude of the courts was in general, hostile towards the theory of regulation and, therefore, the decisions were generally adverse to the action of the commission. In the last few years, however, the courts have been going further and further in sustaining the power and authority of the commission. Because of this the corporations now, apparently, are concentrating their efforts towards getting the Legislature to amend the Public Service Commissions Law by weakening its provisions.

With the action of the President in taking over the railroad systems in the United States a substantial change relative to the legal situation of the railroads has taken place. The President, through the Director General of Railroads, has complete power to control and operate the railroads, which is a superior power to the duties and powers of the state regulatory commissions. The Director General has indicated, however, that he expects the state commissions to proceed with the exercise of their duties with respect to railroads just as if private operation continued, reserving to himself the right to change an order of a commission which would interfere with actual war necessities in the way of railroad service for the government.

AT times the question has been raised as to whether home rule for New York city was violated by the existence of a state commission, appointed by the governor and exercising duties within the territory of New York city. An elementary knowledge of the rights of the state would reveal the fact that supervision of the work of public service corporations is essentially a state function. Such corporations have received their right to exist and engage in business from the state which, of course, reserves the right to see that they perform their work correctly. But even aside from the legal situation, the practical one in New York city proves that New York city cannot live in and by itself.

The metropolitan area has upward of 7,000,000 people. It is dependent for its food, coal and other necessities upon a constant and daily inflow of supplies from this and other states. These supplies must come over transportation lines outside of the city. It is dependent for its prosperity upon the great shipping that enters and leaves this harbor, which is not entirely within the city. There is not a single important activity upon which the city is dependent which is exclusively a city activity. Hundreds of millions of dollars must be spent in adequate railroad and terminal facilities, in public warehouses and proper piers and docks and other harbor facilities, where the cooperation of the states of New York and New Jersey and the

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United States government must be secured. It is a time for the city to be anxious to be regarded as a part of the state and of the nation rather than to urge further isolation. Of course, the city should have her home rule with respect to things that are essentially city activities, but the extremists in support of the abstract home rule would place the city much in the position of the old legislator who, year after year, introduced a bill providing for the creation of the City of New York into a separate state. His apparent reason was to free the city from the checks and balances that come with a state government where rural communities have an equal voice, not realizing that the necessary tendency must be toward the elimination nationally of the internal artificial governmental boundary lines, rather than the creation of additional barriers to complete cooperation.

The Milk and the Baby

STATISTICS compiled by Miss Lucy Gillette, of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor of New York city, after a survey of 2,200 families of the city, show that 1,201 of these families have substituted tea and coffee for milk as a food for young children. In 1916 these families paid ten cents a quart for milk and consumed 4,797 quarts. In 1917, at the time when milk sold for 14 cents a quart, the same families were consuming only 1,604 quarts, and when the price went still higher the quantity dropped still more.

An interesting possible explanation of the shortage on milk in this country is shown in a table giving the increase in the exportation of condensed milk to foreign countries. This has been made public in a report by Dr. Joseph S. Neff, national commissioner on milk standards. According to this table in 1913 the exports of condensed milk were 16,525,918 pounds. Last year they reached 259,102,313 pounds.

Decrease in consumption of milk is shown to be general throughout the country, ranging, the report says, from 5 to 45 per cent.

The report's summary of milk conditions in foreign countries, notably Germany, shows that in the latter country the government first paid attention to the conservation of man power, particularly the army, but soon saw the importance of conserving child life, too. There is no evidence, Dr. Neff says, that the infants of Germany suffered from a decreased milk supply after the government once took control of the situation.

Non-combatants

WOMEN are non-combatants? They do not share the perils of warfare? Let us see. Markarid Garodian tells this story in the *Independent*:

"Markarid is an Armenian girl thirteen years old, one of two and a half million refugees from Turkish massacre. Markarid's father was massacred, her mother driven out in the desert, her baby sister starved to death. She was taken into a harem. She escaped, joined her brothers in a long trip over the Dersim Mountains to a relief station in Erenzum, Russia. Two of the children died on the way. Two brothers and this girl finally reached safety."

THE following story from the *Outlook* of another non-combatant comes from an inspector for the Fraternité Américaine in Paris. This charity visitor tells half a dozen representative stories of French war widows. Here is one:

"There is one mother and her baby whom I dare not think of as night comes on. The year before the war she and her husband bought a small wine shop in the Rue des Pyrénées. Into it they put their hopes for the future and—Madame's dot! In spite of that the place was heavily mortgaged. But the husband, a great, rollicking fellow, who made a joke of obstacles, drew customers, and by the end of the first year they had paid for the zinc-topped counter, the glasses and other furnishings.

"There were two babies. The war came. The father marched toward the Marne with the rest, and was made the target of the German cannon.

"Because he had left her in the little room behind the shop, and because there was no rent to pay, that is where she stayed, withdrawing like a small, wary animal into her lair with her young.

"She is a little woman with nut-brown face, wide, bewildered eyes and tiny hands. But the chin and mouth are obstinate, and now she is consciously standing with her back to the wall awaiting the end of the war, when decisions will have to be made. In the meantime the business has come to an abrupt close. The wooden shutters are up, and from the street the place looks abandoned. A rival establishment across the street has ruined it.

"The older of the two children had died at the beginning of the Winter. The mother, passionately devoted to the baby still left, is tortured by the fear that she may not be able to rescue for him the thousand francs already sunk in the business."

GERMANY has not been invaded, yet who can doubt that these wives of soldiers are feeling the reverberations of warfare in their own lives. The stories are from German newspapers:

"Mrs. Clara Ganter, on June 13, 1917, has removed from the common forest of Waldkirch, Sec I. 23, one faggot of dry fir twigs of the value of 10 pfennig. In punishment thereof she is sentenced to fine of 1 mark and one day's imprisonment."

The husband of, the culprit has been for three years at the front, she herself has four small children to support in the direst poverty.

ONE of the hired men of Dr. Mueller's agricultural estate in Silesia has been for a long time at the front. His wife, who had worked alongside her husband before the war, after the usual custom, remained in the ranks of the field hands and accordingly retained her farm cottage. October 1, this woman got the following letter:

"The undersigned bailiff of the estate hereby gives you notice as of this date to the field service for January 1, 1918. On that day you are to give up your house. The work which you are doing on the farm does not compensate the farm for the loss which accrues to it through the continued support of your family. Look out for yourself away from this farm; your house is needed for other use."

The woman communicated the notice to her husband with these words: "I must tell you my distress; soon I shall not be able to see the paper for my tears. What shall I do? Winter is at the door and the cottage is full of little children."

Dr. Julia P. Larsen of San Francisco, says *The Vanguard*, will furnish the test case as to the status of women physicians in war work. So far they have entered the service as contract surgeons, but have not been allowed to enlist in the regular service with titles and emoluments. The California organization of women physicians will send up Dr. Larsen's name to the President for appointment to the Army Medical Reserve Corps.

La Française lists three women who received the Cross of the Legion of Honor in the Fall of 1917. Mlle. Yolande de Baye is superintendent of a group of ambulances. "She furnishes," says *La Française*, "from the beginning of the war the most beautiful example of devotion to the wounded. She sought the most perilous positions and in them showed admirable courage and energy. She was seriously wounded in the head on August 18, 1916, when she was conveying patients to shelter during a bombardment."

Mme. Jeanne Madeleine de L'Epinois, also a nurse, saved her patients during two bombardments and was wounded herself. "Her presence and her attitude in the midst of danger," says *La Française*, "were for the whole staff a beautiful example of courage and sang-froid."

Mlle. Marie Clementine Deletete, a postmistress and telegraph girl at Houplines, declined to leave her post in spite of bombardment and occupation by the Germans. She, like the others, was wounded in the course of duty.

When one of the instructors in the Government navigation school at Charleston, S. C., was compelled to leave, a woman, Mrs. Charlotte S. Patten, of Maine, took the helm, and is now teaching beginners in nautical science. Mrs. Patten is the widow of a sea captain and for fifteen years lived on board a ship. After the death of her husband she continued her life on the sea on board a ship captained by her son-in-law.

With the Wadsworthians

(Continued from page 209)

they represent any voting precinct in 1915 or 1917?"

MR. LITTLE: "Does it represent any voting figures cast in New York or anywhere else?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "Yes; it represents very faithfully about the proportion."

MR. LITTLE: "Why not give the vote?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "I have the vote."

MR. BLANTON: "The reason I object is that 500,000 people could come in here and make figures like that that would go nowhere."

THE CHAIRMAN: "You are entitled, in my mind, to use any kind of illustration that you think is proper to represent your idea. This is nothing more than a set of figures promulgated by yourself to demonstrate your idea?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "Yes; absolutely."

THE CHAIRMAN: "You don't intend to convey to the committee that this is a precinct or that these are the actual votes?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "Absolutely not."

THE CHAIRMAN: "Simply as a matter of illustration and nothing else; that is right, is it?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "That is right."

MR. BLANTON: "I have no objection if it is just that."

If They Had They Would Have

MR. LITTLE: "Your theory is that if somebody had voted that way that would show how they voted the second time, isn't that it?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "I have merely shown here—"

MR. LITTLE: "I would like for you to answer the question. Isn't that all there is to it?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "It is really a mathematical demonstration."

MR. LITTLE: "You have collected some figures to show that if the people had voted that way that is the way they voted?"

MR. EICHELBERGER: "Yes; that is all. I have shown here that the only fair thing to compare is the suffrage and socialist gain, if they had voted that way in these elections."

Thereupon mean Mr. Blanton, of Texas, summed up the whole situation thus:

"The only thing, I don't think the committee has time to devote to any such utter foolishness."

A Last Laugh

A tram-car in England was hopelessly overcrowded, and several people, who had achieved the upper deck, were transgressing all regulations by standing.

"Now, then," called out the girl conductor, with emphasis, "you can't stand on top."

"Well," said one literalist, smiling blandly as he peered down the steps, "we are standing whether we can or not."

The girl answered nothing, but promptly pressed a button. The car jumped forward, and the literalist involuntary took a seat on the floor.

"There," said the girl, apparently in complete good humor, quoting the barrister in a famous play, "you think you can, but you can't."

Take Your Town Off the Market



MISS HILDA LOINES,
Chairman Food Production Committee of the
National American Woman Suffrage Association

THE unit idea is a part of the program of the National American Woman Suffrage Association's Food Production Committee. Every self-contained town which can raise and distribute and conserve food enough for its own inhabitants will be doing just that much to ameliorate two conditions—the scarcity of food and the congestion of traffic.

The new chairman of the National Food Production Committee is Miss Hilda Loines, who is also general secretary of the National Farm and Garden Association. Miss Loines has taken over this work at the earnest instance of Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, the former chairman of the National Suffrage Committee on Agriculture. Mrs. Rogers is also treasurer of the National and could not continue in her dual capacity. She has consented to strengthen Miss Loines's hands by going on the official board of the advisory council of the Woman's Land Army of America.

All of the organizations represented on this council are advocating the use of women's labor in the fields. There are, they say, women already trained for farm work and women ready to be trained in sufficient numbers to make up a large part of the shortage in labor, which is the farmer's obstacle to greater production.

These two plans—the furnishing of woman's agricultural labor and the unifying of local food production centres—are phases of the up-to-date program of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

THE latest bulletin which has gone forth to every state suffrage association's food production committee of the National reads:

"Shortage of food, shortage of transportation, shortage of labor confront us today. How are we best to meet these conditions? What can suffragists do to help during the coming year?"

PRODUCE AND PRESERVE!

"Take your town off the market. Raise enough vegetables for every man, woman and child in your community, and save transportation space.

"Cultivate your own garden.

"Help the farmer whose men have been drafted, by organizing units of women for farm labor. The Advisory Council of the Woman's Land Army of America is now recruiting women for this work.

"Where advisable, start a community garden with a canning kitchen. Use your surplus for the hospitals, Red Cross, etc.

"Teachers, college students, and seasonal trade workers will be available for summer work on the farms. They proved their value in New York State in 1917. Think what women in England have done! Shall American women prove less resourceful?"

MISS LOINES, the new chairman, is an experienced organizer of woman's farm labor. For the past twelve years she has been a part of the Women's National Agricultural and Horticultural Association, now renamed the Farm and Garden Association. Its ideals have been co-operation among all women engaged in farming or gardening, encouragement of school and vacant lot gardens, and the bringing together of supply and demand for farm labor. Successful conferences have been held at Ambler, Pa., in 1914, New York in 1915 and Boston in 1916.

All this effort has built up an actual working force of trained women. It has been a line of national preparedness whose value comes to the fore at this crisis, a nucleus for a nationwide army of women in farm service. With their successful record of thousands of war gardens achieved last year, the Suffrage Food Production Committee has strongly re-enforced this organization.

AN effort to provide a bureau for supplying woman labor to the farmer has been begun. Miss Loines made her start in this direction in the New York granges and several New York state practical farmers who used woman farm laborers in 1917 testify to the satisfactory character of their work. Mr. George T. Powell of Ghent, New York, used women on his fruit farm. Mr. James Wood, president of the Bedford Farmers' Club, says that the women in the Mt. Kisco unit were efficient, intelligent and steadfast. Mr. Curtis, manager of the Westchester Farm Bureau, said publicly that he has not received a single complaint of these women from the farmers.

A SERVICEABLE work-dress for the farmer is a matter of evolution. It must leave the body free—have no loose ends to drag in the mud or catch in farm machinery, and be a protection from the weather. Such a costume is here shown. It was designed by Mrs. C. M. Ingersoll, formerly an editor of *Vogue*. It is a light cotton twill in khaki color on the lines of a riding dress. This particular costume is on sale at Best's, in Fifth Avenue, New York. The costume without shoes can be purchased for a little less than \$10 and with Boy Scout shoes for \$15.



The shoes shown in the picture cost \$6.50 and are of the dark brown Krome leather, a water-proof leather which needs no polish and is cleaned with saddle soap. The uppers are of antelope hide and the soles of elk. The puttees are of canvas.

The Book Stall

A Batch of Civics Books

THE preface to Beard's *American Citizenship* speaks of all recent books on civics as falling into two groups—"those that treat government as a multitude of rules already well settled" and those that "minimize the political and administrative processes by which social work of a public character is accomplished and make much of private activities."

The group of books reviewed here is only a fraction of the political and administrative group. It makes no attempt to cover books of the other type nor does it touch books on governmental reform, believing that the dynamic side of government is best taken up after the groundwork of existing institutions is covered.

A Good Working Library:

1. Beard, Charles A., and Mary Ritter: *American Citizenship*; Macmillan, 1917.

2. Hoxie, Charles deForest: *Civics for New York State*; American Book Company, 1916; or Garner, James W.: *Government in the United States* (with an appendix for New York State by Clarence F. Hewitt); American Book Company, 1916.

3. Stapler, Martha: *Primer for Voters*; National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, 1918.

4. Bryce, James: *American Commonwealth* (abridged and revised); Macmillan, 1917.

5. Richman, Julia, and Wallach, Mabel A.: *Good Citizenship*; American Book Company.

6. Guitteau, William Backus: *Preparing for Citizenship*; Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1916.

7. Wolison, Arthur Mayer: *Outline for Review of Civics*; American Book Company, 1913.

FOR a general introduction to civics there is no book equal to Beard. It gives a broader groundwork in a more interesting way. It brings out "the great principles of government" and it leaves to others "the intricate details of political organization." It interprets government in terms of human needs and incidentally touches as no other civics book does on those respects in which government so far has fallen short of meeting those needs. This is especially true of Part I, Human Needs and Government, which touches, under the Family, on child labor, housing and tenement work; under Civil Liberty, on free speech; under Property Rights, on the labor problem; under Political Liberty, on woman suffrage and the practical disfranchisement of the negro in certain states. In its summing up of modern problems connected with government, Beard serves as an introduction to the study of social reform; it stands midway between the books in the collection and those studies of reform which do not belong to this group. Parts II and III are on the machinery of government and the work of government.

In covering the outlines Beard leaves many details untouched and the voter who needs to be intelligently informed on these details should turn to Hoxie or to Garner.

MARTHA STAPLER'S *Primer for Voters* (National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, 1918) is the only book published so far which is a substantial help. It brings together many simple details lost in the tautology of the election laws. The chapters cover voting regulations, elections, nominations, departments and officials of local, city and

state governments, and the political calendar with a supplementary chapter on the citizenship of women. Miss Stapler's book is not a civics, but it covers a subject on which civics give little help. About the main subject of civics, the division of powers, the function of legislature, executive and judiciary, etc., almost every one knows something; but about the practical matter of voting they know little.

What Shall "Made In America" Stand For?

(Continued from page 211)

before were busy whitewashing it inside and out, and decorating its doorway and its walls with floral designs in gay and laughing colors. And they show the patterns of the lace, singularly blending traditional ornaments with individual adaptations—the flowers of Moravia here united by conventions filtered westward from the Persia of the past through Constantinople and Turkey.

On one Sunday in December there gathered in the lecture room of which the exhibition room is a part, just about one per cent of the Czech-Slovak population of New York to hear an address by a Pittsburg artist on Slovak Art. The address was in Bohemian, and was highly technical. It was listened to with intelligent appreciation, and its few humorous touches produced spontaneous laughter.

AN American present—but indeed practically all present were American citizens—wondered, "If an address were offered here next Sunday on the rise and fall of the New England church spire, would one per cent of the people of New England origin in New York come to it and enjoy it?" "They wouldn't in New York," said her escort. "But they would in Seattle."

At this session I said to them:

"Every hand that wrought these embroideries or carved these utensils was directed by a controlling brain which had secreted ideas of beauty. But, by the same token, every skillfully moving hand reacted on its owner's brain, laying up beautiful ideals and the power to produce skill. And so your children have a heritage.

"If any one among you were to sell his heritage in Bohemia, and coming to America were to squander it so as to become a public charge on the American community, you would cry upon him double shame—the shame of ingratitude to his ancestors who toiled and denied themselves to amass the little fortune and the shame of ingratitude to the country which offered him opportunity and reward.

"By just as righteous a judgment is every Bohemian censurable who brings here so great an inheritance as these ideals of beauty and this skill to create beauty, and debauches it by producing badly made ugliness in a factory or buying badly made tawdriness in a store, or wearing travesties on beautiful clothing on the street.

"Plainly it is the business of the half million Czech-Slovaks in this country: First, to see to it that their patient forebears shall not have toiled in vain; and second, to insure that because of their presence here all America shall have an added perception of the appeal of beauty both to the eye and to the ear, and that in all markets of the world 'Made in America' shall not mean either made in the image of vulgarity, or made shoddily."



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our Fifth Avenue Office
is in charge of
Miss V. D. H. Furman
and is
especially equipped to handle
the accounts of women and
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And through the boundless night of fears.

And not a shot comes blind with death,
And not a stab of steel is pressed
Home, but invisibly it tore,
And entered first a woman's breast.

Quoted from Lawrence Binyon's "For the Fallen," by Miss Helen Fraser in her book, "Women and War."

Where Is Your State?

IT'S a bad thing to be oversure of victory. You let up imperceptibly on that constant straining, that eternal high pressure effort that just swings the thing over to your side of the fence. It's quite as bad, of course, to believe in ultimate defeat, for then you can't get up any steam at all. But that has nothing to do with our story.

Suppose that just a little less energy had been expended in convincing doubtful congressmen before the vote was taken on January 10th?

Suppose that just your Legislature fails to complete the necessary three-fourths affirmative vote in the Amendment's ratification?

Do you guess what we are driving at?

Your Legislature reflects your state. Take care of the town, the county, the assembly district, and the legislature will take care of itself. And don't depend upon eleventh hour exertions. They never can and they never will take the place of a day-to-day continuous presentation of your case.

Now do you guess what we're driving at?

You see we have no false modesty. Like the truly modern woman, we have cast such encumbrances aside. Heretofore we have emphasized our great need of you. But why quibble? Your need of the *Woman Citizen* is far greater. BE HONEST—you really can't get along without it.

BECAUSE people will read who will not listen.

BECAUSE a live weekly may enter in where flesh and blood suffragists fear to tread.

In other words, the *Woman Citizen* prepares your ground. It carries your message, with all the authority of the printed word, with all the force of reasonable assurance, week after week, into the inaccessible strongholds of conservative opposition. It should be placed in the waiting-room of every physician, every dentist, every dressmaker, hairdresser and milliner, every club, hotel and library in your town. And how about the barber-shop?

Your state will stand on the Federal Amendment exactly where it stands in support of the *Woman Citizen*. This is a demonstrable fact. Have you organized yet for our 1918 subscription campaign?

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Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane of New Orleans

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Massachusetts: Mrs. R. L. DeNormandie of Boston

County Chairmen

Kentucky:
Fayette County, Miss Whitney Hostetter of Lexington
Mason County, Mrs. Lillian Dodson of Maysville
City of Lexington, Mrs. W. D. Drake

Mrs. L. J. Johnson: "I feel sure Massachusetts will do her share."

Under the direction of Mrs. F. H. Colvin, the New Jersey Association has sent out subscription blanks to each of its 200 branches.

Where are you {
Tennessee
Florida
Nebraska
Michigan

Indiana's Conference and Board Letter for January contains an appeal for at least one new subscription from "your home town."

In the first issue of Maryland's *Woman Suffrage Bulletin* we find the following item: "If you are not a subscriber to the *Woman Citizen* you should be. No suffragist can keep closely in touch with her cause, or with the activities of women in general, without it. It is a weekly digest of what women are doing in the world."

Come On In!

Don't wait for your state to pledge. Enter your local league for the Third Premium. Write to us and we will explain.

Rules Governing the Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

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Greater Cleveland

(Continued from page 208)

It was agreed by the convention that the great task confronting them now was work for the Federal Suffrage Amendment and its ratification by the Ohio legislature.

Cleveland has set \$12,000 as its budget for the present year and \$4,000 of this amount was raised by Mrs. Malcolm McBride, Finance Chairman, at the luncheon given in the ball room of the Hotel Winton. Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany of New York City, who took an active part in the New York suffrage campaign, gave the address at the luncheon.

A membership drive for 80,000 members of the Woman Suffrage Party of Greater Cleveland was inaugurated as a feature of the convention. A splendid start has already been made, the delegate body at the convention representing an enrolled membership of 30,000.

The Official Roster for the Woman Suffrage Party of Greater Cleveland for 1918 is as follows: Chairman, Mrs. Roger G. Perkins; first vice-chairman, Mrs. Walter Laffer; second vice-chairman, Mrs. Edward S. Jordan; third vice-chairman, Mrs. Charles Savage; secretary, Mrs. C. E. Kendall; assistant secretary, Mrs. Frank Muhhauser; financial secretary, Mrs. Malcolm McBride; treasurer, Mrs. Boyd Nixon; assistant treasurer, Mrs. H. B. Mallette.

In Oklahoma

OKLAHOMA voted solidly for the Federal Suffrage Amendment on January 10, which shows the States' Rights theory does not prevail in every southern state, but is more of a sectional issue. Congressman Scott Ferris participated in the debate in the House, and two of the state's congressmen, Carter and McKeown, who had formerly opposed the Amendment, changed their attitude entirely and voted for it, thus giving the state a solid delegation. Judge Ferris said:

"I do not want my party to send word to the broad prairies of the west that it is not willing to do its part in the enfranchisement of the fourteen million women of the prairies.

"Our President is trying to do his part, he is for it. Our speaker is for it. The leaders on the Republican side are for it, and the leaders on the Democratic side are for it. Some say women do not want it. Perhaps some of them do not. But it is mandatory that such of the fourteen million women who do not want it, should let it alone and not try and obstruct the rest of the fourteen million who do want it."

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The arrow points to the premium offer on opposite page

Pride

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When John Ruskin wrote these words in "A Joy Forever" he probably did not have suffragists in mind (or the WOMAN CITIZEN). But he might well have had, for the principle applies to them

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Only ONE subscription from each of the two million would do it, and the effort to the individual would be the mere signing of her name to a check for one dollar. Could fame be purchased for less?

Suffragists long ago earned the reputation for putting over big things. Here is an opportunity to do something that has never been done in magazine history and **COULD ONLY BE DONE BY SUFFRAGISTS** as there is no other organization possessing such strength as theirs

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We ask you to subscribe to the WOMAN CITIZEN through your local organization thereby helping to swell its treasury and to make the only Woman's National Political Weekly the most widely known and read periodical in the country

The WOMAN CITIZEN will grow as it is nourished

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5 cents a copy
February 16, 1918

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL FOUNDED 1870



Where The Suffrage Arguments Come From

BRITISH WOMEN WIN SUFFRAGE! KING SIGNS BILL!!

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is the price of fifty-two numbers of *The WOMAN CITIZEN* if you are already a subscriber and will secure two NEW subscriptions at one dollar each. This is the way to do it. Send us your check for \$2.60 and we will mail the magazine to the new subscribers for one year and will *renew* your subscription.

Let this be your *bit* toward the drive we are making for ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND NEW subscriptions to *The WOMAN CITIZEN* in 1918. Your *best* may take any other form you prefer. Our suggestions are—

(Continued on page 224)



THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

The office of publication is at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. The business manager is Florence E. Bate.

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Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class matter, under the act of March 3, 1879.

The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue, New York

February 16, 1918

Vol. II (New style) No. 12

Copyright, 1917, by
THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the
WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE and HENRY B.
BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
OF NEW YORK CITY

and the

**NATIONAL
SUFFRAGE NEWS**

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confering upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays

34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays

204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays

136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of

Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote

not fixed.

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(Continued from page 222)

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BY
HELEN FRASER

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G. ARNOLD SHAW



PUBLISHER, NEW YORK

The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

February 16, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The Cause of States and Nations

"YOUR cause has become the cause of states and nations," wrote Senator Joseph M. Carey to Susan B. Anthony a quarter of a century ago. "Your success will form a theme for generations to come."

Susan B. Anthony has been dead a scant dozen years. Today, ninety-eight years from the date of her birth, states and nations, aye, and political parties, are indeed making her cause their cause, and a generation then unborn stands at the wide open gate of the new democracy which she sharply envisaged long before those of duller eyes could see it.

The fifty years of her life between 1850 and 1900 covered an intensive struggle not equaled in suffrage annals. Other great suffrage leaders of her time fought the good fight, too, but beside Miss Anthony they seemed divided. Husbands, homes, children made irresistible demands on their strength and time and energy. They were at once built up and torn down by engrossing personal interests. However better rounded women they may have been for their fuller personal adventures in life, they were assuredly the less dependable for speeches or conventions. Meantime, year after year, Miss Anthony stood immovable, expressing her remarkable personality and intelligence through the one avenue—suffrage work.

IT was early in her long and superb working life that she merged all personal interests in the one great interest of women's advancement. Let others have their families, their diversions. Hers the sterner part to stand for cause, uncomfited and undiverted. It was not so easy. Miss Anthony was a warm-hearted woman. Her affectionate outgoing toward parents, brothers and sisters, nieces and nephews proved that. But her singleness of purpose held her unwaveringly to the line.

No other leader was ever the suffrage cause incarnate as she was. Her very clothes were a part of it. She carried it on her broad shoulders as she carried her clothes there. Once, when she appeared in public without her little red shawl she noticed that the reporters at the press table down below her sat with folded arms looking glum and disgusted, pencil and paper unused before them.

"What's the matter, boys?" she asked.

"Where's the shawl?" they wanted to know. "No shawl, no reports."

They wanted her powerful personality intact, even to its accustomed outer trappings.

TO the very end she kept this strong personal hold on the country's interest, carrying it along with her, willy-nilly, past apathy, past hostility, past ridicule, on into friendliness, admiration and, finally, vivid sympathy and profound respect. Is it a good thing, or a terrible, one wonders, that Miss Anthony should have had to come through so much to the triumph that was foregone from the beginning? Was it really necessary that decayed eggs should have been thrown at her on the platform? Did those New York hoodlums really have to stone her in the streets? Had fate no gentler tool with which to grave those deep and touching lines of purpose, patience and forbearance that seamed her fine tired face at the end? Must these long and cruel fights ever be made in order to win states and nations to the cause of freedom? Shall we never learn? Is hidebound conservatism always to be dragged so reluctantly from its throne to hide its shamed face at last in the corner?

All that Miss Anthony worked for, all that she foresaw of the inevitable, has either come to pass or is on the eve of fulfillment today. Women are free of the old shackles that held them back from educational and economic opportunity. Personally they are no longer on a par with goods and chattels in many lands. Politically they are rising above criminals and idiots in almost all.

WOMAN suffrage has become the cause of states and nations. Its success is the theme of the hour, as it will be of the future. Meantime, it is a good season to turn to the *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* and refresh the mind with the old evidence of Miss Anthony's ever present significance to the suffrage cause. The biography, under the skilled workmanship of Ida Husted Harper, is one of those books that let the person written about shine through, without any of those obscuring veils that so often pass for interpretation.

A Great Birthday Present

IF those who have gone before know anything of what is happening here, nothing could please Miss Anthony more than the granting of woman suffrage in England just a few days before her birthday—nothing except the granting of the ballot to women in the United States; and that is already in sight. The news of the enfranchisement of six million British women comes as a splendid birthday present to Miss Anthony and to Dr. Shaw.

Our warmest congratulations go out to the host of brave women in England, Scotland and Ireland, who for so many years have worked and sacrificed for this result; and to that other host of just and chivalrous men who have stood by them in the fight. There will be a better world in England hereafter for both men and women—and for children most of all.

A. S. B.

An Elegant Bouquet for Dr. Shaw

SOMETIMES things fall out as they should. It was, for instance, eminently fitting that Great Britain should choose early February as the time for the final passage of woman suffrage. And it was just as fitting that Democrats and Republicans should choose this week for an endorsement of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. All told, it makes an elegant birthday bouquet for Dr. Shaw.

That peerless leader celebrated her seventy-first birthday on February 14, covered with honor and glory and the love and admiration of an entire continent. As head of the Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defence, and Honorary President of the N. A. W. S. A., she stands today, at 71, at the apex of her distinction, more useful to the cause of woman and the cause of country than ever before in her long career of usefulness.

The *Woman Citizen* extends to her its congratulations on the great suffrage triumphs in which she has been so urgent a factor, and begs her to have a great many more birthdays.

American Democracy and British

THE tangle of the press situation over the despatches from England with regard to the Lords' passage of the Representation of the People Bill, seems to have been reliably unraveled into the fact that the Bill was passed by the Lords and received the King's sanction on February 6. This is the historic bill which carries the woman suffrage clause and which, by becoming law, enfranchises 6,000,000 British women.

The great victory not only engages the joyful sympathy of American women but renews confidence that the United States Senate will prove itself at least as democratic as the British House of Lords and vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment by a great majority.

How can it refuse?

The world standard is before it. And not even the question of party platform instruction can longer be used as an obstructionist argument. The Democratic National Committee offers a new plank in its resolution of endorsement of the Amendment, passed Monday. That endorsement, taken in connection with

the Administration's open espousal of the measure, leaves no plank for Democrats to stand on in opposition.

The Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, in session in St. Louis, passed a resolution endorsing the suffrage amendment on Tuesday. Undoubtedly Democrats, and Republicans, all will rally now to this new clarion call of their leaders and the Amendment fight is won.

It's time it was won.

Who ever would have supposed that British lords could be more swiftly and graciously democratic than everyday American men?

England Is Strengthened

MISS ANTHONY would have rejoiced in the English victory, not only on abstract grounds, as a huge step towards that fair play for women which was her lifelong hope, but also for the solid practical good that it will do. The King, announcing that he had signed the bill, went on to say:

"It will enable the nation, the unity of which has been so marked a characteristic of the war, to continue in the not less arduous work of reconstruction in the times of peace."

It is when the time of reconstruction comes that women's gifts for mothering and nursing will be most needed. Then the nation whose women's hands have been untied will have a distinct advantage—just as women can help more in the Western nations than they can in China, with their feet bound.

"We are living at a time when citizenship and all that it means are very present in our thoughts. There is no possible antagonism between ideals of citizenship in men and women; the ideal for both is based on love and sacrifice. No doubt we have all been asking ourselves how their previous education and training have fitted women to fulfill the duties of citizenship. I take a somewhat optimistic view of the answer. In the world at large, we see society controlled and influenced by two contending principles—competition and coöperation. In the business world, in politics, in many professions, in the relations between different countries, competition gets the upper hand. In the home, on the contrary, and in a few other places, the spirit of coöperation, of mutual helpfulness, and the protection of the weak, prevails over the spirit of competition. At home we do not snatch the best place, or the best food, or the most comfortable chair, regardless of what others have, or have to go without. I am far from saying that there are not uses in the spirit of competition; but it seems to me that we are rather overdone with it in our public life, and that the addition to the electorate of a group of citizens whose main practical education has been in the home, will have its uses; for no one would deny that in the education of practical life the home and all it stands for loom larger in the lives of women than they do in the lives of men. In so far as this is true, the domestic experience of women is no bad preparation for the duties of citizenship, and a mother's love is no bad schooling for the love of country"—so wrote Millicent Garrett Fawcett, able leader of British suffragists, to the statesmen of England a few weeks ago.

Let our United States Senators bear these things in mind when they vote on the suffrage amendment.

A. S. B.

Psycho-analyzing the Age Question

PUTTING to work the Freudian theory of submerged motivation, it now turns out that men's desire to conceal their own ages must have been responsible for the constant joke that women won't tell the truth on this question. At least the acute observation of the chairman of the Manhattan Borough Woman Suffrage Party points that way.

"I sat three hours in one of the polling places," testified Mrs. Tiffany, "and in that time three men came in, ranging in age from 58 to 60, who all said they were 50. I couldn't help saying to some of the men in the place: 'This seems to be a human, not a female, trait, doesn't it?' And they admitted it. There was only one woman, who, owning up to 53 privately, did not wish it to be made known, because her husband believed her five years younger."

If such a hoary-headed theme for the joke-smith as woman's reluctance to tell her age turns out to be a myth, what may not happen to the old reliable afraid-of-a-mouse story, or even to the "hysterical-woman-and-children" head line which has been so long on the job that it runs like a fire horse and jumps into place at the top of the news column every time there is an accident?

If the Freudian wish to conceal their own ages makes men attribute the same desire to women, perhaps an ingrowing desire to jump on a chair when a mouse scampers out, or a fear they may scream in an accident, makes them declare that women always do these things. At any rate this theory sounds like the real thing in psycho-analysis.

Circumstances Alter Cases

ANOTHER amusing instance of inconsistency is the attitude of the leading anti-suffragists toward the few New York men in Congress who voted against submitting the suffrage amendment, and toward the larger number from Massachusetts who voted for it. The Massachusetts members who voted according to their own convictions, and not according to the vote of their state, are denounced by leading antis on the ground that it was their duty to "represent their state"; but those New York Congressmen who defied the verdict of their state are acclaimed by the same antis as moral heroes.

Either Congressmen are in duty bound to vote as their states voted, or they are not. According to these antis, they are so bound if their states voted no, but not if their states voted yes.

As a matter of fact, no Massachusetts member of Congress knows how his state stands on the question today. In 1915 New York defeated suffrage by 214,984 majority—the largest adverse majority ever given in any state; yet in two years the state swung completely over; in Oregon a constitutional amendment for equal suffrage was defeated at the polls in 1910 and carried in 1912. All over the country, and all over the world, the sentiment on this question is changing. But Senator Wadsworth, if he votes no, will defy the opinion expressed by his state only four months since.

A. S. B.

Briefs for Suffrage

"THE Senate cannot decline to take this step (passage of the Federal Amendment) without dishonoring America in the eyes of the world's free peoples. If it rejects the Amendment, it will give the sound of mockery to every word we utter in defense of liberty and self-government."—*Post*, Chicago.

"PRESIDENT WILSON, in coming out for national suffrage for women, has completely changed his former attitude. . . . Let the Democratic Party take a hint from the changed attitude of the President."—*News*, Tacoma.

"THE passage by the House is a great victory for woman suffrage, the greatest victory for the principle that has yet been achieved. . . . The country, it seems clear, has reached the conclusion that this thing is right, and when that attitude of mind is established in the United States the thing has to be done."—*Globe-Democrat*, St. Louis.

"BY the end of next year the women of this free land will be enjoying the freedom they should have had years ago, and they have just cause to be proud of the intelligent campaign they have waged. The entire country is proud of the fact that its women are coming into their own, and congratulates them on their victory."—*Nashville-Tennessean*.

MEN voters having proved notorious slackers in getting to the polls, Mr. George W. Perkins, of New York, wants voting made compulsory. He advocates laws that will compel a man to cast his vote, and if he does not cast it he should be fined in increasing amounts, and possibly with some other form of punishment, until he does cast it. Mr. Perkins says if a man were told, "If you don't go and vote tomorrow you will have to pay \$2 the first time and the second time you will have to pay \$10," he would come out and vote.

We have an idea that it is not going to be necessary to penalize New York women in order to get them to vote.

IN the nine months of warfare the United States has enrolled many yeowomen in the Navy. In England they are an innovation, says the *Bulletin* of the N. A. W. S. S. "We are not surprised—not really. We always expected her, and here she comes—the girl in navy blue. The Women's Royal Naval Service is beginning to clamor for volunteers. It wants women . . . and still more women to relieve men who have been till now employed on shore duties. The new service is, of course, to have a uniform of its own. Its work will all be directly connected with the Royal Navy, but will not as yet include work in Admiralty Departments and other civil establishments under the Admiralty. Dame Katherine Furse has accepted the post of Director of Women's Royal Naval Service. She will administer the service under the Second Sea Lord, and will be responsible for the supervision of its members both off and on duty."

Democracy at Home and Abroad

SIX million British women joined the ranks of the enfranchised on Thursday of last week!

Curiously, the press of the country failed to get, or heed, the great news. The Associated Press maintains that the story went out on their wires. Not a paper in New York carried it, so far as could be ascertained, until the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which received the word through the courtesy of the *Christian Science Monitor*, began tracing the story. Every New York newspaper office interviewed reported that no such story had come in. It is to be remembered, of course, that the Tuscania's sinking had so burdened the cables that a great deal of vital importance was crowded off the service of the wires. Days ago, the *Woman Citizen* cabled to Mrs. Fawcett, imploring her to send direct word by cable at its expense the moment the bill passed third reading in the House of Lords. No answer has ever come and it is doubtful if Mrs. Fawcett ever received the cabled request. But it remains a surprising fact that news of so wide-reaching significance should have failed of its connection with the metropolitan newspapers.

IT was the New York *Evening Post* that finally succeeded in verifying the story from the Associated Press and gave the substance of it to the *Woman Citizen*. It was dated February 6 and read in effect:

"A little clash between the House of Commons and the House of Lords occurred today over the acceptance of the Lords' amendment to the Representation of the People bill, and for a time the fate of the bill was endangered. A compromise was urged, however, whereby proportional representation will be tried in a hundred constituencies selected by special commissioners, and whereby the principle of the alternate vote was struck out of the bill altogether. As amended, the bill received the King's signature and becomes law today"—thus securing to about six million British women, over thirty, full suffrage rights.

This means that the British women's fifty-year struggle is over. It means that the British Upper House, Britain's stronghold of conservatism, has declared for democracy.

It means that British lords have beaten plain American citizens to the goal of democracy.

AS Mrs. Catt said when she was told that the cable was bringing in word of the final triumph of the Representation of the People bill: "There are few American women whose hearts will not fill with rejoicing at the liberation of the British women from their fifty years' struggle for enfranchisement."

"But in every American woman's heart there is bound to be, too, a tincture of deep humiliation, for she knows that her own country, the great mother of republics, should have taken the lead in the extension of the suffrage to women. The British have seized the precedence and so it is Great Britain, not America, that will pass into history as taking the lead in this great question of democracy. America cannot now dispute place with her, and in the years to come, when there will be not one anti-suffragist left in America, our children's children are going to read with puckered brow of this trans-

position in the democratic leadership of the world. And the conundrum that our children's children will be asking our children will be, how could American congressmen let British lords outstrip them in the race for true democracy?"

"In view of what Great Britain has done it is unbelievable and unthinkable that the United States Senate will not pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment by a tremendous majority when it comes before that body for a vote. The remarkable thing is not that the United States should be about to take favorable action at this time, but that there should be a single American in Congress to vote against this measure which stands for democracy."

It is interesting to note while thrilling with the British women's triumph that America was the mother-country so far as woman suffrage was concerned. The suffrage association in Great Britain grew out of an article which was printed in the *Westminster Review* by Mrs. John Stuart Mill, then Mrs. Taylor, an article which told of a woman's rights convention held in America in 1850. That article engaged the attention of John Stuart Mill, who introduced a bill in the House of Commons in 1867, to extend the suffrage to women. The women of Great Britain, therefore, will celebrate the fifty-first anniversary of their struggle for political enfranchisement with final victory, while American women still await the opening door.

One of Very Many

SENATOR SHERMAN of Illinois last week presented "a petition on woman suffrage from citizens of Normal, Ill., which I ask may be referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage. It is one of very many that I have received. I do not present the others, but I submit this as a fair sample of those I have received."

Similar to Numerous Others

IT was noteworthy that it was a Florida Senator, Senator Fletcher, who last week presented to the Senate "a communication in the nature of a petition. As it is very brief and similar to numerous others I have received, I ask that it be printed in the *Record*."

There being no objection, the communication was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

NEW SMYRNA, FLA., January 31, 1918.

SENATOR FLETCHER, Washington, D. C.:

I am writing to ask you to do all in your power to secure the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The women of Florida, the women who are doing all in their power to aid the Government—in the Red Cross, food conservation, thrift stamps, Liberty Loan, etc.—they are the women that ask you, as their Senator, to support the Suffrage Amendment.

Hoping this will receive your earnest attention and that you will have the interest of the women of Florida at heart, that we may be proud of the stand our Senator takes in this great question.

Please have this read into the *Congressional Record*.

Democrats Urge Senate to Pass Suffrage Bill

IMMEDIATE passage by the Senate of the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage was urged in a resolution adopted Monday by the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee, after a referendum to the members of the entire committee. The action, administration leaders believe, will hasten the favorable consideration of the amendment by the Senate.

Vance McCormick, the chairman, led in the support of the resolution. Before taking action the Executive Committee referred consideration of the Amendment to the full committee by wire. By Monday 28 states had voted for and 14 against. Six had not reported.

This is the text of the Resolution:

"Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee after a referendum vote of the members of the National Committee representing the forty-eight states, and in pursuance thereof, does hereby endorse the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the federal constitution providing for woman suffrage, and urges favorable action thereon by the United States Senate."

Similar far-sighted action was taken by the Republican National Committee in session in St. Louis this week.

With greatest hope for the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Yours truly,

HANNAH DETWILER BONNET.

It Is Urged

ON January 31st Senator Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado, on the floor of the Senate asked permission to have the following telegram inserted in the *Congressional Record* which was granted:

DENVER, COLO.

HON. CHARLES S. THOMAS,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Woman suffrage has been very beneficial to the State of Colorado and its citizenship. I think it a just and wise move to extend the right of suffrage to the women of the Nation.

JULIUS C. GUNTER,
Governor of Colorado.

Suffrage an Asset

IN discussing the recent vote in Congress, the Republican papers have all emphasized the fact that the Republicans gave suffrage a majority of 165 to 33, while the Democrats gave it a majority of only 104 to 102. The Democratic papers, on the other hand, make much of President Wilson's recommendation, and point out that without his support the measure would not have passed. The tone of the press comment proves anew that nowadays woman suffrage is recognized as an asset. Just as in the case of the New York victory, everybody wishes now to claim the credit of it.

Meanwhile, the Senate and the State Legislatures have yet to vote on the question, so there is still plenty of credit to be gathered in.

A. S. B.

The Woman Question in Rumania

RUMANIA also is in line for political freedom. While there is as yet no suggestion of woman suffrage, such stepping stones as lead to real democracy in all countries are being laid down. Within the past month Rumania has made sweeping electoral changes. According to a published interview with Alexandre Rubin, director of the press bureau of the newly established Rumanian legation in Washington, the old three-class system of voting is abolished. By this system the great landed proprietors, the intellectuals and clergy, and the commons and peasantry, each chose a part of the members of parliament. The handful of feudal barons or landlords and the few clergy and highly educated professional people, combining their forces, had absolute control of the state.

Fifty voters of the lowest group of the third class had less to say about Rumanian elections than one landowner. Below the commons and the peasantry there was a class of citizens with no vote at all and the Jews of Rumania were denied all citizen rights.

All this is now swept aside and King Ferdinand has announced his signature to a new franchise bill giving universal and equal manhood suffrage and granting citizenship to the Rumanian Jews.

RUMANIAN women are not without their sponsors, and the near approach of municipal suffrage is predicted by Mr. Rubin, who has just written to *The Woman Citizen* to say:

"The feminist argument is not without its number of partisans amongst us. Voices have been raised from time to time among our politicians and public men in favor of women.

"More lately still, at the Parliament of Jassy, on the occasion of the electoral reforms bill instituting universal suffrage, a deputy, vice-president of the Chamber, demanded that women should also be admitted to vote for the rep-

resentatives of the people and to be elected in our political assemblies.

"**T**HE President of the Council, M. Jean Bratiano, expressed much sympathy for the question raised by the speaker and declared that women should first be admitted to the municipal elections. If this initiation of Rumanian women to public affairs succeeded, as one has every reason to hope, women ought then to be put on a footing of perfect political equality.

"The public spirit in Rumania, open to all progress and to all liberty, would not know how, in effect, to be hostile to the extension of political rights to the feminine sex.

"It goes without saying that, for the moment, the attention of our statesmen will be solicited before everything else, to the multiple problems, otherwise imperative, which will be settled after the war.

"But without doubt the Rumanian woman's hour will come also.

"**I** SHARE entirely, madame, your view as to the legitimacy and absolute desirability of the participation of the American women in public affairs. Even though a stranger, perhaps I may be permitted, in a country of so great toleration as America, to join my admiration to the universal admiration spontaneously evoked by the American woman, who is so superiorly endowed and remains so essentially feminine even in her virile virtues.

"Believing that great thoughts, fecund ideas, come from the heart, I feel that the intervention of women in the government of the people will bring to it a larger spirit of humanity. The active part the American woman has taken in the foundation and the growth of the United States has created for her a particular title to political recognition and given clear proof of her political maturity."

Backing Bills at Albany

THE New York State Woman Suffrage Party is keeping vigilant watch over all legislation introduced at Albany. The Party has two main points in its legislative policy—to support bills introduced by organizations, which have been organized to deal with the subjects involved, rather than to initiate such legislation, and to postpone all initiative legislation until after the Federal Amendment has been passed by the United States Senate and ratified by the New York Legislature. To acquaint all the leaders of the Party with the legislative situation and the stand taken by the organization on various bills and measures, the State Party, under the direction of Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, is issuing a fortnightly bulletin covering, in concise form, the entire situation.

SOME of the bills which have the backing of the State Party are: a bill to equalize the inheritance of husband and wife, and of the mother and father; a bill to permit women to serve as jurors; the Wagner bill, creating a state wage commission of three members to be appointed by the governor.

Other bills which have the backing of the State Party, all of which are not yet introduced, are the Women's Trade Union League Eight-Hour bill; the "Strong bills," providing for re-

form in charity boards, and the bills of the Child Labor Committee.

THE State Party vigorously opposes the Brown bill, which seeks to abolish all protection as to hours of labor, hazardous employment of women and age limit of children. The Party urges an active protest against this destructive measure. Other bills designed to destroy the constructive legislation giving protection to women are assailed by the State Party with vigor. The abolishment of the Parole Commission is also opposed.

Believing it to be against the best interests of all, the suffragists oppose the bill which would provide separate polling places for men and women and ballots marked "Woman's Ballot" and "Man's Ballot." The repeal of the Centralized School Law is opposed.

A PART of the legislative bulletin is devoted to notes and remarks on all measures interesting the women. Just as courses in general citizenship were carried on by the State Suffrage Party, so the legislative bulletin is a practical course in the legislative branch of government and should do much to awaken and hold the attention of New York women to the Albany program.

Good Work for the Senate

CHARLES R. CRANE is the latest prominent Democrat to urge the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. In a statement made public through the National American Woman Suffrage Association, he sets forth his belief that it will be a good work for the Senate to pass the amendment.

"The cause of woman suffrage is one in which I take keen interest, as part of the cause of democracy," says Mr. Crane. "I believe that democracy will be furthered by the adoption of the federal suffrage route as the quickest and fairest expedient for establishing woman suffrage, and I think the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the Senate would be a good work."

The Family of Nations

IN President Wilson's recent utterance on equal suffrage, his reference to the "family of nations" was not misplaced. Since the war began Denmark, Canada, Iceland, England and Russia have all given women the ballot, and Austria-Hungary seems to be on the point of following suit.

Susan B. Anthony's Birthday at Suffrage House

IN commemoration of the 98th anniversary of the birth of Susan B. Anthony, acknowledged by American suffragists as the greatest of their leaders, the weekly tea at National American Woman Suffrage Association headquarters, 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, was set for Friday of this week, February 15, instead of Wednesday.

Of particular interest on this occasion, as contrasting the present-day status of women with the past of Miss Anthony's lifetime, was the presence, as guest of honor, of Dean Helen Taft of Bryn Mawr College, daughter of ex-President Taft, who was on the program for an informal talk.

THE hostess of the afternoon was Mrs. Gilbert Grosvenor, who was assisted by Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip and other members of the hostesses' committee, of which she is chairman. At the tea table were Mrs. Daniel R. Anthony of Kansas, whose husband is Susan B. Anthony's nephew; Mrs. F. E. Warren of Wyoming, Mrs. Henry F. Ashurst of Arizona, Mrs. Harry S. New of Indiana, Miss Mabel Stone of Missouri, and Mrs. Irvine Lenroot of Wisconsin. Assisting at the tea table were the Misses Curtis, Miss Etta Taylor, Miss Leah Miller, Misses Grace and Dorothy Shallenberger, Miss Goodall, Miss Opal Hilliard, and Miss Mattis.

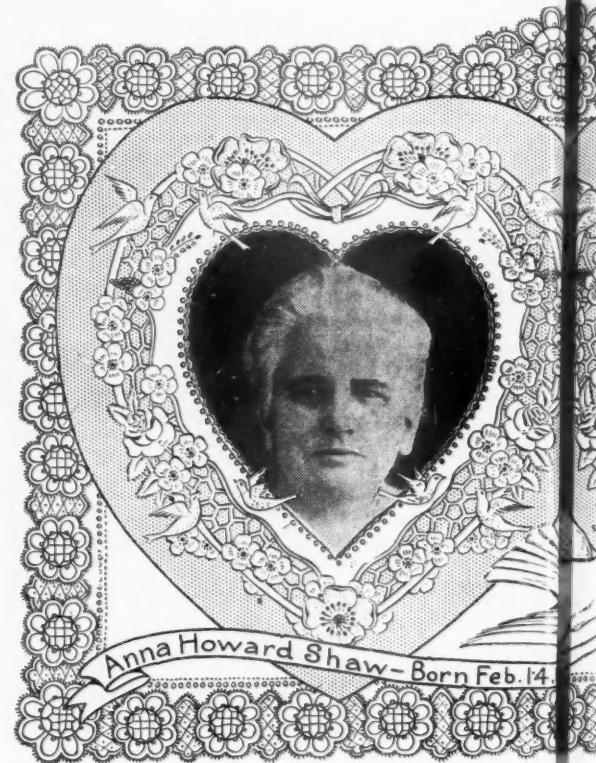
Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, friend and associate of Susan B. Anthony for years, provided souvenirs of the occasion bearing the following quotation from the beloved leader:

"**T**O desire liberty for oneself is a natural instinct, possessed alike by all men; but to be willing to accord liberty to another is the result of education, of self-discipline, of the practice of the Golden Rule. Therefore we ask that the question of equality of rights for women shall be decided by the selected men of the nation in Congress and the picked men of the several states in their respective Legislatures."

Susan B. Anth



AS A YOUNG WOMAN



The Gift of Prescience

SUSAN B. ANTHONY had the indefinable gift of prescience, as Dr. Anna Howard Shaw has pointed out in the story of Miss Anthony's forecasting the death of Frances Willard. Her vision ran ahead of events. This is why she was protagonist in so many phases of women's progress. She ran the gamut of militancy when the militant deed fitted the case like a glove. Militancy *per se* would not have interested her. Her own psychological adjustments were of so high a potency that she measured with a subtle skill the reactions to be produced.

She made a spectacular and dramatic test of the Fourteenth Amendment at a time when the Fourteenth Amendment was at the testing period. It had been tried out for the negro; she tried it for woman.

It was a theory of government which was on trial, not a person, and out of the tangles of sordid personal bitterness against her as a woman, emerged the struggle for supremacy of national citizenship.

In a very real way it was the right of the nation to grant suffrage to women which was the protagonist in the drama of 1872 when Susan B. Anthony was haled before a court of male citizens to answer for being a female person.

ONE of the lawyers concerned in the trial of the election inspectors who permitted her to vote said that if she had "won her case on its merits, it would have revolutionized the suffrage of the country and enfranchised every woman in the United States. There never was a trial in the country of one-half the importance of this of Miss Anthony."

And Miss Anthony had the clear vision to see it. She pre-empted "first times" for women.

She published a woman suffrage paper, "The

Revolution," whose motto was, "Men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less." It was a weekly, price \$2 a year; and its editors were Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Parker Pillsbury. Miss Anthony was its proprietor. It was almost the size of *The Woman Citizen*.

THIS was not the first woman's rights paper, as Mrs. Bloomer's "Lily" and Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis's "Una" preceded "The Revolution." It was the first paper of special prominence and it used all the modern methods of printing and circulation; and it initiated innovations. Girl newsies are still so much of an innovation that when *The Woman Citizen* is hawked by them on the streets on parade days, etc., people watch with interest. Girl "newsies," dressed in red and green uniforms, with netted bags in which to carry their papers, sold "The Revolution" in the streets of New York nearly fifty years ago. You had to be born early to get ahead of your "Aunt Susan."

When the periodical failed, as it did, partly because Miss Anthony would not lower her standards of paper, print and make-up, she herself assumed its debt of \$10,000, accepting no help from bankruptcy laws, and paid every dollar of it.

MISS ANTHONY directed the first Congressional hearing ever given to women on January 26, 1869, as she had directed the first legislative hearing in 1854.

Measures used for reaching legislators in 1916 and 1917 were forestalled by Miss Anthony. In this way:

She made a canvass of every county of New York in the interests of her petition to the Legislature. She had a copy of Mrs. Stanton's

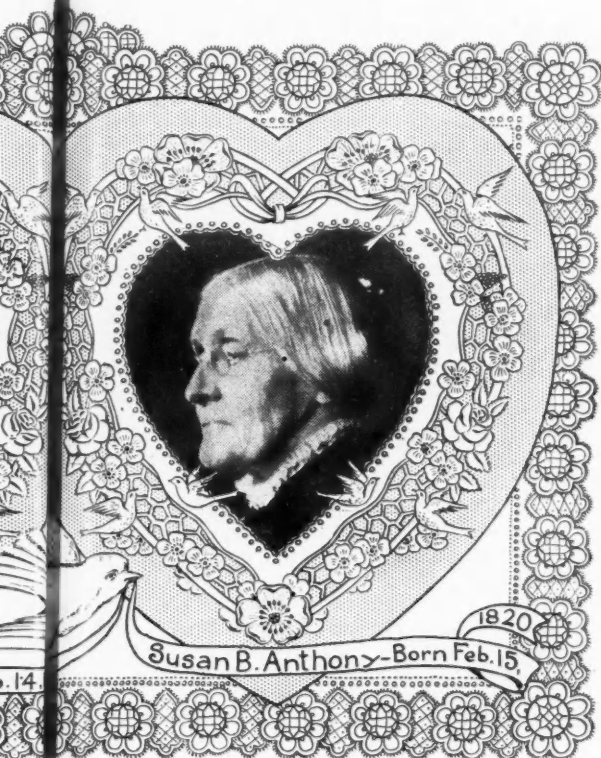
A Younger Woman to an Older

By Florence Ripley Mastin

To Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.

SO—Victory at last,
Over the top
Our yellow banners go!
Glamour is in
The golden air—
A great joy shakes
Our pulses.
Yet—the sunset
Holds the richness.
We, the young,
May never know
The dauntless will that
Held the falling sky,
The faith that marked
The invisible climbing stars,
The love that never
Broke the handclasp.
Ah! The bitter glory
We, the young,
May never know—
We of the joyful heart
May never know!

thy, Protagonist



ELIZABETH
CADY
STANTON,
CO-WORKER
WITH
SUSAN B.
ANTHONY.
HER
IMPRESSIVE
INTELLECT
AND
BRILLIANT
ACCOMPLISH-
MENTS
WERE
AMONG
THE
MOST
NOTABLE
ASSETS
OF THE
SUFFRAGE
CAUSE IN
EARLIER
DAYS.



ment as it stands today. It was long called the Sixteenth Amendment because it was modeled on the Fifteenth and was expected to be passed promptly. It was drawn up in 1878 and based on the simple wording of the Fifteenth Amendment upon the advice of the friends of suffrage in the Congress, some of the best constitutional lawyers in the United States. When it was passed by the House of Representatives, forty years to a day after its first presentation, it was without the change of a word.

Miss Anthony was first to say that women all over the United States would vote by 1920, a prophesy now on the eve of fulfillment—almost uncanny evidence of Miss Anthony's prescience.

Many Other "Firsts"

IN the overshadowing fulness of her influence on suffrage, the world forgets that Miss Anthony was the prototype in many fields. Her biographer says of her, "She was first in almost everything women have ever done."

She was chairman of a committee in 1852 to call a woman's State Temperance Convention. At the men's State Temperance Society, comprised largely of clergymen, the women delegates were called by one eloquent divine, "a hybrid species, half man and half woman, belonging to neither sex." Another clergyman in 1853, called the women brave enough to join a temperance society, "the scum of the convention."

Hers was the first woman's voice in all history ever to be heard in a teachers' convention. At a state convention in Rochester in 1853, she had to stand a half hour waiting for the male members to wrangle out the question of her right to speak, although women constituted four-fifths of the teaching profession.

The incident ended in the adoption of a resolution recognizing the right of female teachers to the deliberations of the convention and a pledge to endeavor to raise the standard of pay for women.

MISS ANTHONY made speeches on co-education in 1858, out of which grew the Cornell idea.

She was among the great speakers on social purity, although she was forever being assailed as a believer in dangerous feminism. The cries raised against her, she characterized in a letter to Mrs. Stanton as "but the noise and dust of the wagon bringing the harvest home."

(Continued on page 236)

Promethean Song

O GOD! To have helped half humanity rise in the sun!
If age cometh soft over youth, I will care not nor sigh.

To fight to unbind women's minds, give full strength, to have won!
That memory springing will dance in a smile, if I die!

My neighbor was weary with rain and her house and the wars;

But glad with my message I ran with the wind and the rain,

Through snow and through summer I knocked at a thousand shut doors,

"O women, awaken! and know that you labor in vain!

"For what is the wisdom of loving the children at home,

Of feeding, and mending, and soothing, and brushing their hair,

And ceasing to love them, except for a dream, when they roam?

For wisdom of mothers is impotent, mocked at, elsewhere."

"I know," spake the woman with child, "I am learning from life,"

"I know," said the house-bound, her eyes like a dull, dusty pane,

"We toil for the half of a loaf," cried the laborer's wife,

"I know," moaned the aged, "my sons, in their beauty, are slain."

They took each the hand of the other: I saw them uprise.

Their victory won, they have won for all women of earth.

O God! If a blindness should strike down the joy of my eyes,

Still shall I rejoice, being part of that struggle and birth.

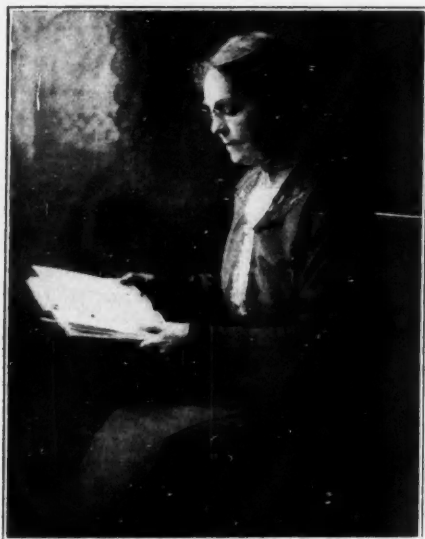
FLORENCE CROSS KITCHELT.

magnificent address on the rights of women to joint guardianship of their children laid on each legislator's desk. She circulated 50,000 of them throughout the state. She addressed the Assembly and the Senate on the question of the justice of women's possession of their own wages and guardianship of their own children. She presented 10,000 petitions for this womanly plea, and the legislators, running true to anti-suffrage type, shouted then, as later, that these were "unsexed women setting at defiance the divine law which declares man and wife to be one." In the wife's possession of her own wages, the mother's guardianship of her own children, these logical gentlemen saw "a species of legalized adultery."

THE Fifteenth Amendment had opened the eyes of women like Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton to the possibility of Federal adjustment of the woman suffrage question. Together these women blocked out the Federal plan of work and adhered to it from 1869 on. The National Woman Suffrage Association came into existence to carry this out.

The Republican National Convention was memorialized in Chicago in June, 1868, and the National Democratic Convention in Tammany Hall on July 4. The two great suffrage leaders presented the memorial in person, and the Chicago *Republican* reported that Miss Anthony's "advent was with thunders, not of applause, but of scorn of a degenerate masculinity." Her request for enfranchisement of women was received with "a bestial roar of laughter. . . . Sex—the sex of women—was the subject of this infernal scorn."

MISS ANTHONY, Mrs. Stanton and Matilda Joselyn Gage were joint protagonists of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amend-



HENRIETTA G. MOORE

REVEREND HENRIETTA G. MOORE has never known the time when she was not a suffragist. She just always was, always has been and always will be, and so on down the conjugation. Miss Moore can view the present great progress of suffrage and know that she has been a part—a vital part—in the big victory, because she helped lay the foundation which made the triumph of today possible.

In the days of Susan B. Anthony, or Saint Susan B. Anthony, as Miss Moore calls her, Miss Moore, then a very young girl, was to be found on the front seat at the suffrage gatherings over which the great leader presided.

Miss Moore was just fifteen years of age when she became a teacher in the public schools of Ohio. But all the time her heart was going out to temperance and suffrage, and always there was the desire to be a part of the great movements. In response to insistent demands that she become a platform advocate of these two causes, Miss Moore forsook teaching for the new field of endeavor. "Her word pictures are remarkable," "An eloquent address," "One of America's most brilliant women on the platform," ran the press comments the country over in those days.

ORDAINED as a minister in the Universalist Church in 1891, Miss Moore was afterwards a trustee of Buchtel College at Akron and of the American Temperance University at Harriman, Tennessee.

Miss Moore had the honor to be the first woman elected to the board of education in Springfield, Ohio, following the granting of school suffrage to the women of that state. Another "first honor" may be claimed by Miss Moore. In 1895 she was made temporary chairman of the Ohio Prohibition State Convention, being the first woman in the nation ever called to such a position. Her address was declared a masterpiece.

"I have lost friends and positions because of my suffrage views," writes Miss Moore from California. "but suffrage was such a basic idea with me from the beginning of my life that it never really cost me any effort or required any courage for me to stand for it against all opposition."

Portraits of Pioneers

An Historic Susan B. Anthony Club

TWENTY-ONE years from the date of its founding, a club which bore the honored name of Susan B. Anthony celebrated its 21st birthday at the home of the president and one of the founders, Mrs. Mary Simpson Sperry, 2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, and terminated its existence as a club on that date, which was October 22, 1917. *Sine die* was written on the closing page of the secretary's book with the understanding that if any necessity arose for the calling of a meeting the call would come, but not otherwise.

The club was founded immediately after the defeat of equal suffrage in California in 1896. Many hearts, less brave, would have succumbed when they saw the overwhelming majority against the measure, but not these women. Their forefathers knew not defeat in 1776; nor they in 1896; so this club was formed on October 22nd, 1896, in San Francisco, with the following original members: Ellen A. Sargent, Mary Simpson Sperry, Laura L. White, Agnes M. Manning, Mary Wood Swift, Florence C. Moore, Frances A. Dean, Cornelia K. Brown, H. S. Clayton, Lucy A. Coulson, Katie E. Ruser, Georgiana C. Ord Holloday, Mrs. G. Oulson, president, and Eliza D. Keith, treasurer and secretary.

These women, together with later members of this famous club, were among the foremost women in the state of California; e.g., Mrs. Ellen A. Sargent, whose husband was A. A. Sargent, a man well known in the political world as ambassador to Germany and United States Senator from California; while in the latter position he introduced the now well-known Susan B. Anthony Amendment, under date of January 10, 1878. Mrs. Sargent was a lovable and brilliant woman. Mrs. Mary Simpson Sperry's name is known from Del Norte to San Diego, her husband having been an early pioneer and founder of the famous Sperry Flour Mills; Mrs. Sperry was an organizer and financier of proved ability.

MRS. NELLIE HOLBROOK BLINN, another member, was an actress whose playing of Hamlet is not yet forgotten. She understood the political world and worked in it for the benefit of the suffrage cause. Mrs. A. H. Lisack, still another member, was the mother of a West Point officer made famous by his inventions; Mrs. Lisack worked in army circles for suffrage. Mrs. Ballantine, prominent in the club's annals, was a daughter of Thomas B. Reed, Speaker of the House for many years; Mrs. Ballantine aided much in lobby work at the state capital, Sacramento.

Mrs. Mary Wood Swift's husband had been Minister to Japan. She was an active member, taking Mrs. Mary Simpson Sperry's place as president of the club when Mrs. Sperry became president of the State Suffrage Association.

The club, all through its history, kept up a continuous propaganda for suffrage. The activities were somewhat lessened at times by the necessary departure for a while of some

prominent member, such as Mrs. Swift's long trip to the East and Mrs. Sperry's absence of nearly a year during her trip around the world. However, they were working for suffrage wherever they were. They were simply so imbued with it that they could not help it. When the campaign of 1911 started there were twenty-six amendments on the ballot to be voted for and this club of women knew then that their hour of opportunity had arrived. Former campaigns had shorn them of any fond delusions in regard to an easy victory; they knew that it was only through painful effort, grim energy and resolute endeavor that the inestimable boon of equal suffrage was to be gained.

NO sleeping on the past now. The campaign was started carefully. Deliberately building better this time, for the years of defeat had taught them much, money, that commodity that does so much, was raised. When funds ran low bazaars were given in many a magnificent home, where things were both made and sold. Mrs. Sperry, even on her trip to Tehati, carried her knitting with her and knitted baby socks which were raffled off aboard ship for a fancy price and the money given to suffrage. Women denied themselves new bonnets and fine raiment to give the money for the coming campaign. Organization had been carried on so thoroughly and so well done that the opposition woke up and hired speakers and bands. But the suffrage cause had the better talent. At its call came forth Gail Laughlin from Denver, and Helen Greeley from New York. Every club did something. The College Suffrage Club of the University of California gave a suffrage play which was a great success. At last when that fateful day of October 10th, 1911, arrived, it seemed as if everything that could be done or said for suffrage had been done.

WHEN the night of October 10th closed down and the flash lights from the *Chronicle*, *Examiner*, *Call* and *Bulletin* commenced to give the returns, returns which constantly piled up a majority against suffrage, many a woman went home stricken with the bitterness of defeat. The opposition openly rejoiced, then grew strangely silent as the "cow country" began to come forward with a majority for suffrage in nearly every town and hamlet in the state. That majority mounted and mounted until at last it was plain that suffrage had been won for the state of California.

Those days of waiting, so fraught with hopes and fears, it is impossible for any woman in that club to forget. When the suffrage victory was assured all the clubs held a celebration, but they beat no drums, they waved no banners in the face of their defeated foe; they showed their generosity in their hour of triumph.

While all the other suffrage clubs were closing up their books and disbanding, the Susan B. Anthony Club discussed the advisability of doing likewise, but just across the line were Oregon and Nevada calling for aid, so by the advice of the then president, Mrs. Sperry, whose courage and energy were illimitable, the club took a new lease of life. Mrs. Sperry remained president, ably assisted by Mrs. Isabel Baldwin, first vice-president, distinguished by her knowledge of parliamentary law. The meetings were more sporadic than regular, but the club was called together when aid was

(Continued on page 236)

Southern Opinion

“WHAT a mortification it is to belong to one of the states whose representatives voted solidly against the Federal Amendment in the House,” said Mrs. Julian B. Parke, president of the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association on the occasion of the big celebration held in honor of the passage of the Amendment in the House. The affair, which was held in the ball room of the Tutwiller hotel, Birmingham, was marked by the greatest enthusiasm for the Amendment, showing conclusively that the vote of the Alabama Congressmen did not represent the whole state.

“Are the women of Arkansas whose representatives voted solidly for the Amendment, any better than Alabama women?” questioned Mrs. Parke. “Or are the women of Alabama any different from those of Arkansas?”

“They talk about states’ rights. Has the state the right to put a stigma on the women of that state? While England and our other Allies are hastening to give women the right of suffrage as a war measure, our Congressmen are deciding whether women are people or not. We are proud to say, however, that the men who are for us in this state represent the best element of Alabama.

“ONE of these days there is going to be a society formed which will be known as ‘The Sons and Daughters of Those Who Voted and Fought for Woman Suffrage.’”

W. D. Nesbit, former chairman of the Democratic committee in Alabama and Prof. N. R. Baker, county superintendent of education, urged the women, at the jubilee gathering, to work harder than ever to secure suffrage for Alabama.

In commenting on the stand of the Alabama Congressmen, Mrs. Solon Jacobs said in an interview: “It certainly was a reflection on the Alabama delegation that its members should feel their own judgment superior to that of their party leader. The inconsistency of some members of the Alabama delegation rushing to vote for the national prohibition resolution and then turning around and voting against the woman suffrage amendment, is ludicrous, to say the least.”

THE Alabama State Suffrage Association has projected a program which will make suffrage one of the liveliest issues in that state. A questionnaire will go out to every candidate for office, legislative or executive, in the primary campaign which closes in August, to ascertain his stand on suffrage. Special attention will be given candidates for the Legislature that the members elected may be favorable to the ratification of the Federal Amendment, in the event of its passage by the Senate. In the event their plans are changed in that respect, the suffragists plan to concentrate on a campaign for primary suffrage.

The Birmingham suffragists have launched a most practical war service program which is meeting with tremendous response. On the first day of the enrollment for the free course in stenography, offered as a part of this practical program, 200 women applied.

“The biggest enterprise ever entered upon by the Birmingham committee of the Equal Suffrage Association,” says the press in praising this work.



MRS. HORTENSE WARD OF HOUSTON, TEXAS

The Lone Woman Voter in the Lone Star State

TEXAS women are fearfully humiliated by the large black spot their state makes on the rapidly whitening suffrage map. And they wish that somehow they could symbolize the small torch of suffrage held by their Houston president, Mrs. Hortense Ward. For Mrs. Ward votes. As a member of the Texas Bar she votes in the election of special judges. Not a large share of suffrage perhaps, but still suffrage and a tiny crack in the opening door.

Mrs. Ward was admitted to the Texas Bar in 1910, the first woman lawyer in the state. In 1915 with her husband and partner, Judge W. H. Ward, she was admitted to the Supreme Bar, the first woman south of the Mason and Dixon line to be admitted to the Supreme Bar and the first woman in the United States to be admitted with her husband.

BUT it is not as a pioneer woman, nor as the only woman voter in the state, that Mrs. Ward is most valued by the women of Texas. It is as the author of the Married Women's Property Rights Act. Before the passage of this bill the rights of the married women of Texas were chiefly interesting because of their absence. But in 1913 Mrs. Ward went to Austin, armed with a bill correcting many of the evils in the laws on this subject. The story of her three months' campaign against seemingly insurmountable difficulties is a long one, but the outstanding fact is that she won. The bill was passed, signed, became the law, and Texas women are now enjoying its protection.

AS chairman of the Houston Equal Suffrage Association and of her senatorial district as well, Mrs. Ward plays an important part in the campaign that Texas women hope will soon end in the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Mrs. Ward is also active in the program of war service carried on by the Texas Equal Suffrage Association.

Bon Voyage!

ALL the members of the Central Committee in charge of the hospital unit, and its advisers, together with the official board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, joined in a good-by dinner to the departing members of the Women's Oversea Hospital staff at the Cosmopolitan Club Monday night. A feature of the program was the presentation of staff members to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which is backing the unit. Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, chairman of the Central Committee, spoke.

The members of the Central Committee are: Mrs. F. Huntington Babcock, Mrs. George W. Bacon, Mrs. Raymond Brown, Dr. Mary Lee Edward, Dr. Alice Gregory, Mrs. Edward C. Henderson, Mrs. Samuel W. Lambert, Dr. Emily Lewi, Mrs. Philip Lydig, Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid, Mrs. E. R. Strange, Mrs. Edwin Thorne, Dr. Anna I. van Sholly, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, chairman.

The advisers are: Dr. Pearce Bailey, Henry W. de Forest, Dr. Haven Emerson, Edward C. Henderson, Dr. Samuel W. Lambert, Dr. Percy Turnure, John L. Wilkie, Dr. William H. Park.

Among the staff members are:

Doctors—Dr. Caroline Finley, director; Dr. Alice Gregory, Dr. Anna van Sholly, Dr. Mary Lee Edward, Dr. Marce R. Formad, Dr. Olga E. Povitzky, Dr. Laura Hunt;

Nurses—Miss Isabel Stevens, Miss Marie B. Rhodes, Miss Jennie Merle McKee;

Nurses' Aids—Mrs. Helen S. Armstrong, Miss Ethel Ketcham, Miss Lea Blanche Lanz, Miss Mary McCaffrey, Miss Anna Martens Wilber, Miss Shirley Eastham;

Motor Drivers—Miss Carolyn B. Mountain, Miss Mary A. Brown, Miss Marie De G. E. Lopez;

Mechanics—Mrs. Helen Isabel O. Griffith, Miss Florence Kober, Miss Mignonette Ford;

Dietitian—Miss Alminia Campbell;

Pharmacist—Miss Evelyn Thorp;

Secretaries—Miss Louise Griffith, Miss Anna Linz Breen.

It Stands

A RECENT issue of the *Chicago Legal News* contains the latest decision on one of the eight or ten cases against the Illinois Woman Suffrage law, not to speak of the 50 cases brought in prohibition elections carried by the women's vote. This case, which was appealed from lower courts on a technicality, was finally decided, after being two years in the courts, by the Illinois Supreme Court in June, 1917. It was brought by George A. Brinkman, who received a plurality of men's votes as candidate for Judge of the City Court of Chicago Heights, while Charles A. Bowles who was elected received a plurality of total men's and women's votes. The petition alleged that women "were not legal voters, were illegally allowed to vote and men were the only legal voters."

The court affirmed the decree of the lower courts in favor of the woman suffrage law.

Modern Daughters of Ceres

Five daughters of William McKenzie, of Ravenna, Ohio, cut 15 acres of corn, shocked it and saved the crop which Farmer McKenzie feared would be lost owing to his illness.

Last of the Famous Voting Vanguard

A SOUTHERN woman has hinted at a new patriotic order, Sons and Daughters of the Men in Congress who voted for the Federal Amendment. A still more exclusive society would be the descendants of the women who voted with Susan B. Anthony. There were fourteen of them, besides Miss Anthony, and only one, it is believed, now survives. She is Mrs. Margaret Leyden, widow of a Civil War veteran, Major Maurice Leyden, of Rochester, N. Y.

On November 5, 1872, these fourteen women followed Miss Anthony to the polls in her test of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Miss Anthony's claim always was—and it was backed up by lawyers and statesmen—that under the second sentence in that amendment women were illegally deprived of their franchise.

Several of the voting women were of Miss Anthony's own household, her three sisters, Miss Mary Anthony, Mrs. Hannah Anthony Mosher and Mrs. Guelma Anthony McLean, standing by her. The other eleven women who, for conscience's sake met the challenging election inspectors, were, according to the *Rochester Post-Express* of January 12, 1918, Mrs. Margaret Leyden, Mrs. Rhoda De Garmo, Mrs. Sarah Truesdale, Mrs. Mary Pulver, Miss Ellen S. Baker, Mrs. Nancy M. Chapman, Mrs. Susan M. Hough, Mrs. Hannah Chatfield, Mrs. Lottie Bolls Anthony, Mrs. Jane M. Cogswell and Mrs. Mary L. Hebard (wife of the then editor of the *Express*).

MISS ANTHONY'S venture was in response to a leading editorial in the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* on November 1, 1872. It was an impassioned plea for registration at the polls: "If you were not permitted to vote," it read, "you would fight for the right, undergo all privations for it, face death for it. You have it now at the cost of five minutes' time—and yet, on election day, hundreds of you are likely to lose your votes because you have not thought it worth while to give the five minutes. Register now."

There was nothing in this notice to indicate men only—it was a call to Americans to be loyal to their faith in the ballot, and Miss Anthony had just conducted a campaign for that very symbol of democracy which citizens were asked to uphold.

She and her sisters went to the registry of the Rochester Eighth Ward (in a barber's shop) and asked to be registered. Miss Anthony read the Fourteenth Amendment ("No state shall make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens") to three nonplussed election inspectors, who finally entered the names of the Anthony sisters, one inspector objecting. Miss Anthony then called on other women in her ward and fifteen in all registered.

THE evening papers told the story, and fanned the flame. In all fifty women throughout the city were registered. Two papers of Rochester gave the news reports of the occurrence, but made no adverse comments; but one attacked the women so furiously in its editorial comments that all the inspectors, except those in the Eighth Ward, were terrorized and refused to accept the the ballots of the women. The three inspectors of the ward where the women voted were arrested and indicted "for having knowingly and wilfully received the votes of persons not entitled to vote." Each was fined \$25 and costs. The day after election Miss Anthony wrote Mrs. Stanton and said: "Well, I've been and gone and done it; positively voted this morning, and

claimed, the first secretary of the first women's political club in the United States, and she came to be a member of that little group "that forced its way into the polling places in the old Eighth Ward, out around and beyond General Hospital, put the election officers in hot water, and created a ferment that reached the length and breadth of the land"; a yeast still leavening the world.

Mrs. Leyden was, with Miss Anthony and the rest of the fifteen women, taken before United States Commissioner Storrs, United States District Attorney Crowley and Assistant District Attorney Pond. They were ordered to appear for examination on Friday, November 29, a dramatic feature being the fact that the room where they were examined was "the same dingy little room in which in olden days fugitive slaves had been examined and returned to their masters."

At the second hearing, two days before Christmas, so many ladies of the city were present that it looked like a social gathering. Of those on trial, one paper said: "The majority of these law-breakers were elderly, matronly looking women with thoughtful faces, just the sort one would like to see in charge of one's sick room—considerate, patient, kindly."

The commissioner held all of them guilty, and fixed their bail at \$500 each. All of them furnished it but Miss Anthony, who applied for a writ of habeas corpus. When she was arrested and was being escorted to the court-house by the sheriff she was taken on the street car. The sheriff, not wishing to embarrass her, went to the end of the car, leaving her alone. When the conductor asked her for her fare, Miss Anthony said:

"I am a prisoner, traveling under escort of the sheriff. He is in the rear of the car. Ask him for my fare."

SHE FOUGHT NOT PERSONS BUT CONDITIONS

swore my vote in at that—not a jeer, not a rude word, not a disrespectful look has met one woman. Now, if all our suffrage women would work to this end of enforcing the constitutional supremacy of national over state law, what strides we might make; but oh, I'm so tired. I hope you, too, voted."

What is almost always forgotten is that the fifteen voting women had had legal advice, Judge Henry B. Selden confirming Miss Anthony's claim to vote under the Fourteenth Amendment. After investigation of her evidence he said he "would protect her in that right to the best of his ability."

MRS. MARGARET LEYDEN, who was an intimate friend of the Anthony sisters and Mrs. Stanton, and lived very near them, was one of the women who actually voted. She was a little woman of a retiring disposition, timid almost to painfulness, yet she was, it is

SHE was indicted by the grand jury the following January, and her trial was held in Canandaigua in June. Mrs. Leyden still tells, with amusement, how the state was compelled to pay the costs of her attendance at the Anthony trial and her traveling expenses to Canandaigua and return, because the district attorney thought to turn a smart trick. He put her on the witness stand when he saw her at Canandaigua, where she had gone with her husband, as a friend and supporter of the woman the state was using its machinery to punish.

Miss Anthony, found guilty of having "knowingly, wrongfully and unlawfully voted" (the said Susan B. Anthony being then and there a person of the female sex), was fined \$100.

Miss Anthony's stirring response was: "May it please your honor, I will never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty, and I shall earnestly and persistently continue to urge all women to the practical recognition of the old Revolutionary maxim, 'Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.'"



The Vote and the Voter

Who May Vote and Where

By Mary Sumner Boyd

IT would seem as if the lack of uniformity in voting qualifications in the 48 states would lead to violation of Art. IV, section 2, of the United States Constitution, and as if some specific discriminations were in direct opposition to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The struggle of the 13 original states toward democracy was, first, to free themselves from government by a religious aristocracy, and second, from government by property holders. By 1826, when Maryland abolished religious qualifications, these were a dead letter everywhere; with Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island in 1842 property qualifications ceased to be important. Except for a few Southern states, where they have been revived for the special purpose of race discrimination, there are today no property qualifications in general elections. A few states lay down a property requirement in elections on tax or school matters.

Prepayment or payment of poll tax is a requirement in some states. The poll tax, a tax on the head or "poll" of the individual, not on his property, has been the subject of much misconception in connection with voting. It has nothing to do with the polls or voting. It was originally "a tax on the right to live."

Four states prohibit it as contrary to democratic ideals.

TWENTY-FIVE state constitutions either impose a poll tax or authorize their Legislatures to impose one at need. The amount varies from one to four dollars in the different states. In a few states some forms of partial suffrage, granted not by the constitution, but by act of Legislature, are made dependent on poll-tax payment. It is imposed in nine states on all adults; in ten on all male inhabitants, though in one of this group, the state of Arkansas, the women voters at the primaries have voluntarily shared this burden. In Utah, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Tennessee it falls on all male *citizens*, and only in Oklahoma and Rhode Island on all *electors* who have full suffrage. That is, in only six states is payment required from voters, as such.

The poll tax, being based on no tangible object but on the person himself, is easy to evade, and being unpopular on account of its undemocratic basis, it is notoriously evaded. In 1914, in spite of the many million adults throughout the Union subject to state poll taxes, a total of only \$2,000,000 was collected.

FOR this reason all but six of the states which impose such a tax, whether on adults, male adults or male citizens, have cannily provided that at least one section of the population shall prove that they have met their obligation to the state by producing, before they can vote, their poll-tax receipt, or proof of prepayment of a tax they would owe whether voters or not.

From the 40's on the foreigner and the negro gradually became the problem of the constitutions, the foreigner being made welcome by Western and mid-Western states, the negro being rejected as a citizen, until by 1861 he could vote in only four states.

In 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was ratified and all color restrictions became inoperative in state constitutions, even where the states did not go to the trouble of amending. It is a curious fact that among the amendments "voted upon, but not passed," in Ohio in 1912, is one "to strike out the word white" in the suffrage clause, and a clause covering the negro and the native-born Chinaman was voted on in Oregon as late as 1916.

FOR fifteen years or so after the Fifteenth Amendment the negro vote was used as a means of power in the South by the Northern Republican Carpet-Baggers. Between about 1890 and 1907 a system of alternative tests was worked out which has, in some states, cut down the negro vote to five per cent of adult males. Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina and Virginia have the most elaborate provisions.

Chief among these alternatives, of which two or more had to be fulfilled in the various states, were property qualifications, the "grandfather clause," special poll-tax requirements, educational and moral tests. Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina require among their alternatives property to the amount of \$300; Georgia requires \$500. In six Southern states the poll tax is used as another means of complicating voting requirements. Thus Alabama requires proof that all polls have been paid since 1901, Georgia that all taxes assessed since 1877 have been paid, and the requirements of Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi are only less difficult to fulfill.

Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Virginia provided, some of them, that voters or descendants of voters before the Civil War, others that soldiers in that war, or their descendants, should be subject to no other tests.

"This is the 'grandfather clause,' which," says A. B. Hart, "is the purely American form of hereditary aristocracy."

In June, 1915, the first blow was struck at the "grandfather clause" by the Federal Supreme Court decision that this section of the Oklahoma Constitution was at variance with the Fifteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution. The decision says in part:

"A PROVISION in a state constitution recurring to conditions existing before the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment and the continuance of which conditions that amendment prohibited, and making those conditions the test of the right to the suffrage, is in conflict with, and void under, the Fifteenth Amendment.

"The 'grandfather clause' incorporated by reference to the laws of those states, which in terms excluded negroes from the franchise on January 1, 1866, because of race, color or previous condition of servitude, and so itself implicitly excludes them for the same reason.

"Its effect is to exclude practically all illiter-

ate negroes and practically no illiterate white men, and from this its unconstitutional purpose may be inferred."

Difficult educational tests and moral requirements too vague to fulfill in cases where they were actually pressed are other means by which the negro was disfranchised.

The early educational qualifications were not adopted by Southern states.

Seventeen states in all have educational tests. Some Eastern and far-Western states have them for the bona fide educational purposes and supplement them by a fairly good system of free education, a compulsory education law and a small percentage of illiteracy.

THE educational test of the South goes along with bad public educational facilities and a very large percentage of illiteracy. The fact that it has no educational purpose is brought out in some of the Southern states by the captious and difficult character of some of the tests, which would tax a quick-witted man to perform. Louisiana requires a 75-word written application for registration, Virginia a written application giving the voter's history for two years previous and his previous vote. Mississippi not only requires the reading of a section of the constitution, but a "reasonable interpretation thereof."

New Mexico came into the Union in 1912, with a prohibition of educational tests.

In 34 states idiots, the insane, or both, are disqualified in specific terms. Though no mention of either class is made in the constitutions of the other states they probably disqualify them in actual practice.

THE moral requirements imposed on voters by the Southern states are no less distinctive than the educational.

Thus, in Alabama, if a negro has no property, he has, as part of the educational qualification, to give evidence of "regular work in a lawful employment for the greater part of the preceding year," and in Alabama and in Georgia he must be "a person of good moral character who understands the duties of a citizen of the republic." These are requirements which can be interpreted freely and can be pressed, or not, according to the will of election officials.

Not all moral tests have reference to the negro. Practically all the 48 states today lay down some moral requirements, many of them impossible to enforce. These cover a wide field, from wife-beating to election frauds. On the whole, in the Western and Northern states dishonesty in public life is accentuated; in the patriarchal South, where the family is, on the whole, more dominant, sexual irregularities have more prominence.

Many states disqualify paupers or tramps. A few states have moral qualifications which are reminiscent of Colonial days. Thus no less than eight states disqualify a duellist. Connecticut requires a "good moral character" and "a quiet and peaceable behavior." Vermont and Virginia require that voters have "an attachment and interest in the community."

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You and Your Daily Bread

WAR bread exhibits are the feature of the moment, and women are doing their share in public ways and in private ways to fulfill the Government's requests that substitute flours be put on the market and used in the home. They are demanding war bread of their bakers and of their cooks. The *Woman Citizen* has put its shoulder to the wheel to push along the Government's demands. It has from week to week furnished reliable recipes in the interests of Federal food production and food conservation committees.

IN Summit, New Jersey, the local committee on Food Conservation of the Woman's Division of the National Council of Defense is promoting a war bread contest with a prize for the winning loaf. Competitors are to be cooks, paid or unpaid, of any nationality or of any color. Recipes in sealed envelopes will be submitted by them. The popularity of their bread and rolls will be judged by a referendum on an equal, direct and universal suffrage basis. There is to be no sex discrimination against the male voter. The war bread recipes of the *Woman Citizen* will be a feature of the exhibition.

Here is still another raised bread formula, contributed by Mrs. M. A. McGeoy of Palm Garden, Pass Christian, Mississippi:

McGeoy Suffrage Bread

TO 1½ qts. boiling water (preferably potato water) add slowly 1 cup of corn meal well moistened, making a mush, which boil slowly for 15 minutes; set to cool until lukewarm; then into half a cup of this mush mix one piece of compressed yeast, which return to the remainder of the mush; beat it in, adding a half cup of sugar and sufficient flour to make a stiff batter. Set to rise. After it has risen and begun to fall add level tablespoon of salt and rounding tablespoon of lard or other shortening; in higher latitude, a pint of warm milk, or milk and water, or water may be added to this quantity of yeast; but in the moist, lower altitude, no more liquid should be added. Beat the batter well, adding whatever flour is necessary to make a soft dough and set to rise. When the dough has doubled its height it is ready to mould into rolls or loaves. If it is desired to make the bread quicker, the salt and shortening may be added to the batter at first and a soft dough be made which, after rising twice its height, may be made into loaves and rolls. Let the rolls or loaves rise twice their height and bake in a slow oven 35 to 45 minutes, according to size. This makes nutritious and lovely bread.

Why Boys Are Funny

The headmaster of Eton contributes to the Nineteenth Century some good stories illustrative of "The Humor of Boyhood." Here is an example: "Trace the growth of the power of Parliament during the time of the Tudors." Answer: "In the reign of Elizabeth the Commons were always petitioning the Sovereign to marry; a thing they would not have dreamt of doing in the time of Henry the Eighth."

Susan B. Anthony

(Continued from page 231)

NOW that the feminine world has run to trousered uniforms it seems strange to read that the first wearers of "bloomers" were followed by jeering, yelling mobs of men and boys who threw sticks and stones at them. Miss Anthony liked pretty clothes and hated bloomers, but with her large vision of the opening vistas of woman's work she foresaw that a reform in clothes would be imperative. And for a time she tried bloomers. But her relief was immense when she could conscientiously discard them as being less essential to the cause of women than the suffrage which the bloomers covered with harmful ridicule.

She advocated a "Woman's Land Army" of women as agriculturists and horticulturists, more than fifty years ago. And she demonstrated their ability by work in her own garden.

Miss Anthony's paper, *The Revolution*, took up with great vigor, the cause of working women. In fact, the Working Woman's Association, with officers chosen from the various occupations represented, ranging from typesetters to rag pickers, was formed in the office of *The Revolution* in 1868.

MISS ANTHONY was made chairman of a committee on female labor, of the National Labor Union Congress. Her committee reported a strong set of resolutions, urging the organization of women's trades unions, demanding an eight-hour law and equal pay in all positions and pledging support to secure the ballot for women.

"I do not demand equal pay for any women save those who do work equal in value," said Miss Anthony to the girls whom she was leading into organization for better conditions. "Scorn to be coddled by your employers; make them understand that you are in their service as workers, not as women."

All these things Susan B. Anthony did as the great protagonist of the woman movement. But the palm was not gained without the dust of the arena.

In her diary at midnight on her birthday in 1870, she wrote: "Fiftieth birthday! One half century done, one score years of it hard labor for bettering humanity—temperance—emancipation—enfranchisement—oh, such a struggle!"

Suffrage Coffee House

A SUFFRAGE Coffee House has just been opened for the benefit of the soldiers at Ayer, Mass. On February 2, it was formally presented in the name of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, and was accepted by Brigadier General William Weigel for the men of the Seventy-sixth Division. The Boston Globe says: "It is easily the most comfortable and cosy building of its kind in this division."

The house was bought by Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw and Mrs. George Richmond Fearing, Jr., and leased to the Suffrage Association for a nominal rent. It contains not only a cafe, but baths, a reading room, a rest and music room for the soldiers, with rooms where their wives, mothers and sisters can be entertained over night. The writing room has been furnished by the College Equal Suffrage League of Boston.

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THE SUFFRAGE RESTAURANT

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Near Fifth Avenue

Susan B. Anthony Club

(Continued from page 232)

asked for by states that were going through the ordeal of a suffrage campaign. Money was always needed, speakers had to be sent also. Mrs. Sperry, although partly incapacitated for a time through the accident of a broken limb, in the early part of the Exposition, was always at her post as president, the meetings being called at her house. Through her influence and precept the money and speakers were forthcoming. Her eight years as president of the State Suffrage Association, besides being the president of the Susan B. Anthony Club, had given her that knowledge that only comes from experience; her extensive travels in her own and foreign lands had taught her diplomacy. Her motto is now and always has been equal suffrage, since she became a convert to the cause through Susan B. Anthony's influence in 1871. The Susan B. Anthony Club and Mary Simpson Sperry's name are indissolubly linked together. The world is the better for both. The last act of the dying hour of the club was to send money to the New York campaign committee through Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw.

MANY of the members of the club have passed on. One, the well-beloved Ellen A. Sargent, never lived to see the fruition of her hopes. Others of the noble women have gone, their brave hearts forever stilled. You may close down the lids of their sightless eyes, screw down the coffin lid, pile high the sod on their last resting place, but you cannot bury with them the memories of their noble lives. That memory will live as long as the history of California lives. They have given to California women the inestimable blessings of liberty, the most precious boon that mortals can have; the right to think and act for themselves and their children, and these descendants of the freed women of California will rise up in the coming years to call them blessed. When history records the life of Susan B. Anthony, when it writes the word *finis* at the close, it will also write those words: "*Exegi monumentum aere perennius.*"

SARAH GARRETSON PRINGLE.

The Vote and the Voter

(Continued from page 235)

TWENTY-TWO states disqualify for all crime, South Carolina for certain crimes; Alabama enumerates a long list. Idaho includes polygamists in its list.

Mississippi, which punishes the unjust by depriving of the vote a person once convicted of crime, rewards the just by setting a very short residence requirement for ministers, and South Carolina pays a like premium to this class and to school teachers.

California and Idaho disfranchise the Chinese. In May, 1882, a federal statute provided that "Hereafter no state court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese (immigrants) to citizenship."

The untaxed Indian on the reservation is a ward, not a citizen, but the Amendment of May 8, 1906, to the Federal Allotment Act, expressly provides that those who have left the reservation and adopted habits of civilization shall have the citizen rights of natives of the United States, and this act is often made to cover whole tribes.

SHORT or long residence requirements and special naturalization provisions show whether or not a state wants to attract settlers. In the very early days some of the states laid little stress on citizenship or length of residence.

Today eight grant voting rights on "first papers"; Maine requires only three months' residence and nine others six months, or less, residence. In marked contrast Rhode Island and six Southern states now require two years' residence.

KANSAS first, in 1913, and since then 12 other states, have made voting easy by allowing absentees to mail their ballots. It is the only way to make practical the provision found in very many constitutions that absence of soldiers, sailors or public officials from the state shall not entail loss of citizenship. It should apply in all states to all enforced absentees. By special legislature provision in 1917 the majority of the states arranged for a soldier-vote in time of war.

There are many classes perpetually disfranchised by the nature of their work. Among these are actors on the road, workers in transportation, agricultural laborers, lumbermen, roadmakers or workers in many public works in contract camps, those workers who migrate with the canning industry from Florida to Maine as the seasons change, other workers in seasonal trades, bridge-builders and many others in the building trades.

NEXT to the residence requirement as an unintentional method of disfranchisement is the confusing machinery of registration.

By the 90's the difficulties and perplexities of this prerequisite of voting had, with other causes, cut considerably into the number of voters. Arkansas alone forbids registration. The variations between states in number of voters are wide. The *Encyclopedia of American Government* shows that in the election of congressmen in 1910 the ratio of voters to population in certain states was as follows: Mississippi, 1 in 75 people; Carolina, 1 in 50; Massachusetts, 1 in 8, and Utah, 1 in 4.

The 50 per cent difference between Massachusetts and Utah is laid to woman suffrage,

and the smallness of the vote in the Southern states to the impediments presented by their constitutions.

(Exact information about the suffrage qualifications of each state can be obtained from the Research Department of the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education.)

For Economy's Sake

NEW YORK state can save \$214,000 if it hearkens to the advice of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party. The Party waives its request for special enrollment days for women voters. "Long years of training in the handling of the family budget have made woman economical," said Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, when it was announced that the cost would be \$214,000.

In the event the legislators at Albany insist on special enrollment of the women, the Woman Suffrage Party favors personal enrollment rather than enrollment by mail or canvass. The women feel that the latter method may result in undue pressure by rival political parties.

Don't Be An Average Voter

THE average American voter has prejudices, party feelings, general notions of a certain kind, but he gives to the fundamental questions of government not much more thought than a street-car horse does to the profits of the line. Were this not the case so many hoary abuses could not have survived and so many new ones have been added.—*Progress and Poverty*.

Not So Mere

THE small boy sometimes sees straight and sees far, says the *Christian Science Monitor*. John stood high in his examination, but a girl took the highest mark. His father was indignant.

"John, I am surprised to find you have allowed yourself to be beaten by a mere girl."

"Yes, father," said John unblushingly, "I have; but I can tell you something—girls are not so very mere after all."

Democracy Advancing

"TWO-THIRDS of the House of Representatives have voted to make the United States more safe for democracy. That is the meaning of the adoption of the resolution submitting the woman suffrage amendment. There was no good reason for any other course. Those who opposed the measure may offer explanations, but they cannot argue away the fact that denial of suffrage is denial of democracy. And because it is denial of democracy there is no force to the plea that suffrage is a matter which should be left to the States. In no State of the Union should there be a government which does not derive its power from the consent of the governed. The states' rights doctrine does not imply the right of one class within a state to deprive others of rights, for no fault of their own. And it is gratifying that so firm an upholder of states' rights as President Wilson has come to see the force of this distinction, and, by changing his attitude, has pushed the measure nearer to victory."

(The Public.)

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Where Is Your State?

YOU have no idea how difficult it is for us to sit down each week and compile a column or so on why no right-minded woman in the United States to-day is complete without *The Woman Citizen*. It seems to us so perfectly self-evident that it is hard to grasp any other point of view. And now despite the pro-German weatherman and all the horrors of heatless Monday and traffic tie-ups, one undeniable spring day has slipped into February and instead of pondering serious matters such as "Why are Illinois and Pennsylvania so long in getting started?" and "Why is New Jersey so fine and forehanded?" some totally foreign nonsense like "Why is a mouse?" bobs up persistently in our stream of consciousness. "Why is a mouse when it spins on its tail?" "The higher the fewer."

Does that answer mean nothing in your life? It does in ours. It is an axiom of gloomiest import in these war times and applies to tons of coal, loaves of bread, hats, shoes and postage stamps.

It works both ways with *The Woman Citizen* and might well be written

the higher
the fewer

The fewer our readers, the higher our publication cost. The higher our publication cost, the higher (eventually) our yearly subscription rate. The higher our yearly subscription rate, the fewer our readers. The fewer— But why continue this vicious circle of black magic?

OUR State Circulation Chairmen are a host of good fairies and with their concerted efforts the spell has been broken and the words read

*the higher your state subscription list
the fewer the adverse votes in your Legislature*

Gaze upon them—but do more than that. Frame them and hang them in your headquarters—but do more than that. Appoint at once a *Woman Citizen* Circulation Chairman for your own organization who will see that every one of your members becomes a subscriber. And so make *your own magazine* the most influential weekly in America!

If you will read Dr. Jones's statement on this page you will see what fun one can get out of boosting *The Woman Citizen* and, incidentally, that Iowa is going to give your state a close run for the First Cash Premium!

State Circulation Chairmen

Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane of New Orleans
Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York of Augusta
New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin of East Orange
New Hampshire: Mrs. Mary Post of Portsmouth
Rhode Island: Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt of Bristol
Kentucky: Mrs. Charles Firth of Covington
West Virginia: Mrs. P. C. McBee of Morgantown.

Massachusetts: Mrs. R. L. DeNormandie of Boston

Texas: Mrs. Helen Moore of Galveston.
County Chairmen

Kentucky:

Fayette County, Miss Whitney Hostetter of Lexington

Mason County, Mrs. Lillian Dodson of Maysville

City of Lexington, Mrs. W. D. Drake

There is really nothing easier than securing new subscribers for the *Woman Citizen*. In fact, it is so easy that telling about it is not likely to be very interesting. However, if we are to get the 100,000 we want and need, it may help to share our experiences.

To begin with, all my efforts to introduce the *Woman Citizen* to new readers have been made in connection with public meetings at which suffrage and its progress and plans have been set forth as enthusiastically as possible. A few quotations from the *Citizen* and several references to striking bits of suffrage news gleaned from it help to whet interest. Then an appeal for subscribers, showing what a new field it opens up to those who become acquainted with it, with a few jokes illustrating how ignorant some people are about suffrage, with the story of its endowment which gives them several dollars worth for one dollar—and so forth. It really sounds no more simple than it is. Whenever one opens a woman's eyes to her need of exactly the thing which the *Citizen* can do for her she is quite ready to subscribe.

The requisites for successful soliciting of subscriptions are three,—belief in the *Woman Citizen*, enthusiasm for women and willingness to ask them to do things. We ask too little from most of them. There is no magic except the magic of faith and enthusiasm.

As for our plans to push Iowa to the top in the present canvass, we are organizing a committee, with a Chairman in each of the eleven Congressional Districts who will in turn appoint County leaders with instructions to them to secure at least one woman in each town to seek out interested women and secure their subscriptions. Every time any sort of Suffrage meeting is held an appeal is made and always some woman says, "I have been wanting to get hold of something of that sort." We are simply opening an opportunity to many who do not know where to look for the information they want and that is a true sort of missionary work any time.

Long life and much power to the *Woman Citizen*. There are few things more delightful than to introduce it to new friends.
—EFFIE MCCOLLUM JONES, Webster City, Iowa.

Rules Governing the Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

Breaking New Ground

THE Susquehanna Collieries Company has appointed the first woman weighmaster in the anthracite region.

THE War Department will send abroad a unit of women telephone operators. They will wear a distinctive uniform and will be considered from a military standpoint as in a similar position to the members of the British Women's Auxiliary Corps.

LOLA ANDERSON, United States Deputy Marshal, recently took oath of office in Denver, Colorado, succeeding Samuel Rosuck, who resigned to join the army. Hers is not exactly a peaceful job either. Conundrum for Everett P. Wheeler: Can the woman voter sustain her vote by force of arms?

MISS IRENE BELTZ, who has been named weighmaster at a colliery at Beaver Brook, Pa., is probably the first woman to take a position in the actual operating staff of any coal mine in the United States.

AMERICAN industry is duplicating the English experience. Joseph A. Holland tells in the *American Machinist* of the Remington Arms Company's experience with women in men's places. Not all women succeed; no more do all men. But where they do, Mr. Holland reports that in dexterity and perseverance in overcoming difficulties they have outdistanced their male predecessors. In the production of small and intricate parts they have in some instances increased the output 400 per cent.

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retail and financial businesses and all kinds of trades have their class magazines. Woman is coming into a new work-politics. She needs to read her political magazine

The WOMAN CITIZEN

as she reads her home magazine. Woman's importance as a citizen is a recognized fact. Week by week The WOMAN CITIZEN is putting its readers more closely in touch with the business of their political position.

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In 1791



LYMPE de Gouges issued her "Declaration of the Rights of Woman." The first of the seventeen articles she wrote sets forth this: "Woman is born free and remains man's equal in all rights of human being and of citizen."

She was guillotined for her belief. She left this message, "Justice cannot be divided. It is for humanity entire"

It is now the 20th century

and women are still working for their civil rights. The WOMAN CITIZEN is publishing weekly all important news of progress, and reporting for you, women, inspiring information as you rapidly approach the goal



HE WOMAN CITIZEN is financed by women, written by women, managed by women, published by women, and read by women (a long advance since Napoleon's time). It goes to every state in the Union and to nearly every foreign country. The number of subscriptions in each of these must, however, be multiplied many times if the only Woman's National Political Weekly published is to grow and develop and become a power in print

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February 23, 1918

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL FOUNDED 1870



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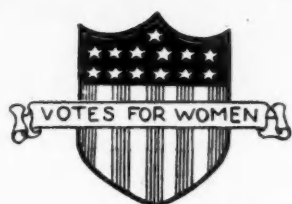
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in the front rank of magazines where it belongs.

For details about CASH PREMIUMS see page 258.



THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

The office of publication is at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. The business manager is Florence E. Bate.

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Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class matter, under the act of March 3, 1879.

The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue, New York

February 23, 1918

Vol. II (New style) No. 13

Copyright, 1917, by
THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE and HENRY B.
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as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
OF NEW YORK CITY

and the NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE
65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferred upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays 136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

February 23, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The Senators and the Moment

THE vindication of American democracy rests for the moment with the United States Senators. Step by step everybody else has done his or her part. Education and agitation have had their perfect work with the public of America; the American press has given its incomparable support; the House has acted; the National Democratic Executive Committee has urged the Senate to act; the Republican National Committee has endorsed the overwhelmingly affirmative vote for the amendment by the House Republicans. The country waits.

The delay on the Senate vote must not, however, be charged to unfriendliness to the measure in the Senate. A combination of circumstances—notably the attack on the Administration and the absence of certain suffrage Senators—has made it advisable to defer the vote, the date of which may be set before this is read.

It is foreign to the policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to give out polls in advance, but no such embargo is laid on prediction, and we predict that the vote will be favorable. If it were not that the antis would accuse us of being masculine, we should be willing to bet on it. Rather than be masculine we restrict ourselves to laying a wager, in ladylike accents, that the Senate will pass the amendment.

And soon!

A Composite Vote

THE big vote of 274 for woman suffrage in the United States House of Representatives was made up mostly of Republicans and Democrats, with five votes from the representatives of the minority parties, classed in the press reports as "miscellaneous." Owing to the large proportion of votes required to submit an amendment (two-thirds), if Speaker Clark had not been prepared to give his casting vote for it in case of need, the change of one vote would have defeated it. As the solitary Socialist member cast his vote for it, we should not be surprised to find the anti-suffragists claiming that it was "carried by the Socialist vote." They have made this claim in regard to New York City, and the fallacy involved is exactly the same.

If the one Socialist in the House had not voted for the amendment, it would have been lost without Speaker Clark's aid. But if the Democrats who supported it had not voted for it, it would

have been defeated much more heavily; and if the Republicans who supported it had not voted for it, the defeat would have been heavier still. It took the votes cast for it from all parties to carry it; and the same was true of New York city.

There the Socialists cast a smaller vote than the Fusionists, and a much smaller vote than the Democrats. The anti-suffragists say that if the Socialist votes cast for suffrage had been subtracted, it would not have carried. This may be true; but it is quite certain that if the Democratic, Republican and Fusion votes cast for it had been subtracted, it would have lost by a huge majority.

The antis have not claimed that the Socialist vote carried suffrage in Congress; that would be a little too "raw"; but they do not hesitate to make that claim about New York City.

Which will seem very laughable when the enfranchised women look back upon it, a few years from now. A. S. B.

Germany's Pinnacle of Morality

IT has not escaped general attention that as Germany has forged forward with her concepts of civilization she has carefully sown the seeds of anti-suffrage to spring up along the fringes of her path of materialistic progress in a flowery tribute to woman as mother and wife and home-maker. So long as the proprietary instincts of the male could be observed, the sacredness of the marriage bond, legal usage, social custom were used on the German woman as at once a fetter and a fetish.

Now come ever and anon out of Germany rumors of an insidious propaganda that aptly reveals the utilitarian nature of the boasted morality that may accompany *kultur* where women are concerned. Germany needs more *kanonen-futter*, men, and more men, to feed to her insatiable militarism. There are not husbands enough to go round, so at one throw woman's monogamic traditions and inhibitions are to be tossed into the discard and she is called on to enter into "secondary marriages" for purposes of re-population. Here is an exposé of the underlying morality of these marriages as set forth by one Carl Hermann Torges:

"The offspring of these lawful secondary marriages bear the name of their mother, and are handed over to the care of the State, unless the mother assumes responsibility for them. They

are to be regarded in every respect as fully equal members of society. The mothers wear a narrow wedding ring as the sign of their patriotism. The secondary marriage can be dissolved as soon as its object has been attained. . . . It rests, therefore, with the women and the clergy, assisted by the State, to determine whether Germany shall be able not only to maintain herself on her present pinnacle of morality, but by her own strength to stand up in the future as in the present."

The complacency with which a masculine mind can thus take upon itself the disposition of women's minds, souls, and bodies on such pinnacles of morality is the most insulting offering held over from an out-lived age. But if the spectacle helps bring home the deep-lying lesson that women must take an active, not a passive, part in the fashioning and interpreting of social and political morality, the insult may not have been offered in vain.

Suffrage Forging Ahead

THE endorsement of the nation-wide suffrage amendment by the National Committees of both the great political parties continues to be the subject of warm rejoicing in suffrage circles. Coming right on the heels of the enfranchisement of women in England and Canada it shows afresh how the cause to-day is sweeping all before it.

In Charles Reade's great novel, "Hard Cash," there is one of the most thrilling descriptions of a sea fight to be found in English literature. A large merchant ship, homeward bound from the Indies, deep laden with cargo, and carrying women and children, is attacked by two pirate craft in the Straits of Gaspar. For a long time it seems to be a battle between the sword-fish and the whale. The pirate vessels are small but nimble and well armed; they sail around and around the merchant ship, sending their shot through and through her; and she can make no effective reply; but her captain pressed forward steadily towards the opening of the Straits:

"The great patient ship ran environed by her foes; one destroyer right in her course, another in her wake, following her with yells of vengeance, and pounding away at her—but no reply.

"Suddenly the yells of the pirates on both sides ceased, and there was a moment of dead silence on the sea. Yet nothing fresh had happened: the pirates to windward, and the pirates to leeward had found out, at one and the same moment, that the merchant captain they had lashed, and bullied, and tortured, was a patient but tremendous man."

He had altered his course to run down one of the pirate vessels whose mainmast had been shot away. By the sheer weight of his huge ship, he sails right over her, crashing her to pieces, and makes his way out into the open sea. The other pirate pursues, and gains for a time; but the wind is rising, and the small craft pitches in the heavy ocean swell, while the great ship rides firm as a rock. The captain of the merchantman, wounded, lies on the deck, watching the chase. At last he sees that the pirate is losing ground. Excitement lends him strength for a moment. He springs to his feet and shouts: "Good-bye, ye Portuguese lubbers! Outfought—outmanoeuvred—and outsailed!"

A sense of exultation akin to his fills the breasts of old

suffragists over the double endorsement given by Democrats and Republicans to the national suffrage amendment. For more than half a century the great equal rights movement, freighted with interests most precious to humanity, was assailed with every kind of venomous insult and slander by the two pirate ships, the vicious interests on the one hand and stupid conservatism on the other. But so far as argument was concerned, the anti-suffragists have all along been outfought; ever since Mrs. Catt came to the helm, they have been outmanoeuvred; and now, with the change of weather brought by the great world war, they have been definitely and forever outsailed. Soon all will be over but the shouting.

Nevertheless, the enemy will fight to the last, and the "home folks" should not for a moment relax their pressure upon their U. S. Senators.

A. S. B.

Progress of Women Doctors

THE departure of the Women's Oversea Hospital Unit, backed by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, calls attention anew to the vast advance which the women's movement has made, not only in suffrage, but in many collateral fields.

It was most appropriate that the Unit should be sent out from the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, opened in 1857 by Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman to take a regular medical course and obtain a medical degree (at Geneva, N. Y., in 1849) and also the first woman to be placed upon the medical register in England (in 1859).

To-day the difficulties that she met seem almost incredible. She applied to ten medical colleges before she found one that would admit her. During her course of study, women at her boarding house refused to speak to her, and women passing her on the street held their skirts aside. The early women doctors almost starved, because hardly anyone but the Quakers would employ them.

When the Infirmary was about to be opened by Dr. Elizabeth, with her sister Dr. Emily Blackwell and Dr. Marie Zakrzewska, every effort was made to frighten the eminent men who had consented to serve as trustees:

"They were told that no one would let a house for the purpose; that female doctors would be looked upon with so much suspicion that the police would interfere; that if deaths occurred their death certificates would not be recognized; that they would be resorted to by classes and persons whom it would be an insult to be called upon to deal with; that without men as resident physicians they would not be able to control the patients; that if any accident occurred, the public would blame the trustees for supporting such an undertaking; and finally, that they would never be able to collect money enough for so unpopular an effort."

In Dr. Blackwell's little book, "Pioneer Work for Women" (Everyman's Library), the early trials of the institution and its final success are graphically described. To-day hospitals run by women—mostly by suffragists—are doing admirable work in almost every country affected by the world war; and the Women's Oversea Hospital Unit goes out with the sanction of all the

authorities, and with the blessing even of the conservatives. Truly, the world moves!

A. S. B.

Not Because He Was Intelligent

"I VOTE," perorated Hon. Francis M. Scott twenty-five years ago, "not because I am intelligent, not because I am moral; but solely and simply because I am a man."

An Invidious Distinction

NOW that England has granted women the ballot, the non-suffrage states of our Union are the only part of the English-speaking world in which women are still debarred from a vote. Is that a condition of things which is creditable, or which can be allowed to last?

Clearly not. There is neither good sense nor patriotism in spending time and energy in the vain effort to keep water standing at different levels in different parts of the same vase.

A. S. B.

Eligible

MRS. EMMA T. MARTIN, of Atlanta, Georgia, is responsible for the following story of an applicant for citizenship. When he filed his first papers he was asked:

"Do you believe in polygamy?"

"Yes, sir."—Consternation.

"Do you know what it means?"

"Yes, sir. More than one wife."

"Have you more than one wife?"

"Yes, sir. Two."

"Where are they?"

"Why, sir, I live with one and the other is—dead."

Southerners Among the First

THE passage of the nation-wide suffrage amendment through the U. S. Senate seems so imminent that already the women are looking ahead and considering its ratification by the states.

The most sagacious of the suffrage leaders has prophesied that some of the Southern Legislatures will be among the first to ratify. A few years ago that would have seemed a rash prediction. But there has been a wonderful change. Representative organizations of Southern women have been petitioning their U. S. Senators to submit the amendment—in some cases unanimously, in some by overwhelming majorities. When it is submitted, these same influences will work for its ratification.

Southern men have long had a reputation for two marked characteristics—chivalry towards women, and political acumen. Here is a case where both point unmistakably in the same direction.

A. S. B.

THE West Cairo, Allen County, Ohio, Farmers Institute has passed strong resolutions calling upon Ohio's United States Senators to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

One-Minute Talks for the F. S. A.

SEX, no more than race or color, should longer be a bar to a participation in the affairs of government.

We cannot get the consent of the governed unless we grant the governed the privilege of the ballot.—*Ocala, Fla., Banner.*

TENNESSEE is another of the southern states that shows constantly increasing sentiment for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Hon. Lee Douglas, United States District Attorney, in the *Nashville Tennessean* is quoted as saying, "Suffrage is a progressive world measure and our country at this time cannot afford to be reactionary. For this reason, if no other, I hope and believe that the Senate will do what the House has done and pass the Amendment, so that it can be submitted to the states for ratification."

"THE present administration has made innumerable calls upon the women as workers in the factories and the fields, and as conservers of the national food supply. Through the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, the Government has made that call more effective. Of course, the women would have rendered patriotic aid during the present crisis, regardless of the fate of their enfranchisement. They always have done their share, they always will. But by declaring itself for suffrage, the Administration has removed a feeling of irritation and discontent, and has thereby rendered American women more capable and more willing to perform those duties so essential to the success of our armies abroad. The nation has strengthened itself from within."—*The Harvard Crimson.*

THE interest shown by the Southern press in the fate of the Federal Suffrage Amendment is widespread and vigorous. Perhaps no Southern paper has given a better exposé of editorial opinion on the states rights argument, as applied to the amendment, than has the *Herald of Augusta, Georgia*. In a recent issue it took occasion to say:

"The question of states rights does not enter into the subject at all. The constitution provides for the passage of such amendments as may seem advisable from time to time. If it is ratified in a given time, two-thirds of the states concurring, it becomes a law, otherwise it is automatically poured back into the jug. Where is the infringement of states rights? The state can surrender a reserved right one time as well as another. The constitution specifies the delegated rights and all others are expressly reserved. We had already surrendered twelve rights as reflected in the twelve amendments which had been passed up to the time of the war.

"It all depends upon whether we want it or whether we don't. If we don't want it, some one will look for an excuse to kill it. Hitherto, the women of Georgia and South Carolina have been opposed to suffrage, as the conditions existing made it distasteful. Gradually these conditions have changed and they may take to it more kindly. Georgia may take the amendment voluntarily, but it won't be long before it will be thrust upon her whether or no."

A National Political Committee Meeting

As Seen by a Woman

THAT the Republican National Committee was strong for woman suffrage and would have taken its action at St. Louis furthering the passage of the amendment by the Senate without the filip by the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee, is the opinion of Mrs. Rosalie Loew Whitney, who has just returned from the St. Louis meeting. In their support of the Republican Congressmen who voted for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, she sees the National Republican leaders in the light of fond parents proud of their offspring.

Mrs. Whitney, who is the wife of Travis H. Whitney, Public Service Commissioner of New York, occupied the position of representative of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at the St. Louis session. The purpose of her mission was to ask the Committee to go on record again on suffrage and especially on the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Being a woman with wide-open eyes, she came back with some pungent personal impressions of the St. Louis meeting. She said the atmosphere of the committee was an interesting one, tense and with lines definitely drawn between conservatives and progressives.

"It was most gratifying," declared Mrs. Whitney, "to see the Republican Committee give such whole-hearted support to the Amendment. They were familiar with the fact that 165 out of 198 Republicans voted for the Amendment in the House on January 10. Some urged that there was no occasion for a new pronouncement on suffrage now. Indeed some claimed that they had no right to do anything which would appear to write a new platform."

"I urged that the vote in the House was a virtual referendum and anything they might now do to confirm it would seem like following a mandate from the Republican Party."

"I HAD talked with men—both progressive and conservative leaders—before going and firmly believed that a resolution in favor of the Amendment would go through. This was confirmed by interviews on my first half day in St. Louis. I do not feel that there was a line drawn between conservatives and progressives on the suffrage question; for even among many conservatives there was a recognition that suffrage is a movement which is spreading not only in the United States of America but all over the world, and an inevitable step in the process of political evolution. I will not deny that there are still left a very few who have no appreciation of the fact that women are human beings with a full complement of mental interests including an interest in political relationships. But men from suffrage states brought a familiarity with the subject, and in addition to these men were those of known progressive leanings whose sympathies were also for suffrage. I am inclined to think Senator Calder of New York had a marked influence. He is well-known as a practical man and his quick acceptance of his position as Senator from a suffrage state must

have made an impression upon a few hide-bound men who still think of suffrage as belonging either in the West or to the East of the dim future.

"MR. RALPH WILLIAMS, state committeeman from Oregon, was asked to introduce the resolution. Mr. William R. Willcox, former chairman of the National Committee, to whom we applied, had agreed to give us a hearing on Tuesday, the 12th, as soon as the session was called, when all those interested in suffrage—for or against—were to be admitted to the committee meeting.

"When the Woman Suffrage Resolution was reported by the Resolutions Committee there was such an evident desire to pass it that it was passed before the chairman had an opportunity to call for the speakers. After the resolutions report was disposed of and the woman suffrage resolution passed, the supporters and opponents were called upon.



WILL YOU PLEASE SIGN, MR. SENATOR?

This gave the supporters an opportunity to thank the committee and say a few words in behalf of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and of hope for further support in ratifying the amendment.

"I confess my sympathies were with the two women who had come there prepared to argue against suffrage. One of them said she saw before her thirty men who had told her the night before that they would vote against a suffrage resolution. Personally I am inclined to think that the speaker who said this had inferred that the gentlemen meant to say they would not vote for it when they were only murmuring polite assents to generalizations made by herself. At any rate surely political judgment ought to have made it clear that it was the temper of the meeting to support anything that showed the National Committee behind the Republicans in Congress in the vote they had given on the Federal Amendment.

"It appeared to me that the attitude of the Committee toward the Congress vote had a good deal of pride in it. They felt very much like proud parents who restrain themselves with difficulty from praising their own offspring. But they were tremendously pleased

when any one else spoke of the Republican activity in Congress on woman suffrage. Not one man spoke in disapproval of this vote in Congress.

"AS I have said, I had no doubt from the beginning that the Committee would pass this approving resolution, and personally I do not believe that the passage of some sort of resolution the day before by the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee was in any sense the cause of Republican action. I think it did have some effect, mainly this: There were one or two of the members who, fearing the entrance of women into politics, might have made a fight on the floor against the resolution. They would have been overwhelmingly defeated by the friends of suffrage. And it was probably this fight that was saved."

"Did you see much of the political struggle over the chairmanship?" Mrs. Whitney was asked.

"Yes, no one could have been in the building without a decided knowledge of what was going on. Whenever the General or the Executive Committee was not in session, there were group meetings of friends of the respective candidates. And naturally, as I talked with various committeemen about suffrage they were apt to speak of matters with which they were much concerned. Many asked me what I knew of them on the suffrage question."

TO the query, "Do you think suffrage itself was affected by the struggle over the chairmanship?" Mrs. Whitney responded:

"Well, of course, we know Mr. Hays will do all he can for the Federal Amendment and for its ratification. Indeed we are indebted to him for the help he gave us while the matter was pending in the House and I look forward to his further help. The Republican Party is certainly on record and it will not fail us now. Unquestionably the Amendment will go through the Senate very soon. States will begin to rally and New York, I sincerely hope, will be the first to initiate the process whereby our country is to take its place with other enlightened nations in giving women political justice."

St. Louis Has Woman Police Sergeant

A MOVE, which was started late in November by the Joint Conference of Suffrage Leagues of St. Louis, has resulted in the creation of the office of police woman sergeant in the city of St. Louis. In addition, the Board of Police Commissioners have ordered the appointment of ten probationary patrolwomen who will get the same salary as the patrolmen, \$75 a month. These women will have the same power as patrolmen, including the right to make arrests and will wear a star but no uniform. The first police women to be appointed, Mrs. Margaret A. H. Healy, Mrs. Mary Gibson, Miss Nellie Quick and Miss Lillian Troy have been in the Police Department

(Continued on page 257)

Justice in Nebraska

CHARGING that gross frauds and forgeries were committed in the securing of signatures to the referendum petition that has so far suspended the limited woman suffrage law passed by the last Legislature of Nebraska, a dozen representative Nebraska women filed suits at Lincoln in the district court on February 14 for the purpose of enjoining the Secretary of State from further action thereon.

The frauds are alleged to have consisted of misrepresentations by solicitors of the nature of the petition when presented to voters. These are alleged to have consisted of saying that it was a wet or dry petition; that it was on behalf of full suffrage for women, or that it was authorized by the suffrage association; that thousands of the names signed thereto are the names of aliens, many of whom have never even taken out their first papers; that other thousands are the names of persons not now resident at the places given on the list as their home nor have they at any time, in many instances, ever lived there, or if so, have long since moved away; that thousands of these names are fictitious, as are also their addresses, the latter being, in many instances vacant lots, in parts of the city where the streets do not extend, in cornfields, in railroad yards, viaducts and in some cases in the Missouri River; that in at least five instances the names signed are those of men dead at the time they were sworn, by the circulator, to have signed in his presence; that in violation of the law, boys as young as eight years of age, were hired to circulate the petitions.

It is also charged that thousands of names are rank forgeries, written by circulators, with no apparent effort made to disguise their handwriting and are the names of per-

sons who never existed save in the imagination of the writer. Handwriting experts from various banks have been going through the lists for weeks and are prepared to swear to these forgeries. Detectives have also assisted in the getting of the mass of evidence the women have ready to present the court.

The case will be pushed to a speedy hearing before the four judges of the Lancaster district court. If there appears any one to defend the petition from the onslaught, it is probable the Supreme Court will have the final decision. The women hope to secure that decision in time for them to participate in the spring elections, from which they are now barred by the filing of the referendum.

The principal work of circulating the referendum petitions was done by Omaha men, hired for that purpose. The petition filed by the suffragists lists a number of these as former bartenders, professional signature getters, a professional gambler and sport, several personal employees of Tom Dennison, students, small fry lawyers, etc. Most of the work in counties outside of Douglas was done by one or more of these Omaha circulators, assisted in some cases by ex-saloon keepers or bartenders.

The petition claims that there are not to exceed 15,000 of the 34,000 that are not vulnerable to a legal attack, either as direct forgeries or the result of fraud or technically invalid because part of those on the sheet are forged signatures. Enough withdrawals have been filed with the Secretary of State of names on the referendum petition to bring the total below the legal requirement, and one of the legal points to be decided by the court in this case is whether withdrawals can be made after the referendum has been filed.

Virginia's Dog Day

WEDNESDAY, February 13, was "Dog Day" in the Virginia Legislature. Every dog in Virginia had his day then, and so absorbed in the subject were the legislators that the usual adjournment for luncheon was indefinitely postponed. The wittiest speech of the day—made in favor of the *sheep*—was delivered by Delegate Thomas Lomax Hunter of King George county, representing, in the House of Delegates, the district of Stafford and King George counties. Mr. Hunter spoke next day at State Suffrage Headquarters, Richmond, at the regular meeting of the Richmond League. Introducing Mr. Hunter, Mrs. Sally Nelson Robins, second vice-president of the Richmond League, said:

"When we asked for equal suffrage we were told that we would destroy the traditions of Virginia. The speaker this afternoon comes from conservative King George county. His name signifies the essence of traditions. A descendant of Thomas Lomax and Thomas Lungsford, he has the vision to build upon the traditions of Virginia. Besides representing in the Legislature the district of Stafford and King George counties, Mr. Hunter was the first president of the Equal Suffrage League of King George county."

"I AM proud of having been the first president of the Equal Suffrage League of King George county, and I am proud of having been a suffragist ever since I can remember," said Mr. Hunter. "I came out for equal suffrage long before William Jennings Bryan, whom I heard speak on the subject recently in the General Assembly. He referred to the Federal constitutional amendment; I am heartily in favor of that method, to me it seems the way, certainly the most direct way, and since both the Democratic and the Republican National Committees, meeting recently, have endorsed this method and agreed to urge its prompt passage by the Senate of the United States, I cannot see how any member of either party can hold out against it. A constitution which can be amended for the negro man should certainly be amended for the white woman. As a loyal Virginian, the traditions of the state are very dear to me, but I deplore Virginia's habit of looking backward—those who look backward only and not forward are in danger of turning to pillars of salt. The argument that some women do not ask for the ballot has no weight with me; if only one woman in the United States wanted suffrage I should work for it for her as her inalienable right."

"WE cannot call this an absolute democracy as long as half the people have no voice in their government. It is an outrageous commentary on Virginia chivalry to see the women of Virginia begging at the doors of the Legislature for their plain rights. Ladies, I wish you had as many political friends as the dogs in Virginia. But I wish to make a prophecy—the dawn is getting red, your rights cannot be longer kept from you. I hope soon to see the women of the Southland on equal political footing with the women of the West."

THE Equal Suffrage League of Richmond, Virginia, led all other women's organizations of that city in the sale of War Savings Stamps and Certificates for the month of January and the first week in February, reporting sales amounting to \$5,315. Mrs. Milton E. Marcuse is chairman of this branch of the suffrage war service work, with Mrs. S. M. Block as assistant chairman. The Equal Suffrage League of Danville was reported as holding the record for that city.

The wives and daughters of the members of the Virginia Legislature were the honor guests at a reception given in February by the Richmond Suffrage League.

Including Soldier Votes

THE final statement of the New York vote on woman suffrage, as canvassed by the State Board of Canvassers of New York, and prepared for general information, shows the following totals:

City Vote		
	No.	Yes.
Bronx	36,346	52,600
Kings	92,315	129,601
New York.....	89,124	129,412
Richmond	5,224	7,868
Queens	26,794	34,125
	249,803	353,666
City plurality		103,863
Total State Vote		
	No.	Yes.
	600,776	703,129
Total state plurality.....		102,353

Taking a Stand in Dixie

GEORGIA congressmen, who believed they were representing the real sentiment of their state when they voted solidly against the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the House, must have found something to think about in the Federal Amendment Rally and Celebration held at Augusta. It was a large and representative audience that gathered at the Hotel Albion to take part in the celebration held under the auspices of the Augusta Equal Suffrage League. Among the speakers was Dr. Katherine Bement Davis, formerly Commissioner of Corrections of New York city, and now general secretary of the Government Bureau of Hygiene. She told of the New York campaign and stressed the importance of passing the Federal Amendment. Dr. William E. Vines of the First Baptist Church of Augusta and Dr. John Jenkins of St. John's Methodist Church of that city took a stand in favor of suffrage for women, Dr. Jenkins expressing confidence that the Senate will pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Military and Naval Meet

A GRAND military and naval meet, to be held at Madison Square Garden on afternoons and evenings of March 15 and 16, for the benefit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., is announced by Mrs. Elizabeth Ryle Strange, chairman of arrangements. Mrs. Strange also announces the names of distinguished patrons and committee members.

The honorary patrons are:

M. Gaston Liebert, Consul General of France; Sir Frederick W. Black, K. C. B., Vice-Chairman of the British War Mission; Brig.-Gen. Evan M. Johnson, U. S. Army, and Rear Admiral Nathaniel R. Usher, U. S. Navy.

The following are members of the Acting Committee: Miss Charlotte Delafield, Mrs. Elbert H. Gary, Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson, Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim, Mrs. William H. Hays, Mrs. Warner Leeds, Miss Luisita Leland, Mrs. V. Everit Macy, Mrs. Victor Morawetz, Mrs. Ogden Reid, Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip and chairmen of all working committees.

Mrs. Ogden Reid is also a member of the Central Committee of the Women's Oversea Hospitals U. S. A., of which Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany is chairman and Mrs. E. R. Strange, financial chairman.

Associated with Mrs. Strange as executive chairman of the Military and Naval Meet Committee is Mrs. Howard W. Beal, vice-chairman, with whom cooperate twelve working committees.

The committees are as follows:

Allied Organizations—Chairman, Mrs. Augustus Thomas.

Boxes—Chairman, Mrs. Francis C. Bishop.

Children's Entertainment—Chairman, Mrs. George D. Pratt; vice-chairman, Mrs. Herbert K. Raynes.

Canteen—Chairman, Mrs. Donn Barber; vice-chairman, Miss Margaret Middleton.

Decoration—A committee from the Architectural League. Chairman, Mr. Alexander B. Trowbridge.

Emergency—Chairman, Mrs. Elon Huntington Hooker.

Music—Chairman, Mrs. Frank Hunter Potter.

Police—Chairman, Mrs. Helen Hartley Jenkins.

Programme—Chairman, Mrs. G. Vernon Rogers; vice-chairman, Mrs. Cortlandt Nicoll.

Publicity—Chairman, Miss Rose Young.

Tickets—Chairman, Mrs. Charles Noel Edge; vice-chairman, Mrs. Augustus C. Hone.

Ushers—Chairman, Miss Julie Lentilhon; Mrs. Andrian van der Bakhuyzen and Mrs. Lewis Gouverneur Morris.

Willard V. King, president of the Columbia Trust Company, has consented to be treasurer.

The working headquarters of the Military and Naval Meet Committee are at War Service Office, 2008, 303 Fifth Avenue, where Mrs. Strange and her committees expect to be occupied for many strenuous weeks.

"Our goal," says Mrs. Strange, "is the sum of \$60,000 needed for the maintenance of our first all-women's hospital unit.

"The French Government, through its high commission, eagerly accepted the opportunity for the service offered to it by the public-spirited and patriotic women who have organized the first hospital unit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals.



MISS CAROLYN
MOUNTAIN,
CHAUFFEUR
AND MECHANICIAN,
WITH HER
WOOLEN HELMET.



SERVING IN THE

From left to right:
Dr. Mary Lee Edward, Miss
van Sholly, Miss

What It Means to Be a Soldier

THE HOSPITAL UNIT, sponsored by the suffragists, has sailed for France. Some idea of what it is sailing into may be gained from a letter received by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, from Miss Heloise Meyer, former auditor of the National, now on canteen assignment in France.

Miss Meyer writes: "We are certainly feeling some of the privations of war, living in a room as cold and damp as a tomb; always possessed by a cough that never leaves one; no light at night, a candle or so, and often no water; satisfying our hunger with

"THE American Red Cross gives the hospital its complete equipment, costing \$35,000, as a gift to our ally France.

"The military and naval meet has nothing whatever to do with the suffrage party. It is being run by patriotic women as their bit towards raising the money for the unit which has been adopted by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

"Preliminary plans for the grand military and naval meet cover splendid programs for both U. S. Army and Navy, about which many announcements will be made during the month.

"All the proceeds will go to maintain the hospital and we shall be very glad to welcome the cooperation of all allied war-work organizations. Many generous gifts of money have already reached us. May this spirit of generosity inspire others to do the same until the desired end is attained."

Helping the Suffragists

A MAN may be opposed to suffrage and yet approve of the work of the suffragists. Texas suffragists have found a recent example of this in Judge Barry Miller. The women of Dallas are raising a fund for the Women's Oversea Hospital Unit, now departing to France, and one of the contributions to their fund came from this prominent Dallas lawyer, who as a member of the Texas Legislature, voted against suffrage. Dallas suffragists take this as a hopeful sign, and hope that Judge Miller may yet be counted among the friends of equal suffrage.



NURSES AND

From left to right: Miss Isabel Stevens, head nurse; Miss Blanche Griffith, Miss Thorpe, Miss Ethel Ketcham, Miss Mary E.

Overseas Hospitals, U. S. A.



MRS. HELEN ISABEL
GRIFFITH,
PLUMBER
PLENIPOTENTIARY
TO THE
UNIT.



High-hearted Girls

JUST before the Federal Suffrage Amendment went to vote in the House last month Hon. Medill McCormick delivered a speech in the House that was said by some suffragists who heard it to have made more points for woman suffrage than half a dozen suffrage speeches put together might have done. It was a speech on the Problems of Victory—the needs of the armies at the front, the expedients for meeting those needs. From beginning to end the speech held and thrilled the House and the galleries. An extract or two from it will illustrate the skill with which Representative McCormick made the case for women as part and parcel of the case for the world fight for democracy:

"General Pershing told me of a French lady, a nurse, torn by a shell. As he stood by her bed while the commander-in-chief of the French Army pinned upon her breast the Croix de Guerre—the soldiers' war cross, with palms—she whispered to him: 'General Pershing, I am glad that I have been struck, so that you may tell your countrymen that the daughters as well as the sons of France are ready to suffer and, if need be, to die—die for her and for liberty.'

"GIRLS and young women have taken up the tools which the men have laid down. You see them everywhere, those high-hearted girls; in the stables and the shops, as conductors of omnibuses, running elevators, at work on railway trains, as messengers, as porters, as drivers of motor trucks. In France and England 2,000,000 of them are engaged in work for the war, while in England alone this year 200,000 women and girls, volunteers, went out from the cities upon the farms to garner the harvest. Crofters' lassies, daughters of old houses, girls from shops and from sheltered homes, like their brothers in the trenches, are knit together in the new democracy of toil."



PHOTOGRAPHS BY GERTRUDE BRUGMAN
MISS BLANCHE LANZ, MRS. HELEN S. ARMSTRONG, MISS MCCAFFREY,
MISS EASTHAM, MISS JENNIE MERLE MCKEE, MISS ANNA WILBER.

The Spirit of Edith Cavell

AN Edith Cavell Memorial Nurse tells in the *Journal of Nursing* what active service means. Through the conservative statement of one too used to a hard and distressing profession to make much of it, you get glimpses of how near many thousands of the non-combatant sex come to the worst hardships of war. "Are you prepared," she asks nurses in training for the field, "to face damp and cold so intense and persistent that some days you will seriously doubt if undressing will be possible? And when this difficulty has been overcome and you have tucked yourself under as many covers as you can stand, you begin to wonder if you will ever be able to get up and dress when the morning comes! Your hot water bag becomes cold in a very short time, your tent walls and bed covers soon are covered with frost, and you are lucky if your discomfort is not made worse by chilblains which are 'punishing' you dreadfully for having covered them up and tried to make them warm. The cold is just as bad in the huts and also in many of the billets, but fortunately you do not have to worry about the patients for their tents and huts are heated by coal stoves and are usually most comfortable.

"By day also, the cold may be so intense that your hands are blue and numb, but the work has to be done and sometimes you will have to check tears of real suffering and do your duty."

This is one detail of the physical strain, which she says cheerfully is "limited by the waking day though hours of sleep are often few." The mental strain "cannot be measured by hours," it is always with you. When thoughts of wounds so horrible that it hardly seems possible for a human being to survive; of families in terrible anxiety "are with you most of your waking hours and many of your sleeping ones you begin to wonder how you can face another day of it."

Joy in France

MISS MARY DEWSON, formerly Legislative Chairman of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, is now in France, "doing her bit." She was one of six women chosen out of the whole United States for a particular piece of important service. In a letter to Mrs. Grace A. Johnson, written from somewhere in France, she says:

"We heard of the New York victory on the train up from where we landed, and our little car, jammed with American social workers and the advanced generally, nearly blew off the track with joy."

If the U. S. Senate votes to submit the amendment for nationwide woman suffrage to the States, the news will bring joy to the great majority of the brave women who are now trying to lessen human suffering in Europe.

A. S. B.

In the Unit's Wake

DIRECT connection between the Women's Oversea Hospitals and the *Woman Citizen* will be maintained by means of letters, cablegrams and reports sent back to the Central Committee located at 171 Madison Avenue, New York City. From time to time incidents of the work of the unit will be published in these columns so that home friends may know of its welfare.

A Federal Fable

ONCE upon a time a great nation erected a wonderful Tower and called it Political Freedom. Wise men of the nation announced that all persons who entered within the tower would be crowned and become Sovereigns of the Nation. Only those unfit to enter the tower would remain the Subjects of the Nation.

The word passed from man to man and woman to woman until all the people in the nation learned of the wonderful tower. Enticed by the engaging prospect, the entire population marched toward it.

Suddenly across the road two horrid and fear-inspiring beasts appeared, known as Prejudice and Unreason. The people paused affrighted and then men gave combat, for they were equipped with the most adequate weapons yet devised with which to attack these enemies of the human race.

These weapons were Education, Individual Ownership of Property, the Power to Collect and Use Wages, Free Thought, Free Speech, Freedom to Organize—and all these the men used wisely and well throughout the conflict. With every turn of the battle Prejudice shouted to the people: "You are unfit, you are unfit." And the battle waged long and fiercely. The women did what they could and helped greatly, but none of the weapons with which men fought were permitted to women.

At length a truce was declared and, after much discussion, the men in a body passed on to receive their crowns of sovereignty within the tower. Thereupon Prejudice and Unreason, triumphantly grinning, resumed their position across the road and blocked the progress of the bewildered women. In insulting tone they shouted to the women: "We have allowed your men to pass by but they consent that they alone are fit to enter the tower and they have pledged themselves to unite with us to prevent your approach to the tower."

Then the women with sad hearts took counsel of each other and said: "We are fit but we must have the weapons with which to fight in order that we may prove ourselves fit." So without weapons they fought to gain weapons. The struggle was long and bitter and a century passed before success crowned their efforts. Then with Education, Property, Wages, Free Thought, Free Speech, Organization, they again approached the dreaded enemy. Lo! so long a time had passed that all the men who had reached the tower and had already been vested with a crown of sovereignty had forgotten how it felt to be opposed by Prejudice and Unreason. So the women battled alone save for the help of a few men who, ashamed of the earlier compact made by the men, came out to join in the unequal struggle. And the women, fighting every step of the way with Prejudice and Unreason, slowly but certainly moved forward.

AND they came to a fork in the road. At the entrance to one way they saw on a sign board, "The State Route" and on another "The Federal Route." The latter was closed by a gigantic impassable barrier on which was emblazoned in gigantic letters—"Go the other way." The other way looked pleasing enough,



so the women marched along the State Route. Many battles were fought and they were proud of their progress, for progress they made, when suddenly and unexpectedly they encountered a new enemy. And then they learned that men, crowned with sovereignty within the Tower of Political Freedom, remembering their compact with Prejudice and Unreason to stay the coming of women into the tower, had spent days and years in finding the means with which to block their progress.

The means they had found was called Constitutional Provisions. No such block had stood in the way of the men when they marched to the Tower of Political Freedom. Yet it was they who had reached the tower and had tasted of the freedom who resolved that no others should share it. Undismayed, the women fought on bravely and valiantly, but because they could not overcome the Constitutional Provisions, they were unable to enter the Tower of Political Freedom.

MANY immortal battles with Constitutional Provisions will pass into the pages of American History. One of these will be known as the Battle of Indiana. Here the Constitutional Provision set up by the men of the state, already in enjoyment of their freedom, formed a barrier absolutely impassable. Still the women fought on. Unreason and Prejudice surrendered and the Legislature of the state wrote passports for the women marching onward. Then came a new Enemy called the Courts, and declared the passports illegal. It was then that the women, hearts filled with bitterness and resentment and the knowledge that the inventions of the men would forever prevent them from passing into the Tower of Freedom along the State Route, took counsel together. And the women vanquished by the same enemy in other states counseled together also.

AT last came the tramp of many feet, as the women from forty-eight states, some victorious and some vanquished, but all with hearts filled with hope and faith and determination, retraced their march over the State Route and turned into the Federal Route, once firmly barred against their suffrage. The barrier of many years ago still stood across the road, but an entrance through it had been made by another army, called Prohibition, and so the

women passed through likewise. Unreason and Prejudice hid out of sight and proudly, boldly, happily, the women marched on and entered into the Tower of Political Freedom.

And the women, forgiving men for the wrongs they had done them, and the men, respecting women as they had never respected them before, reunited as two parts of the human race and built together a great nation which reflects continual glory upon the Tower of Political Freedom.

Moral: The passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the Senate.

Women Legislators

EARLY in February opening sessions of provincial parliaments in both British Columbia and Alberta were enlivened by first appearances of women legislators. Premier Brewster said in welcoming Mrs. Ralph Smith, recently elected in a Vancouver by-election to fill the office made vacant by her husband's death, that her election had a special significance and was an historic moment in the life of the Legislature.

A few days earlier Mrs. Louise C. McKinney, member for Claresholm, and Lieutenant Roberta MacAdam, representative of the soldiers at the front, took their seats in the Alberta Legislature. Lieutenant MacAdam has come back from her position as dietitian in Orpington Hospital, England, to attend the parliamentary session.

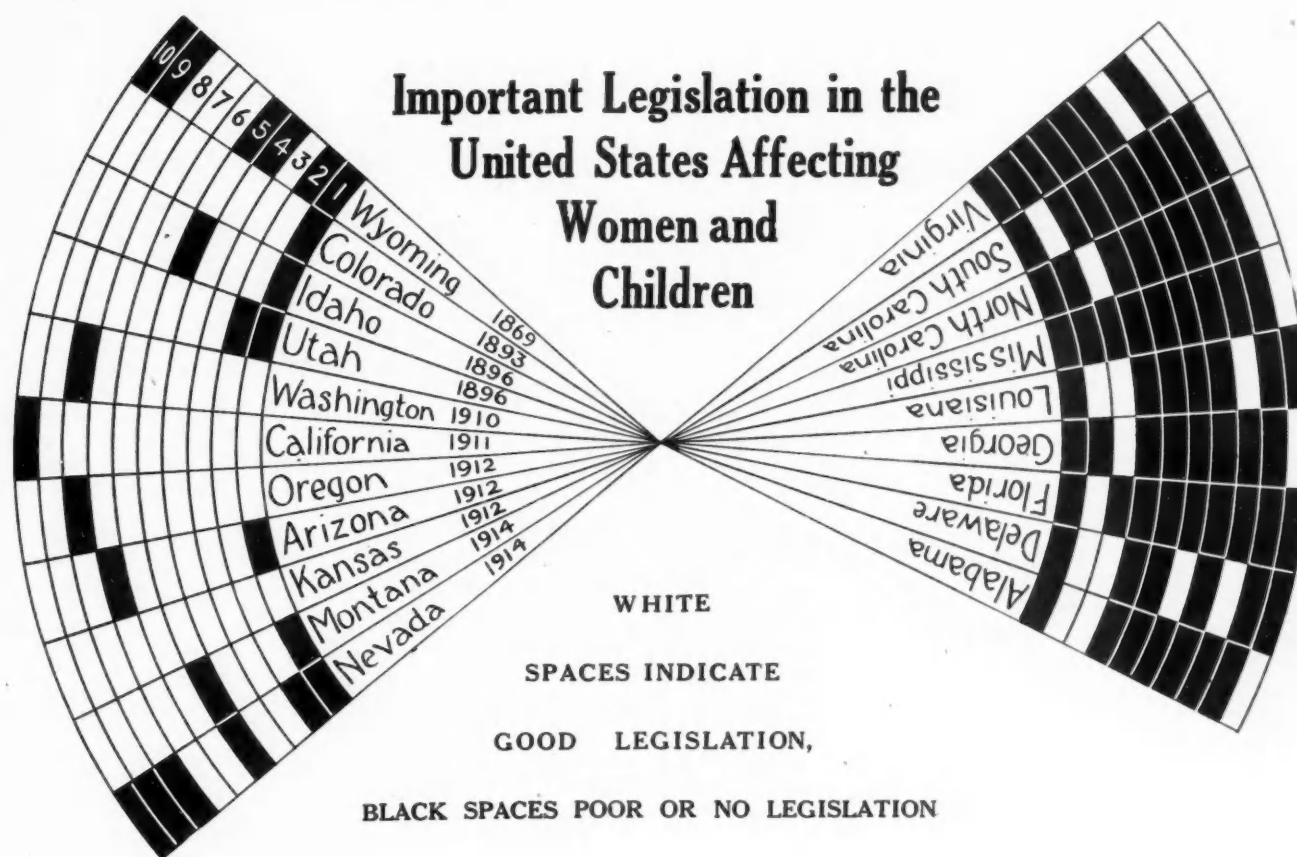
The women were greeted with an ovation from the men members.

In Connecticut

CONNECTICUT voters and Connecticut's future voters had the opportunity of hearing this month from the lips of four newly enfranchised women of New York—Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. Charles Noel Edge, Mrs. F. Louis Slade and Mrs. Charles Tiffany—the story of how they won the vote in New York state and what they intend to do with it. Two meetings were held under the auspices of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association. Both meetings were attended by representative men of the state, many of whom had never before heard suffrage speeches.

Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Slade, Mrs. Edge and Mrs. Tiffany were entertained at the Hartford Club in Hartford at luncheon and spoke on different phases of the suffrage work done in New York. The luncheon was followed by a general meeting at which the problems of Connecticut suffragists were discussed and valuable advice was given by the New York guests.

Miss Katharine Ludington presided at the meeting and went with the New York women to New Haven where a meeting of a similar character was held at the Hotel Taft the same evening. Suffragists of the state express the opinion that they have been sent on a new forward course through the inspiration received at these meetings.



States on left are full suffrage states. Their delegations voted solidly for the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the House on January 10th.

States on right are anti-suffrage states. Their delegations either voted solidly against the amendment or gave only one or two votes in its favor. Mr. Clark, of Florida, maintained in the House, on January 10, that Florida had as good laws for women and children as any state in the Union. Look at Florida!

Circle 1 Industrial Welfare Commission to regulate hours, wages and working conditions of women and children

2 Child Labor—14 year limit. Guarded exemptions during vacations are allowed and poverty exemptions when these are neutralized by Mothers' Pensions laws

Circle 3 Compulsory education—State wide

4 Eight or nine hour day for women

5 Minimum wage

6 Mothers' pensions

7 Equal guardianship

8 Age of consent, 18 years—chaste or unchaste

9 Red light abatement

10 Prohibition

Note: Neither Illinois nor any of the Victory States of 1917 is included as a full suffrage state in chart analysis

A Strange Political Status

WISE CUPID and a stupid nationality law are jointly responsible for the strange political status of many American women as a result of the passage of the suffrage bill by the English Parliament. Marriage to English citizens has automatically barred them from participation in American governmental affairs to which they are entitled by birth and tradition. Meantime Great Britain has endowed them with citizenship in an alien country three thousand miles distant.

Two of the many women who find themselves in possession of the right of citizenship in another country, though they still consider themselves Americans, heart and soul, are Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, head of the data department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and Mrs. F. I. Fitzgerald, who has given volunteer service to the suffrage cause for several years, both state and national. Both women can cite an ancestry that is closely interwoven with American history, but because they hearkened to the call of Cupid and married British subjects residing in New York city, they cannot enjoy the rights of citizenship which they helped to obtain for the women of New York state.

"THE idea of a foreign government giving an American woman, married to a British subject, the right to vote, while her own country continues to deny her the right of citizenship, is not without its element of exasperation," said Mrs. Boyd, in discussing her enfranchisement by the English Parliament. "My whole life and that of my family for generations has been spent in America. Adam Brown, one of my forefathers, a shipbuilder in New York city, built Perry's fleet in the war of 1812, my grandfather helping him in this

work. They built the *Armstrong*, which held the record of having destroyed more British ships than any other American fighter. During the revolutionary war members of my family fought on the American side, and for several generations we have lived here in New York city. Yet, by virtue of a strange law, I am no longer an American citizen in the eyes of the law, because my husband did not complete the process of naturalization on coming to this country.

"One should be permitted to have a choice of citizenship," continued Mrs. Boyd in discussing the position in which she now finds herself as an American woman voter of a foreign country. "If a wife chooses to renounce her citizenship for that of her husband, well and good, but now we have no choice in the matter. The government makes the decision for us without consulting us.

"From the viewpoint of the liberty of the individual a woman's right to retain her nationality is almost more important than suffrage because the present law as it stands interferes with the individual in a very intimate way. An elementary change is needed to do away with the old legal theory that the wife belonged to the husband—the same theory by which in some countries and some states the children belong to the father alone and the wife's property automatically passes to the husband with her person."

SIMILAR views of the injustice of such a ruling are entertained by Mrs. Fitzgerald, another New York woman who cannot vote in her own country because she married a citizen of the British Empire. "It is the height of absurdity to class us with any nation but America. Our traditions, our viewpoints are

American to the core. Why should marriage rob us of our nationality, especially at such a time as this? I do not care what country gives me citizenship as long as it is not my own. I certainly would not vote in any country but my own."

"Hundreds of American women," says Mrs. Fitzgerald, "are eagerly looking forward to the day when their American citizenship will be restored to them by an act of Congress. They believe the act of England in extending suffrage to American wives of Englishmen will hasten the day of the repeal of the statute which makes foreign citizens of American women."

One of the many complications which has resulted from this international law which compels a woman to take the citizenship of her husband was experienced by Mrs. Boyd, when she found herself a traveler in Freiburg, Germany, at the beginning of the war. Knowing that the authorities were probably acquainted with every act of her life, Mrs. Boyd determined to take matters in her own hands and stated her case to the police officials of the city, hoping to have shown to her the same courtesy that was then being shown by Germany to Americans. In solemn circle the members of the police grouped themselves about her and, mustering what little English they knew, proceeded to lecture her. "You are not an American, you are a British subject. Woman, obey your husband," they chorused. Even though she had proved that she was an American in every sense, except in the eyes of international law, Mrs. Boyd was in danger of being interned as a British subject, until a well-known German woman volunteered to stand responsible for her conduct until she could leave the country.

The High Cost of Living

By Elizabeth J. Hauser

THE reason the vote in men's hands has not done more good is that it has not been used with the understanding mind. It will be as useless in women's hands unless it is accompanied by understanding.

Nobody wants to have good done to him, except the grafter and the beggar. Normal, upstanding men and women want health and wealth as natural conditions of life. They do not want them "by the grace" of anything or anybody, and it irritates them to talk to them about the government *being good* to them or *doing good* to them. They think of the government as something separate and apart from themselves, and that's where they make their mistake. Let them rather think of themselves as the government, and let them begin (men and women both voting, of course) to address themselves to solving the problems which make life so difficult today.

What makes life difficult? Primarily, its physical sustenance. Food, lodging, fuel, clothing—these are necessities, and they are hard to get—that is, hard for upwards of ninety per cent. It is precisely because the other ten per cent do

not experience the difficulties of the ninety that we are in this peculiar and well-nigh intolerable position: "The House of Have and the House of Want!"

WITH all due deference to the *Woman Citizen's* efforts to instruct women voters in what they ought to know, what every woman in New York state knows now (even the one who hasn't learned yet that she is a voter) is that a dollar doesn't go nearly as far towards filling a market basket as it used to, that coal is hard to get, that rent is much too high. Now, wouldn't it be well for the *Woman Citizen* to instruct her as to why these things are so, and let the details about primary elections and nominating conventions and such political machinery await a later day?

Why not tell the women what the state Legislatures and Congress could do (if they would) towards solving the high cost of living; get them to talking it over in their assemblies, and by and by communities will be enlightened enough to demand as legislative candidates men, or wom-

en, who understand the problem and its remedies. There are some men in Congress who understand this now, and as I read Miss Rankin's speeches I am convinced that she understands, and that more than anything else (in my opinion) qualifies her for her job.

IT isn't so difficult. We may all know about it, and we don't have to go to college or take a course in political economy, or even join the Socialists to learn about it. All we have to do is to read Frederic C. Howe's book on "The High Cost of Living." It is easy reading at that. Dr. Howe is a great teacher, and all the women voters in New York and the American Congress and some cabinet officers (I do not say ALL) ought to go to school to him.

"Oh, yes," cries the pessimistic one. "It's easy enough to tell what's wrong, but does he tell how to make it right?"

He does. In "The High Cost of Living" he maps out a simple, practical plan for reconstruction—not for fifty years from now—but for the present and we are overlooking a "best bet" when we fail to take advantage of it.

Democratic Ideals

THE recent magnificent vote of more than two to one in the lower house of Congress for the Federal Suffrage Amendment was not an accident. It came as the culmination of the labors and sacrifices of many thousands of women, extending over a long series of years.

One of the most earnest and devoted of these workers is commemorated in "Democratic Ideals," the life of Mrs. Clara B. Colby, by the Rev. Olympia Brown.*

A granddaughter of the distinguished English naturalist and engraver, Thomas Bewick, Clara Bewick grew up in a pioneer district of Wisconsin, where schools were few and poor, but she read insatiably. Her brilliancy and determination as a normal school student helped to open the University of Wisconsin to women, and during her course there she was a leader in all the struggles to secure the girls equal rights. She was an omnivorous student, a power in the literary society, and an able debater. She was valedictorian of the class of 1869, the first class that included women graduates. Miss Ellen C. Sabin, President of Milwaukee Downer College, who was at the university with her, writes: "Her intellectual enthusiasm was surpassed only by her generous passion to share with others whatever she had of good."

SHE taught History and Latin for some years in the University of Wisconsin. After her marriage she removed to Beatrice, Nebraska, where she organized the free public library in 1873. She was converted to woman suffrage by Mrs. Margaret W. Campbell of Iowa, another devoted worker for the cause, and from that time on she was active in promoting it. When a constitutional amendment for suffrage was submitted in Nebraska, in 1882, she managed the part of the campaign carried on by the National Association, helped to organize a state society auxiliary to the National, and was its president for sixteen years. (In Nebraska, as in many other states, there were then two state organizations, auxiliary to the National and the American Woman Suffrage Associations, respectively.)

In 1883 she started the *Woman's Tribune*, and continued to edit it for twenty-five years. It was an able paper and in addition to advocating equal suffrage, it contained interesting material on many other subjects, and much beautiful poetry, of which Mrs. Colby was very fond. She brought out a daily edition of the *Tribune* during the week of the great International Council of Women at Washington, D. C., in 1888, with full reports of the addresses—a really remarkable achievement, and highly appreciated. From 1888 to 1904, she published the *Tribune* in Washington.

MRS. BROWN says: "At a constant financial loss, Mrs. Colby carried on her paper in a manner that was absolutely heroic. Unable to pay for printing, she learned to set type, and often was at once editor and compositor, sometimes even running the press. For a time she had her own little outfit in the basement of her house in Washington, where she did every-

thing, from writing the editorials to folding and mailing with her own hands. Often, when subscriptions were slow in coming, she was obliged to wait for days in order to get the money to pay the expense of mailing, but amid all she was courageous and optimistic."

"On the union of the National Association with the American in 1889, the *Woman's Journal* was adopted as the suffrage organ to the exclusion of the *Tribune*." This is an error. The *Journal* had been the organ of the American Association, the *Tribune* that of the National. When the two societies united, it was thought that it would not be fair to make either the organ, so the two papers were left to be carried on by their editors without official backing. The *Journal* did not become the organ of the National American until many years later.

In 1904 Mrs. Colby moved her paper to Portland, Oregon, and in 1909 she was finally obliged to discontinue it. But it had made a long and noteworthy record in reform journalism.

Mrs. Colby wrote and lectured extensively on many topics, traveled in England and elsewhere, was officially appointed war correspondent during the Spanish War (said to be the first woman to be so recognized), and took an active part in the Federal Suffrage Association.

HER kindness of heart was unbounded. Mrs. Ida H. Harper says: "I knew Mrs. Colby for twenty years, and I never heard her make an unkind criticism of a fellow worker." During her last winter in Washington, in 1916, there was an epidemic of grippé. Untiringly she nursed the other tenants in the house where she lived until she herself came down with pneumonia. They all bade her good-bye with tears when she left for the West for the last time. She never recovered her strength, and died the following September.

The book contains many other interesting particulars about Mrs. Colby, with letters from prominent persons who knew her, a list of her writings, one of her lectures, and an account of the Federal Suffrage Association.

Mrs. Colby suffered great sorrows, but she was always brave, buoyant and uncomplaining. In the Call for the thirty-second Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which she wrote in 1900, she said:

"The way up the heights of woman's advancement has been long and steep, but it has not been dreary. The consciousness of giving the world a forward movement along the path of liberty is the highest reward that is vouchsafed to human effort." A. S. B.

The book can be had at National Suffrage headquarters, 171 Madison Avenue, for fifty cents.

A Neighborly Village

FINDON is the first village in England to be guided entirely by women, says a dispatch from that country. A women's village council has been set up and such questions as housing, infant welfare and education are matters discussed. Neighborliness is encouraged in the village by the council and the village officials.

Suffrage Sentiment in Ohio

THE contents of a random bundle of newspaper clippings received as part of the day's work at the headquarters of the Ohio State Suffrage Association indicates the tremendous newspaper sentiment back of the campaign for the speedy passage of the Federal Amendment. Forty-eight of these clippings were from papers supporting the Federal Amendment, four were non-committal or neutral and only two were from papers opposed to the Amendment. What is true in Ohio is true in many other states in which a canvass has been made of the newspapers, as regards their attitude towards the Amendment. The main opposition to suffrage in Ohio is centered in Cincinnati.

Another straw which shows which way popular opinion is blowing in Ohio is the action of the Democratic organization of Franklin County, Ohio, endorsing the Federal Amendment in the following resolutions:

"Resolved: That the Franklin County Democratic executive committee in meeting assembled views with much pleasure and satisfaction the patriotic service now being made by the women of the United States and of this community in upholding the cause of democracy throughout the world, for which the United States is giving its best sons in a world war. These brave soldiers are not only fighting for themselves but for our men and women at home and abroad. The humanitarian purpose of this war, upon the part of the Allies, is in keeping with the noble impulses of our women, their hopes and desires. We have arrived at the conclusion that universal suffrage is but another step in the direction of a world's democracy, and that the United States, to be consistent in its position of leading the world for the cause of humanity, should submit a constitutional amendment providing for woman suffrage."

In Honor of Miss Anthony

IN honor of the birthday anniversary of Susan B. Anthony the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association was "at home" Friday afternoon, February 15. "This is her birthday—may it be an inspiration to you and me," ran the invitation. Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Association; Mrs. Stella S. Jannotta, president of the Chicago political Equality League, and Mrs. James Morrisson, president of the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association, were among the speakers on the program. Short talks were also given by prominent suffragists, a number of whom knew Miss Anthony personally.

Not Limited to Nine Cents

IN the recent account given in the *Woman Citizen* of the Peabody school soup experiment, it was stated that a child delivering two or more quarts three times a week earns nine cents a week. It should have added "from each customer." If the child takes two or more quarts of soup to two customers three times a week, he will earn 18 cents per week, 36 cents per fortnight. With his first 18 cents he can buy a soup ticket for 10 meals—which will cover the 10 school days of the two weeks—and he will have the second week's 18 cents left to use for anything else. A. S. B.

* Published by the Federal Association, Washington, D. C.

Conductor and Non-Conductor

MRS. ELIZABETH HEENAN at your service—and that of the public—is conductor 2534, of the New York Railways, and she runs a "hobble-skirt," alias "gondola," alias Broadway-Amsterdam surface car, from Hous-ton to 125th street west.

Mrs. Heenan is several things besides a conductor. She is a widow and the mother of three children in private life, but in her public capacity she is also the president of the Armit-age House Mothers' Club, which meets every Wednesday night in its club room on East 121st street.

It was in her capacity as presiding officer that the *Woman Citizen's* reporter met Mrs. Heenan for the first time, and at the dramatic moment when Mrs. Heenan was about to announce to her fellow members that she had joined the ranks of the second battle line, that of women serving in men's places in industry. According to the statisticians Mrs. Heenan is one of forty women employed on one railway, but according to East 121st street and the Mothers' Club the other 39 women don't count.

The president's gavel still lay untouched upon the table-top which would presently turn over and become the back of a settee to be shoved into a corner when the dancing began.

MRS. HEENAN'S is a vigorous personality. There is nothing undecided about her tall, firm figure and her comely face with its rather tired eyes.

Tired eyes they are—for seven years of keep-ing the home going for three children mark tired lines on any widowed mother's face.

"I thought I might as well tell you myself," said the president, after she had announced her new dignity, and then the Mothers' Club rose to its acquired status with something like one accord. Before this they had all been on a par as it were, comrades in the problems of coal and shoes and how best to manage "himself" when he came home late or lost his job. The war had brought some new things of late, hard to bear, separations and prideful sorrowings over boys at the front, but here was their own club president one of the new women running a street car, and here they were harboring a pioneer in their midst. "And her wearing a uniform and a man's cap with a number on it."

A SUDDEN and awful thought concerning the uniform struck one member and she whispered loudly. "Can they see your shape in it?" "Sure, they can see me shape," stoutly answered Conductor 2534—and a very good shape it was. But the neighbor shook her head stubbornly. "I'd never go out in me shape," said she.

And just here conservatism and radicalism found their age-long impasse. The Mothers' Club was nonplussed until an opportunist found her voice. "The uniform is just like those things the swell society girls wear horse-back, ain't it? I don't see why it is any worse than the tight skirts almost up to their knees that lots of women wear."

The club breathed less tensely. This seemed a *modus vivendi* at least. It was evident women must take men's work. The innovation had come home to them in the person of one of their neighbors. It was plainly to be seen she had to wear something and it couldn't be skirts, "getting off and on them cars quick."

Something new had come to stay in East 121st street. And the Mothers' Club pondered while it listened to the minutes of the last meeting and answered to the roll call with a paid down nickel.

But Elizabeth Heenan didn't ponder. She is of the type of women who take their hurdles with their eyes open. She had made up her mind when she marched to the car barns early in December that whatever came was to be all in the day's work. But she couldn't convey this to the other women. In so far she was a non-conductor. Such finalities are not attained by every one.

"I WEAR my skirt downtown over my knickers so as not to make folks stare. Then I take it off until I go home. As to the work: it's dirty and you get some insults and some bowkays. I showed me pass and flashed me badge on one man conductor going down to me work the other day, and he looked mad enough to eat me alive. But another one, who seemed unfriendly at first came along later and touched his cap as kind as you please. 'I beg your pardon, mum,' says he, 'I didn't get on to you just at first. You're the first one of 'em I've seen; and I hope you like it and it's going good.' 'Sure it's good,' I says."

"And it is all right. What troubles I have don't come from the car employees but from the traveling public. They get fresh some-times and it isn't always easy to keep your tongue still. One passenger the other day passed the box and paid his fare before he noticed he'd paid it to a woman. Then he scowled something fierce and says: 'Good Lord, I suppose women'll be running the universe next.' Well, perhaps he may come to be glad if they do. The men we work with are as square and kind as they can be. There's nothing hard but changing the register. That's heavy to lift."

"AND it is all right. We get 27 cents an hour and a 'swing' in the middle of the day to break the long runs from 6:45 in the morning to six at night. It's all right," she said, a little uneasily, "except laying the children. The woman across the way gives them lunch and they're off to school all day. But—Well, what can a woman do these days!"

What can she? That's the story behind the story of women taking men's places in in-dustry.

But the Mothers' Club laid aside its per-plexities and was waltzing—no fox-trot or one-step—a genuine old, round and round waltz, of the type in vogue when they ceased going to dances and began staying at home to mind the children. And the problems of the new in-dustrial day for women were forgotten in the strains of "Sweet Marie," "Comrades," and "Little Annie Rooney."

Buck Up!

By Rosalie Jonas

YOU po' ole Auntie! can't you quit
Yo' quar'lin', now de fight is fit?
I knows yo' bones is mighty so':
You got de "mis'ry," feelin' po'.
But what de use ter "shy de track,"
An' hist yer ears, an' "fill an' back"?
De Corngrist-men, an' Presi-dent
Done argify an' represent:
Dat dem dat got de mos' ter tote,
Dey bleege, by rights, ter have de Vote.
De folks dat skeered er actin' square
Is mos'ly dem ain't "pullin' fair":
So buck up! now de fight is fit,
Quit Sassin' er de Suffergit!

(Gently proffered to the *New York Times*.

—En.)

Need Not Pay for Being Women

HUNTER COLLEGE, New York City, has just removed a sex barrier to women's higher education; women taking night courses in advanced studies leading to an A. B. degree may do so on the same financial basis as men in the College of the City of New York.

For thirty-five years the way of advanced knowledge has been open to women of the city free of cost in the daytime, but the woman qualifying for higher posts by studies at the end of a day's work has been met with the impediment of a prescribed fee. Under the new system of advanced evening work at Hunter, a wide range of subjects will be open to women with no financial hindrance.

The sessions offer courses in vocational guid-ance, psychology of children, a business series in commercial Spanish, and the application of higher mathematics to financial and industrial problems. There are thirteen technical subjects covered. Women eager for war service may have an opportunity to study wireless tele-graphy, industrial bacteriology, French, or die-tetics and first aid. Women voters may receive training in citizenship.

Any woman registering for a course not in-cluded in the Hunter curriculum will be referred to the College of the City of New York, which has promised to admit them on the same terms as men.

Feminism Comes to Dominica

A FEMINIST advance is one outcome of the American military occupation of Dom-inica. A vocational school to make Dominican women economically independent has been opened and several native born Dominican women have creditably passed rigid civil service examinations.

Press reports say that the successful candi-dates will hold important public positions, and that this is the first time women have ever been considered in the economic scheme of the re-public.

New York also is catching step in the matter of vocational placement. Anna E. Boochever, assistant superintendent of the State Bureau of Employment, has been named to direct state vocational placement work. This is a new bu-reau opened by the agency, and its aim is the placing in the right kind of position young men and women just leaving school to enter busi-ness.

The Book Stall

More Civics Books *

CHARLES DE FOREST HOXIE'S *Civics for New York State* (American Book Company, 1916) has the virtue also of being applicable to all states, the appendix on New York being quite independent of the body of the book. For the New York voter, Hoxie is very compact and excellent for reference, and possesses such useful features as a digest of the New York State Constitution, political maps and diagrams of the state, the city of New York, and typical counties.

In spite of their detail, both Hoxie and Garner (*Government in the United States*, James W. Garner, American Book Co., 1916), like every civics book on the market, give scant notice to, or bury so deep in other details as to make inaccessible the practical information about the machinery of voting, elections and political organization, which every voter has to know in order to go about the business of voting intelligently.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP (Julia Richman and Mabel A. Wallach, American Book Co.) is of interest to those who are planning to teach civics to children or to immigrants who speak little English and know nothing of our institutions. It does not go into the subject of voting citizenship but defines citizens as "all the people, men, women and children, who live in any one place," and tells what services the city renders its inhabitants through its various departments. It is about fourth reader grade, is simple, clear and not too childish.

A text book that could be used by teachers to interest the adult American who is giving the subject attention for the first time is Guiteau's *Preparing for Citizenship*, which, supplemented and enlivened by additional information from the teacher's lectures, should give a fair, if rather thin groundwork.

Arthur Mayer Wolfson's *Outline for Review of Civics* (American Book Company, 1913), just as its title indicates, is well arranged for going over a field already covered.

WOMEN AND WAR WORK, by Helen Fraser, published by G. Arnold Shaw, a member of the University Lecturers' Association, and prefaced by President MacCracken of Vassar, is a detailed, yet broad history of how women have served England, during the war, and of how the service has benefited both England and her women. The table of contents shows the scope of the work which covers the whole field of women's labor and its several aspects. Physically, the book is easy to read. And so it is in style.

Each chapter is introduced by an appropriate quotation, and the feminist chuckles to find Kipling at the beginning of the chapter on Women and Munitions.

The book itself is one of the most meaningful chapters in the history of England and of civilization, and will be an indispensable source book for the historian of the future. To the men and women of America it is a text book, and should be on the desk of the head of every national committee, and of every cabinet officer, especially of those who see women's efforts as of chiefly reactive psychologic value.

* See issue of February 9.

WOMAN AND THE LAW

A new book
written wholly in the interests of
WOMEN

By Hon. William Fenton Myer, Surrogate of Montgomery County, N. Y., author of "Brief on Procedure in the Surrogate's Court." Covers every legal subject in which women of the day are interested, personal and property. Also a part devoted entirely to the subject of CIVICS. Written in understandable language and interesting style. Now in press—out soon. Order your copy through your bookseller or from the publishers

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CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

Will lecture daily from Feb. 25 to March 2, at 3:30 P. M., for the Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government, 167 Tremont St., on "The World War and Its Effects on Women."

Monday, "Mother Service"; Tuesday, "Industry and Women"; Wednesday, "Food Service"; Thursday, "Citizenship"; Friday, "World Service"; Saturday, "Our Losses and Our Gains."

Course ticket, \$3; single lecture, 75 cents. Apply at 167 Tremont St. Telephone 6301 Beach.

Woman Police Sergeant

(Continued from page 248)

for about two years as matrons with a salary of \$60.

Mrs. Catherine Fertig, who has been director of Neighborhood House, a St. Louis settlement, for several years, has been appointed police woman sergeant and will have complete charge of police women work.

The Joint Conference of Suffrage Leagues is a delegate body of four members from the Equal Suffrage League, four from the Business Women's Suffrage League and four from the Wage Earners' Suffrage League. Meetings are held every Thursday evening for discussion of local suffrage matters and for investigation and study of municipal problems, with a view to correcting defects.

Other organizations that co-operated in the effort to establish the police women system were the Consumers' League, the Juvenile Court, the Social Service Department of Washington University, the Women's Committee of the Civic League, the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Queen's Daughters.

In addition to the effort to organize the system of police women in the city, the Conference has taken action, protesting against the employment of young girls in messenger service. A resolution has been sent to the Postal Telegraph Company of St. Louis urging them to discontinue this policy. The Conference is also carrying on propaganda for equal-pay-for-equal-work for women.



The Woman's Department at
our Fifth Avenue Office
is in charge of
Miss V. D. H. Furman
and is

especially equipped to handle
the accounts of women and
women's organizations

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Where Is Your State?

THE Circulation Department suspends itself in the midst of frantic correspondence to clamoring chairmen and co-operating subscribers, and, poised upon the left hind leg of an office chair, prepares to address the world at large.

The *Woman Citizen* is beyond all possible doubt the most appreciated magazine published in the United States. We are appreciated in sheafs of letters every day in the week. Hundreds of subscribers "cannot live without the *Woman Citizen*," dozens more "prefer it to any other magazine" and still others "wish that every woman might have this splendid paper."

It would be folly to deny that we enjoy reading these tributes. We suppose that no magazine was ever yet published that did not aim primarily, in however outlandish a fashion, to please its readers. And yet, after all and after all and be that as it may—we are thinking of higher things. And high thoughts will somehow stray into a minor key.

"There was a pig that sat alone
Beside a ruined pump.
By day and night he made his moan,
It would have stirred a heart of stone
To see him wring his hoofs and groan
Because he could not jump."

Not that we care to appear piggish! Nor to speak slightly of our mise-en-scene. The point, O highly appreciative reader, lies in the reference to our hoofs and your heart.

We cannot believe that anything about you is really and truly made of stone. But this much we do know. Without the material help of each and every one of you, we never can jump our circulation up to 100,000 new subscribers in 1918. What does this mean? It means

don't send us good wishes only—send
us the possibility of realizing them;
don't send us appreciations only—send
us subscriptions.

If each one of our present subscribers would corral three new ones before June 1st, there would be no question about our passing the 100,000 mark at the end of the year.

We will credit any subscriptions you send in to whatever state or local league you designate.

The Universal Franchise League of South Dakota is sending the *Woman Citizen* to the editors of 222 local newspapers.

WE intend to work diligently to secure a subscription from every avowed suffragist (man or woman) in Louisiana. As Chairman of Publicity, I attend every ward meeting, two or three weekly, to solicit subscriptions. In this way, I hope to enroll every available subscriber in New Orleans and to follow up the parish organizations as our State Organizer proceeds. Our legislature meets in May and we are lining up every influence to meet the situation then.—Mrs. SHERARD BRISBANE.

State Circulation Chairmen

Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane of New Orleans
Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York of Augusta
New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin of East Orange
New Hampshire: Mrs. Mary Post of Portsmouth
Rhode Island: Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt of Bristol
Kentucky: Mrs. Charles Firth of Covington
West Virginia: Mrs. P. S. McBee of Morgantown
Massachusetts: Mrs. R. L. DeNormandie of Boston
Texas: Mrs. Helen Moore of Galveston
South Carolina: Mrs. J. T. Gittman of Columbia
Alabama: Miss Mary P. London of Birmingham.

The difference between being a subscriber to the *Woman Citizen* and being a weekly purchaser will be just the difference between \$1.00 and \$5.20 after March 2.

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Co-operating Subscribers who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

At Suffrage House

WHEN Susan B. Anthony's birthday was celebrated at the Suffrage House, in Washington, about 500 of Washington's prominent men and women gathered to honor the great leader and to greet Miss Helen Taft, daughter of the ex-President, and dean of Bryn Mawr College. Miss Taft, who gave an informal talk on the general subject of Susan B. Anthony's work for higher education of women, declared herself more a suffragist than ever because she believed women's voting strength is needed as a war measure. "I think it is more important to win the war than to win suffrage for women," said Miss Taft, "but because I believe women cannot give their fullest service to the Government without the vote, I think they should be given the vote now, as a war measure."

As showing the early opposition to women's admission to colleges, Miss Taft cited the fact that when Miss Anthony gave \$2,000 for the purpose of opening Rochester University to women, she made the gift through a man sympathiser, "in order that the money might not bear the taint of woman suffrage."

Mrs. Catt, who is now in Washington to see the Federal Amendment through the Senate, and was present at the tea, read the following telegram from Dr. Shaw and Miss Lucy Anthony, who are at Florence Villa, Florida, for a brief rest:

"Thanks and affectionate regards to the Household of Faith. Please convey to Miss Taft and the assembled guests on the occasion of Miss Anthony's birthday our congratulations on the near fulfillment of her prophecy that political freedom would come to the women of the United States in nineteen twenty."

Mrs. Josephus Daniels, wife of the Secretary of the Navy, was the honor guest at the tea Wednesday, at Suffrage House, 1626 Rhode Island avenue. Mrs. Hugh Wallace, assisted by Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip and other members of the hostess committee of which she is chairman, received. At the tea table were Mrs. John H. Bankhead, of Alabama; Mrs. Thomas W. Hardwick, of Georgia; Mrs. Mary H. Schluter, of Texas, and Mrs. Key Pittman, of Nevada. They were assisted by Miss Hardwick, Mrs. Middleton Beaman and Miss Celeste Childs.

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PHOTOGRAPHS of Miss Hilda Loines, the new chairman of the Food Production Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which were used to illustrate the story, "Take Your Town Off the Market" in the *WOMAN CITIZEN* of February 9, were made by Alice Boughton, 2 East 23d Street, New York.

Why Every Woman Needs to Read The WOMAN CITIZEN

It records woman's political history in the making.

It is the only magazine that concerns itself exclusively with women's political position to-day.

Its reports are accurate and reliable.

It is woman's class magazine, so to speak.

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retail and financial businesses and all kinds of trades have their class magazines. Woman is coming into a new work-politics. She needs to read her political magazine

The WOMAN CITIZEN

as she reads her home magazine. Woman's importance as a citizen is a recognized fact. Week by week The WOMAN CITIZEN is putting its readers more closely in touch with the business of their political position.



Stimulate an interest in your magazine, women, wherever you can. Talk about it to your friends. Urge them to buy a copy from a convenient news-stand for five cents, ask them to read it, and then to subscribe to it for 52 weeks for one dollar

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Daytime Dresses, of Taffeta and Foulard, \$23.75 to 39.50

Afternoon Gowns, of Georgette Crepe in street shades, \$39.50.

Country Frocks, of Voile, Gingham and Linen, \$8.75 to 23.50.

Separate Skirts, of Novelty Cottons and Linen, \$5.75 to 14.75.

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When individual suffragists are aroused to the importance of their personal value and their personal responsibility in this work they will play the game, and their co-operative effort will send the ball over the goal which is

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NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS in 1918**

Have you a home team and are *you* one of the players in it? If not, consult with your local suffrage chairman and form a team of workers at once. If you are to raise money for your treasury and win a cash premium for your local association and above all help to spell success for The WOMAN CITIZEN you must start your "game" at once

"Now's the day and now's the hour"

10 cents a copy
March 2, 1918

SOCIOLOGY DEPT.

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL FOUNDED 1870



Suffrage and Service—They Go Together

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No. 311—**Navy Poiret Twill Suit**, with new *Eton-peplum coat*, trimmed with wide and narrow black silk braid; shawl collar and waistcoat of contrasting color faille silk; bell sleeves with separate wide fitted cuff of material; gathered back straight-line skirt with inset French bound pockets. **79.50**

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JAUNTY AND YOUTHFUL—a new Spring suit of navy gabardine or serge; or navy serge with white hairline stripe, featuring the new lengthened rever which extends full length of the coat. Smartness of line is accentuated by the braid trimming. 14-16-18 yrs. **38.00**

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SEPARATE COATS—SPRING WEIGHT—will be found among the new models introduced. There are silver-tones in brown, blue, or tan. Exceptional for youthful charm. 14-16-18 yrs. **45.00**

An afternoon frock for the Fillette comes in taffeta silk in the new gingham designs. Green with white, navy with white, in the captivating fly-away fashion most charming. 13-15-17 yrs. **25.00**

Second Floor

We Hear

a great deal these days about "slackers" and we associate the word in our minds with one who is not loyal to his country. But there are 57 varieties of slackers, and one of these can do much to hinder the growth of

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

The slacker we refer to is one who *neglects to renew* her subscription to the magazine. One subscription lost must be replaced by two *new* subscriptions if the circulation of the Woman Citizen is to grow. Has that thought occurred to you?

Don't Be a Slacker!



THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

The office of publication is at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. The business manager is Florence E. Bate.

The price of *The Woman Citizen* is five cents a copy (\$1.00) for one year. Postage to foreign countries fifty cents extra.

Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class matter, under the act of March 3, 1879.

The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue, New York

March 2, 1918
Vol. II (New style) No. 14

Copyright, 1917, by
THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the
WOMAN'S JOURNAL
Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE and HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the
WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
OF NEW YORK CITY

and the

**NATIONAL
SUFFRAGE NEWS**

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, *The Woman Citizen* becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE
65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confering upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays 136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

March 2, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

What Every Senator Knows

EVERY Senator knows that woman suffrage is coming as certain as the sun is sure to rise tomorrow. Every Senator knows that with women voting to the North of us in Canada, to the South of us in Mexico, to the West in half our territory, and in the big Empire State, woman suffrage for the nation cannot be long postponed. Every Senator knows that if the Federal Amendment does not pass now, the question of woman suffrage will be a live issue in the congressional and senatorial elections this autumn. He knows that the next Congress would in all probability pass the Amendment if this one does not, but failing there, that the question could not possibly be evaded or avoided longer than 1920, when the Federal Amendment will be written in the platforms of all parties. Realizing these obvious facts, most Senators want to meet the issue now and have done with it.

AMONG them are splendid men of broad vision, large intelligence and fearless action; men who know that woman suffrage is right as well as inevitable, and they will fight for it without thought of cost or reward to themselves. These are the kind of men who in all lands have made history and led the world onward. There are Republicans and Democrats among them. No party strife or party enmity or petty jealousy mars the fine "team work" these men are doing for us and our cause. It is a pull altogether that the women of our nation may have a "square deal," and America regain her lost place as leader of democracy.

BUT there is opposition, which naturally divides itself into three classes.

1. The Southern group which contends that suffrage for women will stir the members of Negro suffrage into a menacing flame.
2. The bigoted, narrow-minded who are fanatically opposed to woman suffrage though all the world is in favor.
3. The few individuals who gave their pledges to the German wets to vote against woman suffrage before their election, doubtless in return for campaign help.

So the struggle goes on in the Senate while the truth is percolating through prejudiced understandings that a country is placed in rather a ridiculous position which boasts in press and on platform that it is fighting for world democracy, yet possesses

representatives in its highest law-making body who are fighting to keep democracy (self-government) out of our own country.

AN American who paid a recent visit to France tells the following story:

One of our boys, returning to camp from an afternoon off, was stopped by the sudden call of Halt from a sentry. "Halt!" exclaimed the soldier, "don't halt me, I'm a half hour late as it is." So when the Senators cry Halt to the Federal Amendment, we reply, "Great Heavens, men, our nation is half a century late with this thing now."

Every Senator is beginning to realize this fact and is asking himself and his colleagues, "How can I, how can you, stand for no votes for women, yet expect women with votes to support my party?"

C. C. C.

Answering Yours of Recent Date

FROM East and West, North and South the queries come by dozens and scores: "When will the vote be taken in the Senate?" "What is holding back the vote?" "Why don't you press the vote now?" etc., etc.

The date for the vote in the Senate is not yet set, but the vote is coming sure and certain, and when it comes it will carry victory with it. Every political party now, either in its platform adopted in 1916, or by resolutions of its national committee, is pledged to the Federal Amendment. The acknowledged leaders of both parties in North and West are out-spoken in its behalf. The chairmen of both dominant political parties' national committees are favorable to it. The President of the United States and most of his cabinet have espoused the Federal Amendment publicly. The minority (Republican) leaders in House and Senate, and the "whips" of both parties in both Houses are earnest supporters of it.

C. C. C.

A Two-thirds Vote

A FULL Senate includes 96 members. The Federal Suffrage Amendment requires a two-thirds vote, and two-thirds of 96 is 64. New Jersey and Wisconsin have each a vacancy. In New Jersey the courts announced that the governor possessed the authority to appoint the successor of the lately deceased Senator Hughes, a friend of the amendment,

and Governor Edge has named David Baird. The Legislature of Wisconsin is wrestling with the question as to whether the governor there may be given the authority to appoint a successor to Senator Husting, also a friend of the amendment. If both vacancies are filled before the vote on the amendment is taken, 64 votes will be required to carry it. If one senator, only, is appointed before the vote is taken, 64 votes will also be necessary, but if the Senate stands at 94, as now, 62 votes will be necessary to make a two-thirds vote.

On a two-thirds vote the pairs are made two for, to one against, and it is often an intricate and difficult matter to arrange. The Senate is particular about its pairs, and usually in controversial matters all members either vote or pair for or against. C. C. C.

When Women Register

DURING five hours on Friday and the whole of Saturday of last week the women of four congressional districts in New York city had a chance to qualify as voters at the coming special congressional election on March 5 by presenting themselves at the registration booths. It is estimated by the press that there were about 131,000 women eligible in the four districts. Of these more than 25 per cent registered. To get a fair idea of the highly creditable showing this made, contrast with it the record made by New York city's men voters in 1914, when a question of such state-wide importance as the re-making of New York's Constitution was at stake. The total registration of men voters in New York city in 1913 for a general election was 667,609. In 1914 the total New York city vote on this vital question of a new constitution was exactly 103,401. That is to say, only about 16 per cent of the men carried over from the registration for the general election in 1913 cared enough about the question of a new constitution to go and vote one way or the other at the special election of 1914.

Again, look at the deadly parallel between the registration figures at the general election of November, 1913, and the vote at the special election in 1914 for the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Congressional Districts, two of the four districts in which women registered in New York city Friday and Saturday. They read as follows:

A. D.	Registered at General Election of Nov., 1913 (Men)	Vote at Special Election, 1914 (Men)
13.....	6,798.....	1,478
19.....	14,906.....	1,770
20.....	7,574.....	1,321
21.....	12,235.....	1,501
22.....	8,031.....	1,766
23.....	25,984.....	4,211
	75,528	12,047

Look at the similar figures for the Seventh and Eighth Congressional Districts:

A. D.	Registered at General Election of Nov., 1913 (Men)	Vote at Special Election, 1914 (Men)
1.....	8,078.....	1,715
2.....	6,140.....	847
4.....	8,680.....	1,258
9.....	16,311.....	1,850
14.....	6,831.....	930
16.....	19,434.....	2,724
	65,474	9,324

Special elections, therefore, may be conceded to command between one-sixth and one-seventh of the attention of New York men that general elections command, whereas they commanded last week more than one-fourth of the attention of New York women, and, at that, women who have never voted before, and who labored under the disadvantage of not having the registration date set until within three or four days of the date that they had to go and register—not to mention the added disadvantage of a violent snowstorm and only a day and a fraction in which to register.

From all which it will be seen that, bolster up men's interest in politics as you may, concede them all the special privileges that you will, and make it as hard for women as you choose, you are yet likely to get from women a more vigorous reaction in the way of political interest than you are likely to get from men.

It Was a Great Victory

THE efforts to belittle the suffrage victory in Great Britain are as deplorably futile and as crabbed in flavor when they emanate from a professedly pro-suffrage paper like the *New York Call* as when they emanate from that eternally delectable, if now defunct anti sheet, the *Protest*. The former has added its wails to those of the latter over the "dishonesty" of suffragists, the *Call's* immediate point of grievance being that the *Woman Citizen* has featured British women as having won the vote when not all British women have won it.

From time to time the *Woman Citizen* has been at particular pains to point out the unduly restrictive features of the Representation of the People Bill, both as to class and sex. In spite of those features the enfranchisement of six million British women may be taken as conclusive, and we stand by our language as doing no more than justice to a present already pregnant with the future. In accepting the ludicrous sex discriminations of the bill along with its continued favoritism toward property, British women have secured a working base for universal suffrage on which the suffrage structure will soon be complete, while the noise of the indiscriminating critics of this world and the next goes on beating feebly about its foundations.

Property still out-votes humanity in Great Britain. Sailor and soldier boys of nineteen have, in British estimation, reached the age of discretion which a woman cannot reach until she is thirty, but for all that and all that the victory of the Representation of the People Bill was a great victory.

Who Bids?

WHILE the political parties are showing the most hospitable disposition to enroll the women voters of New York at the sign of the rooster, the elephant, the bull moose, et al., here come the antis with this remarkable proposition: "Let us in, too. We want to be enrolled so that we can vote to take their votes away from these new voters whom you are counting on to swell your ranks."

What party wants to take to its bosom this disruptive element that naively advertises its intention of voting away from the party with which it enrolls whatever advantage may accrue through women's votes?

Who bids?

Stop the Waste!

EVERY good housewife hates waste. It must have given thousands of women a positive ache—both in their hearts and in their slender purses—to read the published statement of the New York Board of Health that during January more than 18,167,220 pounds of food material went to waste in Manhattan and Brooklyn, owing to defective transportation. Most of it was perishable vegetables, spoiled by freezing or through delay upon the road. Much of it could have been saved, according to the Commissioner, if it had been used as soon as it reached the city; but it stood around upon sidings or in railroad yards till it was ruined, and had to go to the dump.

"Father, why does the little dog chase his tail?" the small boy asked. And the father answered:

"Out of economy. He is trying to make both ends meet."

Our country is only playing at economy as yet. While the housewives are pinching and saving at home, scores of big public leaks are running wide open; and waste of food in America means waste of the life-blood of men, women and children across the sea. It is high time that women as well as men should apply their best brains to find a way to stop the leaks; and the ballot will be a stimulus to women to set their wits to the common task.

A. S. B.

It Follows

"HAS the aspiring class shown that they are fit for suffrage?" asks the venerable Dr. Kemp P. Battle, president of the University of North Carolina. "Did not they in England burn houses, pour tar into mail boxes and pose as martyrs of starvation?"

To which replies Mrs. Mary Skeen Venable: "If the American women are held by Dr. Battle responsible for the acts of the English women, then it must follow 'as the day the night' that American gentlemen should voluntarily relinquish their ballots because of the acts of German men."

"It is to be hoped that the United States will not come in at the tail end of the procession of Anglo-Saxon nations in this political recognition of one-half of the race in their population."—*Baltimore American*.

One-Minute Talks for the F. S. A.

THE City Council of Cambridge, Mass., by a vote of 9 in favor to 5 against has put itself on record as favoring the passage of the Federal Amendment.

"HOWEVER haughtily the Senate may demean itself, that more or less august body is promptly responsive to the impulses of the people when plainly interpreted, and, assuredly, woman suffrage has already won its fight in the hearts of men. The Senate will hardly be able to withstand the pressure loosed by the action of the House and the indorsement of the President."—*Dallas Morning News*.

MISSISSIPPI will give a vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the Senate through Senator Vardaman, who is very definitely for it. The Amendment also has an able friend in Mississippi in the *Jackson Daily News*, from which the following is quoted:

"For several years it has been evident to all discerning minds that universal suffrage for women is inevitable.

"Congress recently passed a constitutional amendment for submission of this question to the states. That it will pass the Senate is a foregone conclusion, and that it will be ratified by the required majority of states is equally certain."

IN a recent issue the *Dallas (Texas) Journal* takes occasion to say:

"The action of the executive committee of the National Democratic Committee in favor of the suffrage amendment, and the referendum vote upon which it was founded, are highly significant in more ways than one. This support, following President Wilson's indorsement of the measure, practically assures a favorable vote in the Senate. It is a condition, not a theory, which confronts the parties. Therefore, it is not surprising that Senators are courting rather than spurning the advocates of votes for women, and it scarcely can be doubted that the astute and gallant Democrats will be there with the flowers when the roll is called up yonder in the Senate."

"EQUAL suffrage has become, in the minds of thoughtful persons, an essential to democratic government," says the *Boston Record* editorially, and in the *Herald* the editor says, "This country will not continue indefinitely with the ballot on one basis in the Empire State—and in a dozen others—and on a radically less liberal scale in the rest of the country."

"There never was any justification for denying women the vote," says the *American*, and the *Post* says, in support of the President's advocacy of federal suffrage, "His attitude was evidently the outcome of a sincerely changed belief as to the best methods of obtaining votes for women." Calling attention to the line-up of the suffrage vote as to party, the *Transcript* editor says, "These facts are likely to be remembered by women voters." The *Christian Science Monitor* says, "Withholding of the vote from women is a relic of barbarism, is an inheritance of feudalism."

Keeping Up With Suffrage

IF THE residents of the city of Providence, Rhode Island, are not conversant with the ins and outs of governmental machinery, it will be because they neglected the opportunity to know their city, state and country, through the course of lectures offered by the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association. Ever since December and continuing through to May, lectures and discussions have been scheduled with such speakers as Mayor Gainer of Providence, Hon. Richard Jennings, Republican floor leader, John C. Dunning, Professor of Political Economy of Brown University, Isaac O. Winslow, Superintendent of Schools and Dr. Charles V. Chapin, who has spoken on health and recreation.

When the Equal Suffrage Association established a Woman's Committee on schools whose special province was to work for women on the school committee of Providence, it little knew how popular the movement would become. The interest in this movement was so general that the state suffrage association decided to make it quite independent and general, with the result that every woman's organization was invited to be represented on the committee, regardless of the attitude such organizations might have toward suffrage. "The Rights of Children" is the slogan of the committee which hopes to have women some day occupying some of the places now held by the thirty men members of the school committee.

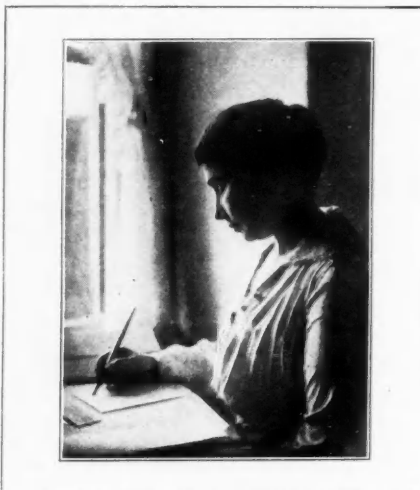
A SMALL lobby is maintained by the Equal Suffrage Association at the state capitol and one of the measures it is backing is the child welfare bill which the club women of the state have long wanted enacted. The bill seeks to establish a child welfare department under the supervision of the Board of Health and provides that a woman shall be the director of the department with power to employ paid or unpaid assistants.

Much work is being done in behalf of the passage of the Federal Amendment, the signatures of the leading men of affairs in the state being included in the big petition sent to all of the Rhode Island representatives and senators in Congress.

The officers of the state suffrage association also continue active in war service work. Mrs. Barton P. Jenks, president, is a member of the executive committee of the Red Cross and Publicity Chairman of the Rhode Island Division of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. The Honorary Vice-President, Mrs. Walter Peck, is chairman of the Liberty Loan and the First Vice-President, Miss Helen Emerson, is a member of the executive board of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense.

THE tabulation of the woman's census of the state of Rhode Island, which has been done under the direction of Miss Nettie Bauer, one of the vice-presidents of the Equal Suffrage Association, is a big piece of work which is proving of invaluable assistance to the state.

Following the taking of the census last June, in pursuance of an order from Governor Beeckman, a tabulation of the female census was made, according to occupation, the work



MISS NETTIE BAUER

being done by volunteers under the direction of Miss Bauer. From this tabulation a complete list of the graduate nurses, undergraduate, attendant and pupil nurses was compiled at the request of the United States Government. The Food Administration has found the tabulated lists of service in choosing women suitable for the food conservation campaign. The Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense is copying lists from the cards that the chairman of each of the city wards of Providence may know the potential qualities for service of every woman in that ward.

THE New Jersey suffragists are pleased with the result of their patriotic venture at Camp Dix where they established a Soldiers' Club House. The records show that during the first seven weeks that the club house was open, 2,766 different men registered, and the average attendance on those days when the men have a few hours' leave from camp is 150 to 200. During the enforced absence of the soldiers, while Camp Dix was under quarantine, the club house was put in apple-pie order for the re-opening and there were a number of gifts of furniture from suffragists and their friends.

THERE is nothing like rubbing in an injustice to wake up the world to the point of rubbing out an injustice. That's what's happening in Texas now. A common grievance that makes the whole world kin has drawn the disfranchised woman and the disfranchised soldier together.

If it were not that the Texan on the Mexican border was "done out of" his vote for President in 1916, while men from New York and New Jersey were voting just as if they were in their own home towns, the Texans wouldn't know so well how women feel about not being people.

Texas in 1916 had no provision for absent voters. Moreover, the constitution of Texas disfranchises "all soldiers, marines and seamen employed in the service of the Army and Navy of the United States."

THAT this is a very real grievance for men of the state to bear, whose only crime is that they are far from their native polling booths in the service of their country, did not prick the Texas Legislature to the point of remedy. But it troubled the women suffragists. They know what it is like to be disfranchised; and they have set to work to get the constitution amended so that soldiers may vote.

At a recent luncheon Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, of Galveston, president of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, announced that if a special session of the Texas Legislature should be called this year, the suffragists would ask for the enactment of a bill entitling women to vote in the primary election of the present year. This would mean that women relatives of men in camps could vote to safeguard their interests.

AT present aliens who have declared their intention to become citizens may vote, which, with the soldiers away from home, means putting an undue advantage into the hands of those not vitally interested in the prosecution of the war. That this situation is worthy of immediate attention and that Texas is beginning to see the necessity of enfranchising its women for the welfare of the state is evidenced by the Dallas semi-weekly *Farm News* editor:

"Let the women vote. There can be no doubt of the legality of such a measure," declares the *Farm News*. "And Mrs. Fisher Cunningham presents a forcible argument favoring it."

HERE is what one good suffragist is doing to aid in the war work, and there are many others all over the country who are doing their share with equal generosity. Mrs. Jennie Ory of Anniston, Alabama, keeps open house two days in the week for the soldier boys at the nearby camp, and some 900 soldiers have enjoyed the hospitality of this home. As chairman of the Woman's Council for Defense Work, Mrs. Ory has adopted two wards at the Base Hospital and visits them twice a week, taking the convalescents for a drive and providing a special entertainment once a week. Just now Mrs. Ory is interested in raising funds to furnish a rest room for the sick boys.

THE Kenton County Equal Franchise Association, of Kentucky, of which Mrs. Frank A. Rother is president, is doing good work for War Relief. Among other things this organization, in contributing to the comfort of our sailors on the battleship "Kentucky," was the first society in Cincinnati, Covington or vicinity to furnish free wool for knitting the much-needed garments. This Association has also organized a Red Cross unit which meets once a week for work, making this the first society in Kentucky to form a suffrage unit in the Red Cross.

THE Montana legislature, on February 23, passed a resolution asking Congress to grant nation-wide suffrage to women. Having enjoyed equal suffrage in that state since 1914, Montana wants all the states to know and enjoy the benefits of having men and women on an equal political footing.

Canal Zone Sentiment

TO Judge Frederick G. Swanson, of Balboa, Canal Zone, *The Woman Citizen* is indebted for a copy of a resolution adopted by the board of representatives of the Federal Employees Union of the Canal Zone, which includes about 700 members.

The Union on the Canal Zone includes a number of the school teachers and nurses and other women employees of the Panama Canal. Such have not been particularly active in the affairs of the Union, however, and have no representatives on the Board of Control. The resolution was therefore presented and passed by the mere men who have been most active in work of the organization.

Judge Swanson says that while there was some little discussion as to the propriety of resolutions of the kind enclosed, there was no dissenting vote from any of the board of representatives. He presented the resolution himself as vice-president of the union and a member of the board of representatives, composed of 26.

THE resolution follows:

Whereas, The cause of equal (or woman) suffrage is supported by logical reasons, too well known to need repeating, and is favored by the American Federation of Labor and the large majority of organizations affiliated thereto; and

Whereas, The trend of the times is toward a greater democracy in the control of government everywhere; and

Whereas, The United States Congress possesses all necessary authority to submit to the several states for ratification any amendment to the Constitution which they may approve, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Canal Zone Federal Employees Union endorses the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution and through the National Federation of Federal Employees urges the Senate, as has already been done by the House, to ratify its submission to the several states for adoption or rejection, and be it further

Resolved, That this action is urged as entirely consistent with either a national or state rights policy, since one of the most important of state rights is that to a voice in the changing of the law or authority by which all should be governed, and the most radical of state rights proponents have never taken the stand that the Constitution should not be amended in accord with the manner provided in such Constitution.

Lively Caucuses

TWO lively caucuses took place in the town of West Hartford, Conn., recently, at which Mrs. C. W. Turner, running on the Democratic ticket and Mrs. H. H. Marshall, running on the Republican ticket, received the nominations for vacancies on the Board of Education, defeating in each case the male candidate for the nomination. Mrs. Turner, the Democratic candidate, was nominated for the position by a vote of 32 to 5 over the male candidate. The Republicans, not to be outdone by the Democrats, in spite of strong anti opposition, succeeded in nominating Mrs. Marshall, who received 53 of the 94 votes cast.

In commenting on the caucuses, the most un-

usual the town has ever had, the Hartford *Courant* said: "The feature of the caucus was the nomination of Mrs. Marshall on the school committee. Charles Deckleman read and presented the petition of the 128 signatures of persons desiring a woman member, stating at the same time that the women, of whom there were many present, were there in a peaceful mood and that their presence was not to be regarded in any sense political.

"Professor Charles S. Lane of the school committee spoke of the work which would come up in the next year and argued that while he favored women a man would be more successful in the work to come. Ballot was resorted to for the nomination and out of the 94 votes cast, Mrs. Marshall received 53, and was therefore placed in nomination. Others spoke briefly in favor of a woman member of the board, realizing that there would be more women voters in the future and that it was time to 'get into line' and have a woman on the school board. The opinion was expressed at the Republican caucus that it would not be well in face of the fact that the Democrats had nominated Mrs. Turner to have the Republican caucus go on record as not favoring the women on the board."

Gifts to Suffrage

AT a recent meeting of the executive board of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association held at the home of Mrs. Henry Townshend in New Haven, Miss Katharine Ludington, president of the organization, announced a gift of \$2,000. Mrs. Whitney Blake of New Haven was the donor of \$1,000. The name of the other donor was not made public by Miss Ludington. This money will be used to put organizers into the field to carry on the work of the new political organization which is being rapidly effected throughout the state.

Reports given by county chairmen at this meeting showed that the new political leaders are beginning work vigorously and that every bit of pressure possible is being brought to bear on Senators Brandegee and McLean for their favorable vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment when it comes before the Senate. Mrs. Marion Nichol Rawson, acting chairman of Fairfield county, reported that at a recent county meeting it was voted to begin a new drive for the amendment in every town in the county. Mrs. Richard Howell, the new leader of the town of Stratford, is making a blanket canvass of the 6,000 voters of that town with the expectation of obtaining the signatures of 4,000 voters to a petition asking the Senators of the state to vote favorably on the amendment. By this means Mrs. Howell hopes to show that there is at least one town in which the majority of the voters desire the enfranchisement of women.

A PLAN for the establishment of courses on citizenship, in which questions of national and municipal government will be discussed and explained to prospective women voters, was outlined by Mrs. Charles G. Morris, of New Haven. In accordance with this plan the executive board of the association hopes to put a citizenship worker into the field to establish such courses in towns all over the state.

Up to Its Record

IN its work for the Senate vote Pennsylvania is duplicating the vigorous campaign which was carried on previous to the vote in the House, when 23 of the 36 Congressmen voted for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The Woman Suffrage Association of the Keystone State has no stronger ally than the press, which is giving constant assistance through its news and editorial columns. Over 100 of the more important Pennsylvania papers have come out with strong editorials within the last few weeks, presenting the logic of the situation in such a convincing light that suffragists feel it leaves a senator no stone to stand on save the Amendment.

The campaign to raise \$30,000, Pennsylvania's share of the sum necessary to maintain the Women's Oversea Hospitals is being pushed with enthusiasm through the various county organizations. Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, secretary of the state suffrage association, has taken the general chairmanship of the work for that state and is urging each county to appoint its hospital committee.

The list of county gatherings scheduled for the spring started off with the Montgomery County convention on February 13, with Mrs. Charles Noel Edge of New York City as the speaker. Then followed Lancaster County, which elected Mrs. I. H. Herr and a strong committee to carry on the work of the year. An elaborate convention program was planned by Philadelphia for the twenty-third at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Mrs. John O. Miller and Mrs. William West scheduled to speak at the sessions. A wartime dinner followed by a patriotic rally in the Rose Garden was the feature of the evening. Lycoming County held its convention on the same day.

As Mr. Hays Sees It

MRS. RICHARD E. EDWARDS, president of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana, has made public a statement which was signed recently by Mr. Will H. Hays, newly elected chairman of the National Republican Committee, in which Mr. Hays set forth his views in regard to the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The statement made by Mr. Hays follows:

"In view of the fact that one-quarter of the states of the Union have now extended full suffrage to woman, and

"In view of the fact that since the war began suffrage has been granted or pledged to the women of Canada, Great Britain, Russia and France, and

"In view of the fact that every state and country which has tried woman suffrage gives unanimous evidence that the women voters have proved a positive force for good,

"I believe that when the world is fighting for democracy—the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government—the time has come to take steps insuring political freedom to the women of the entire United States, and I therefore ask the Sixty-fifth Congress to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment to be ratified by the Legislatures of the several states."



HENRY W. KIEL
MAYOR OF ST. LOUIS

MEN OF PROMINENCE
FORM A SUFFRAGE
ADVISORY BOARD TO THE
EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE
OF MISSOURI



MELVILLE L. WILKINSON
CHAIRMAN MISSOURI DIVISION
STATE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Leading Mid-Westerners

LEADING lawyers, business and labor men, educators, politicians, clergymen, social workers, and medical men of St. Louis have formed a Men's Advisory Committee to the Equal Suffrage League, to assist in the suffrage movement in Missouri.

The Committee has been formed entirely under the sponsorship of men. Jackson Johnson, president of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce and chairman of the Board of the International Shoe Co., acted as chairman of the Organizing Committee of eight, composed of N. A. McMillan, president of the St. Louis Union Trust Co., Ernest W. Stix, president of Rice-Stix Dry Goods Co., Joseph E. Woracek, Sec. of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union; Edward F. Gortra, Missouri Committeeman on the National Democratic Committee; Benjamin Gratz, Treasurer of American Mfg. Co.; E. M. Grossman, Chairman Four-Minute Men and J. L. Babler, Missouri Committeeman on the Republican National Committee. While the original plan was to form an Advisory Committee of One Hundred, the Committee has grown until it promises to number nearly two hundred of Saint Louis' most influential citizens.

GOVERNOR GARDNER, in regretting his inability to accept appointment on the Committee, stated that he believed he could be of more assistance to the movement outside the Committee and called attention again to his public declaration in favor of woman suffrage. Mayor Kiel of St. Louis and Louis P. Aloe, president of the Board of Aldermen, always ready to assist in the suffrage movement, have become members. Other men of the city Administration on the Advisory Committee are Philip B. Fouke, member of the Police Board; Nelson Cunliff, Commissioner of Parks and Recreation; Charles H. Daues, City Counsellor; Nat Goldstein, Circuit Clerk; Dr. Cleveland H. Shutt, Hospital Commissioner; Charles M. Talbert, Director of Streets and Sewers, and Lawrence McDaniel, Circuit Attorney.

Colin M. Selph, Saint Louis Postmaster, United States District Attorney Arthur L. Oliver, and James R. Dunn, Inspector in charge of U. S. Immigration Service, are members. Congressmen Igoe and Dyer sent their acceptances from Washington. A long list of well-known attorneys is found among the members, including Judge William H. Allen and Judge William Dee Becker, Saint Louis Court of Appeals, and Judge Thomas C. Hennings, Circuit Court.

MELVILLE L. WILKINSON, Chairman State Council of National Defense and president of Scruggs, Vandervoort and Barney Dry Goods Co.; Clarence H. Howard, president of Commonwealth Steel Co.; Murray Carleton, Chairman Board Carleton Dry Goods Co.; W. S. McChesney, president Terminal Railway Association; George W. Niedringhaus, president National Enameling and Stamping Co.; W. J. Kinsella, president Hanley-Kinsella Coffee and Spice Co.; A. C. Brown, president Hamilton-Brown Shoe Co., and W. K. Bixby, Director St. Louis Union Trust Co., are among the business men

The Woman Citizen

An All-M Suffrage Co

TWO HUNDRED
OF ST. LOUIS'S
MOST INFLUEN-
TIAL CITIZENS
BAND TO-
GETHER FOR
SUFFRAGE
D R I V E



A DEFENDER OF I
RACY, CAPTAN D
F. DAVIS, 35TH DIV
CAMP D O I P

Represent

CHURCH AND STATE;

THE SCHOOL, THE LAW AND THE

BUSINESS, COMMERCE, POLICS A

THE MAYOR OF ST. LOU THE
BOARD OF ALDERMEN;

PUBLIC OFFICIALS, JUDGES CONC
MEN, UNIVERSITY PROFESS;

EDITORS, THE PRESIDENT THE

LABOR LEADERS AND WORKINGM

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THEY WANT IT FOR MISSOURI

All-Men's Committee



DER OF DEMOC-
APTAN DWIGHT
35TH DIVISION,
DONIPHAN

"IN THIS AGE,
WHEN THE
HIGHER IM-
PULSES DE-
MAND EXPRES-
SION, WE CAN-
NOT AFFORD
TO EXCLUDE
WOMEN FROM
DIRECT REPRESENTATION IN
ALL PUBLIC
AFFAIRS"

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AND THE ARMY;
POLICS AND FINANCE;
LOUS THE PRESIDENT OF THE
i;
DGES CONGRESSMEN, RAILROAD
FESSS;
ENT TO THE BASEBALL CLUB;
WORKINGMEN
A DEMOCRACY WHICH SHALL
PLE
E.
HAY BEEN SHOWN AND THEY
UFFE IS A GOOD THING;
SSO

In Suffrage Fight

THE bankers of the city are well represented by F. O. Watts, president Third National Bank; John G. Lonsdale, president National Bank of Commerce; Henry T. Ferriss, vice-president Mortgage Trust Co.; George A. Meyer, president International Bank of Commerce, and others.

In addition to Joseph E. Woracek, of the Organizing Committee, the labor leaders are P. J. Morrin, Sec. District Council of Bridge and Iron Workers; Owen Miller, Sec. American Federation of Musicians; B. F. Lamb, Sec. Machinist Union; Joseph Hauser, Sec. Brewers' and Malsters' Union No. 6; William Canavan, Sec. Moving Picture Operators' Union.

Dr. John W. Withers, Superintendent of Instruction and Dr. George B. Mangold, Director of Missouri School of Social Economy and the following Washington University professors are members: W. F. Gephart, Department of Economics; Otto F. Heller, Department of Languages; Dean Alex S. Langsdorf, School of Engineering; Dr. Leo Loeb, Department of Pathology; E. H. Wuerpel, director of Art School; Tyrrell Williams, Law School; Roland Usher, Department of History, and George R. Dock, Department of Internal Medicine, Medical School.

DEAN CARROLL DAVIS, Christ Church Cathedral; Rev. John W. Day, Church of the Unity; Dr. John W. McIvor, Second Presbyterian Church; Rev. W. S. Bitting, Second Baptist Church; George E. O'Dell, Leader St. Louis Ethical Society; Rev. Samuel W. Woodrow, Pilgrim Congregational Church; Rev. Benjamin Young, Union Methodist Church, are among the clergy who have identified themselves with the local movement for the enfranchisement of American women.

Branch Rickey, president of the St. Louis Base Ball Club and William Marion Reedy, editor, *The Mirror*, long a friend of the local suffragists, have taken their places on the Men's Advisory Committee.

Captain Dwight F. Davis, 35th Division, stationed at Camp Doniphan, sent his acceptance of appointment from Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

IN a statement to the press about the organization of the Committee, Mr. Jackson Johnson said, "As our civilization advances and our society becomes more complex, nearly every activity of the Government affects the individual more pointedly, and every need of the individual requires more personal attention. The result is that nearly every economic question of public interest directly affects the home. Aside from any sentimental consideration, these questions cannot be fairly solved unless woman's point of view is adequately presented and, for some reason, men either will not or cannot fully interpret and express at the polls this feeling. In this age, when the higher impulses demand expression, we cannot afford to continue to exclude women from direct representation in all public affairs."

W. A. Layman, president of the Wagner Electric Co., stated, "My views on this subject (the national enfranchisement of American women, have changed strongly within the last year, and though lukewarm in the past, I now favor granting suffrage to the women, who are doing such magnificent work in support of the Government at this time."



REV. CARROLL DAVIS
DEAN OF CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL

MEN OF THE MIDDLE
WEST BELIEVE IN
PROTECTING WOMEN
BY GIVING THEM THE MEANS
TO HELP THEMSELVES



DR. JOHN W. WITHERS
SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC
INSTRUCTION, ST. LOUIS
BOARD OF EDUCATION

The Mother of Clubs to the Mother of Hospitals

SOROSIS, the mother of all the incorporated women's clubs in the United States, is celebrating its fiftieth birthday this month, and by way of a birthday present it has spent more than \$2,600 to purchase an ambulance for the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A.

This motor ambulance carries on its sides a red cross, the medical emblem, of Æsculapius, the name of the hospital, and a plate saying, "Donated by Sorosis." It has already been shipped and is now on the way to fulfill its mission of mercy. Thus a pioneer in woman's clubs has united with a pioneer in woman's hospitals, the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, to send to the front the first American hospital unit staffed entirely by women. And this is in accord with the founders of both club and hospital.

ALICE CAREY, poetess and first president of Sorosis, once said:

"We have proposed the inculcation of deeper and broader ideas among women, proposed to teach them to think for themselves and get their opinions at first hand, not so much because it is their right as because it is their duty. We have also proposed to open new avenues of employment to women—to make them less dependent and less burdensome—to lift them out of unwomanly self-distrust and disqualifying diffidence into womanly self-respect and self-knowledge. To teach them to make all work honorable, by each doing the share that falls to her, or that she may work out to herself agreeable to her own special aptitude, cheerfully and faithfully—not going down to it, but bringing it up to her. We have proposed to enter our protest against all idle gossip, against all demoralizing and wicked waste of time, also, against the follies and the tyrannies of fashion, against all external impositions and disabilities; in short, against each and every thing that opposes the full development and use of the faculties conferred upon us by our Creator."

THIS is what Sorosis has been standing for these fifty years. Its list of presidents, since Alice Carey's time, reads as follows:

Alice Carey, Jennie C. Croly, Charlotte B.



ANNE LUPTON PRINCE

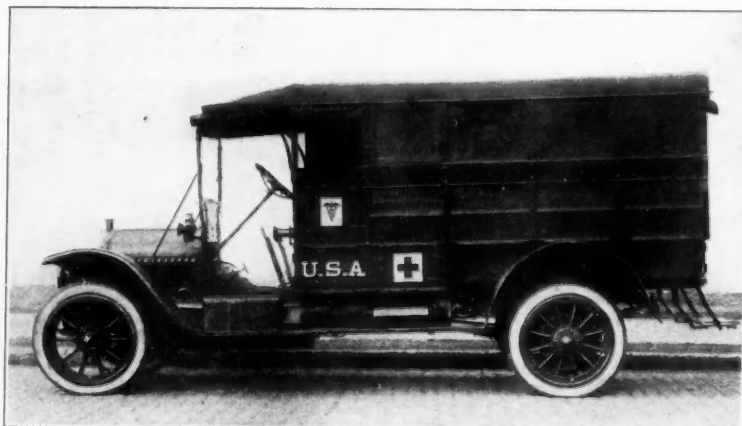
Wilbur, Jennie C. Croly, M. Louise Thomas, Ella Dietz Clymer, Jeanne de la M. Lozier, Fannie I. Helmuth, Mary Dame Hall, Dimies T. S. Denison, Charlotte B. Wilbur, Fannie H. Carpenter, May Riley Smith and Anne Lupton Prince.

Its present president, Mrs. Prince, tells the *Woman Citizen*:

"Sorosis was the pioneer of course, in helping woman find herself, and the universal testimony of those who have come under the influence of Sorosis is this: 'If I have succeeded in any line of work it is because of the training I have had in Sorosis.' 'Whatever I do, I do better because of the training I have had in Sorosis.' The spirit of loyalty to each other, and to the Sorosis ideals, makes better women of all of us, than we could ever have been without it.

"In 1889, when Sorosis was twenty-one years old, a call was sent to ninety-three clubs, throughout the country—sixty-one clubs were represented, literally from Maine to California—and the General Federation of Women's Clubs was formed.

"For our fiftieth anniversary, or for the work of this year, we have invested \$1,000 in a Liberty bond. We have fitted an aero squadron with 600 knitted garments, counting to a value of \$1,500 completed, and now the ambulance at \$2,600—a little more, I think. The anniversary breakfast on March 18 will be simple, as befits the times, but the spirit that makes us better women will be there—the wonderful bond of fellowship."



SOROSIS'S DONATION TO THE HOSPITAL UNIT

Kill It!

By Nelle Swartz, Executive Secretary of the Consumers' League of New York

SCARCELY had the 1918 session of the Legislature convened when Elon R. Brown, a well known anti-suffragist from Watertown, N. Y., introduced a bill giving the Industrial Commission power to suspend the labor law, in whole or in part, during the period of the war.

The bill is identical with a bill fathered by Senator Brown last year, which passed both Senate and Assembly, but was vetoed by Governor Whitman.

This bill—Senate Int. No. 210—if enacted into law would give unheated of powers to a Commission. The Commission could, for example, suspend the night work law for women, the fifty-four hour law for women; it could suspend the laws for the protection of workers from fire "if such laws shall hamper or interfere with the successful prosecution of the present war."

England warned this country that a headlong, unthinking policy of blind haste in suspending labor laws during the war led to a needless waste of precious human strength. England has told us that increased output is to be gained through the saving of the workers' health and strength, not the taxing of endurance to the breaking point.

LLOYD GEORGE has said that England has made every possible blunder and suggests that we study their blunders, so as to begin where England is now, not where they were three years ago. We should profit by their mistakes.

What the public ought to know and is entitled to ask is, who is behind this sordid business?

Responsible organizations in the state, organizations like the Merchants Association, the Men's and Women's City Clubs, the State Suffrage Party, the Consumers' League, the National and State Child Labor Committee, are whole-heartedly against these bills.

The employers who manage their industries efficiently, the employers who pay the prevailing rate of wage, the employers who are not opposed to trade unions, do not want suspension of the labor laws. They know that in a long race it is endurance, not sprinting, that wins. Who IS behind this bill?

THE employment bureaus throughout the state report large numbers of unemployed. Hundreds of able-bodied men and women flock to these agencies daily in search of work. Even those who have not yet learned that increased hours decreases rather than increases output should appreciate the unsoundness of allowing overtime work when thousands are walking the streets without employment.

The City Bar Association tells us that the Brown bill is clearly unconstitutional, but let us not wait to carry it to the courts. The place to kill this iniquitous measure is in the Legislature. Women of this state, let your Assemblymen and Senators know that you are opposed to the Brown Bill, Senate Int. No. 210. Now, as never before, take your stand against industrial exploitation.

The Book Stall

Still More Civics *

THE student who has read thus far in civics will want to read Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, written in 1896, but revised frequently since then. Lord Bryce's longer book, of which this is an abridgment, was not written as a text book, but as a review of our institutions. It is the more interesting for this reason, as nothing but the outsider's point of view could make the idiosyncratic double sovereignty in American government stand out so clearly. Occasionally the European point of view works curiously, as when Lord Bryce assumes that there are no two sides to the question of paying salaries to legislators; but says in effect that paying members is a bad thing but it does not seem to do much harm in America. The book is clear as a bell, splendidly arranged and interestingly written. It is excellent both for reading and for reference.

One subject which is neglected in this group as in all civics books, addressed to whatever class of reader, is the citizenship of women; even woman suffrage, the best known aspect of the subject, is given scant notice. Bryce gives it nine words in a footnote and in his many revisions he has not troubled to bring the footnote up to date, so his readers in 1917 are informed that in the states of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho women have the right to vote! Almost all other civics give the anti-suffrage argument as much or more space than the suffrage. When Willoughby, in his *Rights and Duties of American Citizenship*, one of the older standard books, gives woman suffrage over almost in toto to the antis it creates a sense of insecurity in the reader as to the maturity of his thought on other political principles.

GUITEAU, WILLIAM BACKUS: *Government and Politics in the United States*. Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1916. (Like Garner, not so readable but stronger in primary sources.)

Willoughby, W. W.: *Rights and Duties of American Citizens*. American Book Company, 1910. (Somewhat the same type of book. Goes more into the philosophy of government. The chapter on Party Government and machinery is good.)

Ashley, Roscoe Lewis: *American Government*. Macmillan, 1916. Also his *New Civics*. Macmillan, 1917.

(For the same grade of readers as Guiteau. *American Government* has an excellent chapter on the United States Constitution and the fifteen amendments and a supplement on New York State by E. W. Ames, published separately in paper covers. The *New Civics* covers the same material, but in a different way, bringing out the responsibilities of citizenship rather than administrative details. It is the better and newer book.)

Forman, S. E.: *Advanced Civics*. Century, 1917. Also his *American Government*. Century, 1917.

(*Advanced Civics* is of the same type as Guiteau but more readable. *American Government* is an abridgment of the Civics meant for a shorter but equally advanced course.)

*See *Woman Citizen*, Feb. 9 and 23.

STICKELS, ARNDT M.: *Elements of Government*. American Book Company, 1917. (Less advanced than the six books above. Covers the ground in about the style of Hoxie, but is not so good.)

Boynton, F. D.: *School Civics*. Ginn, 1916. Also his *Actual Government of New York*. Ginn, 1916. (*School Civics* is clear and interesting for grammar students and clubs; it is strong on historical rather than practical working information. *Actual Government of New York* is quite different, a simple but somewhat detailed study, beginning with the school district which the child knows through practical experience first, and then showing him the relation of the individual to county, state and nation.)

Sparks, Frank M.: *Government as a Business*. Rand, McNally and Company, 1916. (An exposition of the practice of government as opposed to the theory; what the officeholder as employee does for his employer, the people.)

Clark, Sollers Starrs: *The Government*. American Book Company, 1916. (A book of the type of Guiteau's *Preparing for Citizenship*, but not so good.)

NIDA, WILLIAM F.: *City, State and Nation*. Macmillan, 1917. (A good, simple statement for older children, better and fuller of information than many of this type.)

Mintz, Frances Sankstone: *The New American Citizen*. Macmillan, 1917. (A sincere effort to give foreigners something better than a child's reader. It contains only twenty pages on civics but all the text is chosen to awaken interest in the United States.)

Hill, Mabel, and Davis, Philip: *Civics for New Americans*. Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1915; and Sharpe, Mary F.: *Plain Facts for Future Citizens*. American Book Company, 1914. (Two books meant, like Richman and Wallach, for children or immigrants. Though they are both prepared by experienced teachers of immigrants, to the general reader they seem unnecessarily childish. This is especially true of the second book.)

M. S. B.

On the Feminist Firing Line

A STUDY of graduates of a Massachusetts trade school for girls, gives a sad blow to the current theory that girls work is only temporary. The record of 744 girls shows that seven years after graduation 66.8 per cent were still working, 9.1 per cent studying or at home, 4.6 per cent dead and only 19.4 per cent, less than a fifth, married and retired from industry.

NOT only are British women receiving the new war titles instituted by the King, but they are to be distinguished among those first at the front. According to the *Woman's Century*, nurses are to receive the special decoration to be granted to the first seven divisions of the British Expeditionary Force for service between August 5 to midnight November 22 and 23, 1914, in Belgium or France.

A NEW French institution, says *La Française*, is the Central School of Puericulture, which has been founded in Paris to instruct women specialists for work in milk stations and day nurseries. Mme. S. Cardane, Inspectrice of Paris Day Nurseries, is the head.

FOR FRANCE

Grand Military and Naval Meet

Madison Square Garden
NEW YORK

March 15, 16, 17

For the Benefit of the
Women's Oversea
Hospitals, U. S. A.

The Honorary Patrons are:
M. Gaston Libert, Consul
General of France; Sir Frederick W. Black, K. C. B.,
Vice-Chairman of the British
War Mission; Brig-Gen. Evan
M. Johnson, U. S. Army, and
Rear Admiral Nathaniel R.
Usher, U. S. Navy.

Members of the Acting Committee are: Miss Charlotte
Delafield, Mrs. Elbert H.
Gary, Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson,
Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim,
Mrs. William H. Hays, Mrs.
Warner Leeds, Miss Luisita
Leland, Mrs. V. Everit Macy,
Mrs. Victor Morawetz, Mrs.
Ogden Reid, Mrs. F. Louis
Slade, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany,
Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip.
Mrs. E. R. Strange is the
Chairman of arrangements.
Mrs. Howard W. Beal is the
vice-chairman.

Preliminary Plans Cover
Thrilling Programs of
Sports and Drills by
the U. S. Army
and Navy

There will be a Special
Program for the Children

All Proceeds Go to Hospital

All the Garden's
"Privileges" waived by
holders for Benefit
of Hospital

Everybody is
Giving, Giving, Giving
Nobody and nothing but
the Hospital Unit Will
or Can Make a Dollar

Meet the Meet Half Way
Remember the Date

Be There
See that everybody you
know is there

Correspondence

From a Democrat

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE letter signed by Mrs. Whitney which appeared in your issue of the 9th inst. is interesting and enlightening, but it seems ingenious rather than ingenuous. Mrs. Whitney tells us:

"As against the prestige and strength of a party in power, the Republican vote is the result of an unorganized and individual sentiment among the Congressmen."

"The party in power" is a phrase much in favor among members of the Woman's Party, and seems to have spread its hypnotic suggestion to those who have had little to say in praise of that organization. It originated in England, where it has a real significance which it can never have while our government remains what it has been and seems likely to be.

The implication that Republican Congressmen spoke and voted for the suffrage amendment of their own free will is somewhat amusing to anyone who knows how they were dragooned, cajoled, threatened and implored, not to mention reminders that as the reward for enfranchising the negro they have claimed his vote for the last fifty years, the inference being that the woman voter may be caught by a similar bit of camouflage.

WHILE there may have been "no leader within or without the House to wield any party influence," there was somebody with enough "party influence," or something just as good, to call a Republican caucus, where the following resolution was adopted:

"The Republican conference of the House of Representatives recommends and advises that the Republican members support the Federal Suffrage Amendment in so far as they can do so consistently with their convictions and the attitude of their constituents."

This resolution had just as much weight with Mr. Meeker of Missouri, as the expressed wish of the President of the United States had with Mr. Clark of Florida. Anyone who can wrest any "glory" out of that resolution is welcome to it.

The truth is that dozens of Republican leaders, from Abraham Lincoln down, have been in favor of suffrage, and that party has been "the party in power" most of the time for fifty years without ever getting a suffrage amendment in gunshot of the calendar. The amendment has been lost in Republican states; it has been "jobbed," as it was in California when first submitted there, by Republican leaders. But what of it?

DEMOCRATS have never been less democratic than in their consideration of this measure. There is this one difference between the two parties. Democratic opposition is founded upon what they believe to be a reason. They have seen the evil that resulted from the enfranchisement of colored men under unprecedented conditions. They live face to face with this great American problem, which is simply the skeleton in the national closet for most of the rest of us. Dread of what the colored woman may do with the ballot is based

upon a somewhat too active memory of what her father and grandfather did in those days of "reconstruction" that are not a source of pride to any American citizen. It is not a good and sufficient reason why millions of white women should be kept in political subjection, but such as it is, it does pass for a reason. Over against it the opponents of equal suffrage in the states where "negro domination" is only a phrase, have nothing better to give than flimsy excuses and pretexts.

All attempts to make political capital out of the woman voter are mere buncombe, and few there be who will be deceived thereby. Woman suffrage is coming as part of a great world movement. Both the parties in this country realize that fact and that they might as well cease their obstructionist methods. A woman who has done much suffrage work, and whose home is in a strongly Republican state, said to a Washington friend that she felt that she would like to be a Democrat after she had spent a winter working with her own recalcitrant Republican Legislature, but when she found herself struggling with the ante-civil war views of the southern Congressmen, she became utterly discouraged and indifferent as to future political affiliations.

THE sensible thing for women to do is to be thankful that the end of this long struggle is in sight. Let us be thankful to the men who have helped us when we had no hope of success, and let us not scrutinize too closely the gift-horse votes of more recent converts. Let us forget those whom we cannot forgive, and above all let us remember that we still have to get several of the thirty-six states necessary for ratification, and we shall not be assisted in that small task by trying to apportion out the "glory" that will be due when the thirty-sixth state Legislature has voted in favor of the suffrage amendment.

ELLIS MEREDITH.

Washington, D. C.

No Party Victory

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

WITH the anti-suffragists laying suffrage victories to the Socialists, the friends of the Administration stressing Mr. Wilson's support of the cause and the admirers of Mr. Hughes claiming a share of the honors as "The Glory of the Republicans," some of us are likely to agree with one or another of these views. All of us who accept any of these explanations of the progress of equal suffrage in recent years, are likely to find ourselves in the same boat with the good people whom Lincoln described when he said: "You can fool some of the people all the time."

If we stop to consider the present condition of our political life, we will see how far from accurate are these attempts to credit the latest success of equal suffrage to party. There are still a goodly number of us who inherit our politics, but most of us are doing our own political thinking. The same forces that are developing large bodies of independent voters are bringing to the fore politicians who are unusually-independent of the party whip. There is a schism in each of the great parties. There

are those independents who are working to control their party for special interests, and, there are the independents within the same parties who are doing the best they know how to swing their party to the side of progress and the public welfare. These internal conflicts are much more important than the camouflage that is indulged in prior to each election.

Viewed from this standpoint, the suffrage victory in the House is a triumph of neither party. It is a victory for the liberal-minded men of all parties.

These men have been educated to this bit of fair-mindedness largely by the women, so that in the last analysis the glory is theirs. Through their patient and painstaking work they have earned a leadership which they will do well to retain, at least during this time of political uncertainty and readjustment. Let them beware how they bestow that glory on these idols made of political mud, lest in so doing, that leadership slip from them.

JOSEPH L. RICHARDS.

Brookline, Mass., 247 Fisher avenue.

Women's Patriotism

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE performance by the Handel and Haydn Society on the evening of February 17 (in Symphony Hall, Boston), of Miss Mabel Daniels's new cantata, "Peace with a Sword," from the poem by Abbie Farwell Brown, was an indirect but splendid answer to the old charge that women are not true patriots, a direct answer to the old idea that their work in music and poetry must always be sentimental, with a note of weakness. The work of both the composer and the poet was judged, even by the Boston critics, on its own merits, not as "surprisingly good—for a woman," and was pronounced virile, vigorous, direct, worthy of the times and the subject. Miss Brown took the title and idea of her poem from the motto of the State of Massachusetts: "Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem," hardly a motto to appeal to a "pacifist crank"! Both women gave their work to the cause of American patriotism, and both are strong suffragists, Miss Brown being a prominent member of the Writers Equal Suffrage League of Boston.

THOUGH this work is of national as well as local interest, there is special significance in its having been presented in Boston, where anti-suffragists (yes, we still have them!) are at this time quietly and persistently spreading the absurd but insidious charge that all suffragists are pacifists, backed up by pro-Germans, and that they are doing nothing for the war. There are actually people in Massachusetts who believe this sort of thing, though it has as little relation to the facts as it has in every other part of our country. The "Peace with a Sword" of Miss Brown and Miss Daniels is but one brilliant example of the spirit of loyalty and service that fills the hearts and works of all our suffragists in Massachusetts and America.

L. R. STANWOOD.

President, Writers Equal Suffrage League.

Annual March Sale

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Famous Over Half a Century

Offering Over One Hundred Thousand Yards of this season's most fashionable weaves and colors

The following are in choice assortments of the latest Evening, Reception, Easter and Sport Colors, also Black or White

Double Width Crepe de Chineyard, 1.25	Imperial Dress Satin, 36 inches wide .yard, 1.50
Double Width Georgette Crepeyard, 1.25	Chiffon Dress Taffeta, 36 inches wide .yard, 1.50
Double Width Crepe Meteoryard, 1.75	Colored China Silk, 36 inches wide .yard, 75c

James McCreery & Co.

5th Avenue

34th Street

Correspondence

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I MUCH appreciated the plea of the party from Yonkers, N. Y., to have ONE woman's paper absolutely free from the omnipresent recipe—and beseech you, "with all my heart," to grant the request.

It is not as though there were no papers which feature recipes. One of the reasons I advance to subscribers to take the paper is "that there are no silly recipes or fashion or society notes." I say *The Woman Citizen* aims to take its place among women beside *The New Republic*, *Literary Digest*, *Current Opinion*, and be an intellectual weekly for women edited by women, in contrast to the women's papers edited by men, which are full of what men want us to think, and not of vital matters of which we should be thinking.

Give us the news of how suffrage is progressing in the Senate, and what chance Miss Rankin's bill for women's naturalization has of being considered this session. We'll get all the cooking recipes we need in the rotten syndicated press papers with which the country abounds, without taking your valuable space for them.

Recipes prepared by men at that! It makes me perfectly furious to hear the insistence of women saving, *saving*, **SAVING!** Women have done all the saving that has ever been done in this country, and the letter you print in the "bonehead" editorial of February 9 is a fair sample of how much good it has done.

I ask that you devote the column that might

be filled with cooking recipes to one entitled, "Ways Men Can Save and Help Their Country." Believe me, they need advice. Now, this is no joke, but an earnest suggestion that would be good business for you to follow; it would put you on the map, and to show you how much in earnest I am, I'll give a few pointers.

Ways Men Can Save and Help Their Country

By reducing the cost of government, in local, state and national affairs.

The Exemption Boards ask \$150 a month for each member; the women who do Red Cross work, work for nothing—often find their own materials—or else pay for the material when they get it at headquarters.

Men can eat simpler luncheons. They can call for corn bread and rye bread and oatmeal cookies, which they are so anxious for the women to make to feed to the children.

Men can wear their old clothes, get their shoes half soled, make their hats last longer, buy cheaper underwear, linen, collars.

Men can make their neckties last longer.

Men can press their own trousers, save the money and buy thrift stamps, and make a regular contribution, weekly, to the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., as they cannot do the work women do, knitting or sewing.

AMIE BIGONY STEWART.

Seattle, Wash.

In Louisiana

THAT was an important event in recent suffrage history in Louisiana when Suffrage House was opened at New Orleans. In a beautiful old Southern mansion at 1109 St. Charles ave., the suffragists of the Crescent City are now receiving their friends and carrying on a vigorous program of suffrage work.

The new suffrage home was established by the Woman Suffrage Party of Louisiana, but on its board of managers the Louisiana League for Woman Suffrage and the Equal Rights Party will be represented also. Thus the Louisiana suffragists will present a solid front in their battle for the franchise for the women of that state, with each organization free to carry on its own particular work.

Undoubtedly, Suffrage House in Louisiana will carry out the tradition of the true southern home, but there will be also much political work and work along the lines of citizenship and Americanization.

THE moving spirit in the establishment of the Louisiana Suffrage House was Mrs. W. J. O'Donnell, president of the Louisiana League for Woman Suffrage and City Chairman for New Orleans. On her staff she has appointed strong committee chairmen and members of committees who will have charge of every branch of activity, including classes in canning, conservation and Red Cross work. Mrs. W. S. Holmes of Baton Rouge, State President of the Woman Suffrage Party, will head the board of managers.

When writing to advertisers please mention the WOMAN CITIZEN.

Some Experiences of a Home Teacher

By Frances Kellogg Curtis

IN some of the states where women vote and have the power of the ballot to help in the constructive work of Americanization, it has been found an excellent idea to have a "Home Teacher Law," so here in Massachusetts some of us in this work have adopted this plan in an amateur way, and we have found it most successful.

It is almost impossible for a foreign-born woman with her many tasks to leave home for anything but a few minutes necessary for her marketing, so we go to these women's homes and have there a class of three or four women living in the same house, women who have often been years in this country, but who have never had the chance to mingle with the outside world as do their husbands and children and so learn our language. Of course they have absorbed many words here and there and with a little help and encouragement they make great progress.

I HAVE always liked Italians and Italy with her fatal gift of beauty, and her atmosphere of romance has ever made me feel with Browning, "Queen Mary's saying does for me, When Fortune's malice lost her Calais, Open my heart and you will see 'Italy, my Italy.'" I happen to speak a very terrible Italian and so I have been doing my work among the Italian women, and much as I have always admired them a closer knowledge has made the feeling even deeper. All their little tenements are so clean and the windows actually open, women in long earrings and colored head dresses working at strange looking embroidery frames, tomatoes and onions hanging in strings from the ceiling. One can hardly believe that a ten minute walk takes one to the heart of Boston.

But charming as are these Italian interiors, these people live isolated from the Native, they are like clayey patches of soil in a garden unfertilized by the stream of life flowing by and unable to absorb any moisture from the contiguous earth.

TO teach them the language is the first step in assimilating them, and making them really of our country.

Italians when they do become citizens are of our very best, but unfortunately many of them remain often strangers, and I think that this home teaching is the very thing to stop this condition; for instance, there are sixteen families in the house in the north end where I work and I am getting to know many of them. They feel that America is taking an interest in them represented in the person of my insignificant self.

They are all so kind and hospitable, insisting on my eating many delicious stews, or gnocchhi.

Here is a recipe, which is cheap and really good:

Take some canned tomatoes and add a little oil and cook well in the frying pan, then add several raw potatoes sliced, a bay leaf, some celery, a bit of onion. When this is all cooked (adding a little water occasionally) the tomatoes are a dark red color. Add a teaspoonful of current jam. I can assure you that you will like it.

HOW I would prefer to live in Salem Street rather than at 417 Beacon Street. I never see a friend of mine, it is always "not at home," or if I telephone, "Mrs. So-and-So is busy now, can I take the message?", but at this happy tenement you just put your head outside the door and call "Angelina, Brigida, Antonetta," and all your best friends come running in for such thrilling chats.

They are so very feminine, too. The women, to my surprise, have a lot of influence in the family and always keep their maiden names. When people remonstrate with them for the custom, saying it makes it hard for them to



FRANCES KELLOGG CURTIS

get their letters, they say, "Give up the name of mio padre? Mai Mai," and the best they will do is to give their names in this way, "Barbara Brigidi maritata Pozzi," and absolutely one often finds on the doors the women's names themselves and not the men's at all.

Of course occasionally we disagree on the upbringing of the young. Several of my friends in the North End believe that "troppo dormire e abbastanza malsano che troppo mangiare." This I cannot approve, even though it sounds perfectly logical when it is explained to me that one must keep one's babies up till eleven at night, for otherwise how will the brain have a chance to develop? And from lack of proper exercise it will be that of an idiot.

BUT what a bond it was between us when it appeared that a marito, after the fashion of all mariti, had said to a woman who had five children, and cooked, washed and cleaned house for four boarders besides her husband and self, that he really did not see what she did with herself all day long.

I taught that woman at once the proverb, "Man's work lasts from sun to sun, but woman's work is never done," to hand on to that marito, so similar to an American one whom I know quite well, when he came home that night.

YESTERDAY when I went down to give a lesson to a very intelligent pupil, she told me that she was awfully sorry, but she thought that perhaps she would put the lesson off till tomorrow, as she had had her sixth baby in the night.

I stepped into a shop and bought the most impracticable thing to be had, pale blue satin, trimmed with pink ribbons and embroidered in pink roses. That brave little woman had never had a single pretty thing for any of her babies, and Elenore Margarita, named after the due regine d'Italia, should start life with something to please her mother.

Many of these women never learn English in twenty years and their husbands and children are apt to look down on them in consequence. Poor old "Mass." When the country of the snows has outrun her with the voting of the women Esquimaux, when she has been forced to let her women vote by the ratification by all the other states of the Federal Amendment, then I shall use all my political influence to have the home teacher law passed by the Legislature, for it seems to me that it would indeed be an influence toward unifying the diverse peoples of the land.

Americanizing the Mexican

AMERICANIZATION work is holding a good measure of attention throughout the country and a big measure in the congested cities. Los Angeles is doing fine work along this line and has adopted an economic method for carrying on the work. Miss Ruby Baughman, Director of Night Schools and Foreign Education of Los Angeles, devotes part of her time to the State Normal School, training teachers for work among foreigners, giving the other part of her time to the City School department, supervising the actual field work.

In discussing her work, Miss Baughman says: "Time was when we felt our entire duty accomplished toward our immigrant neighbor when we helped him as quickly as possible to the duties of a voter. We know now that the process of assimilation is much more complicated, much more difficult."

The plan as followed out is to have supplementary instruction for adults and children in classes which are held throughout the various periods of the day and at places most convenient to the "pupils." In one district the young women attend class in a nearby school, going directly from their work at the factory. Supper is prepared and eaten and then all attend class. Another instance is cited of women in a Mexican railroad camp who are learning English and the customs of this country in classes held in a vacant cottage. An empty street car makes a good place for another group at another railway camp, and as they knit and sew they learn the language of their adopted country. In the evening the men study their lessons in English from text books and in a convenient vacant room the boys of the camp learn their lessons in English and arithmetic while making useful things for the home.

List of Contributions Received from December 1st, 1917, to January 31st, 1918

Reported by EMMA W. ROGERS, Treasurer, N. A. W. S. A.

GENERAL DONATIONS

Las Vegas, Nevada, Club.....	\$ 5.00
Collections, Washington Convention.....	1,065.45
Mrs. Eichelberger (Proceeds Patriotic Show).....	55.00
Mrs. Mina Van Winkle.....	100.00
Ada Safford.....	4.00
Isabel Howland.....	25.00
Mrs. Percival Chubb.....	5.00
Pauline Holme.....	5.00
Flora Gifford.....	1.00
Mrs. George B. Morley.....	10.00
W. C. Gannett.....	2.00
Mrs. A. C. Bartlett.....	100.00
Rebecca Miller.....	1.00
Ellen F. Adams.....	5.00
W. D. Chung.....	1.00
Katharine B. Davis.....	5.00
Mrs. William Wilcox.....	25.00
Henrietta Boldy Lyon.....	5.00
Carrie C. Catt.....	310.49
Mrs. C. H. Bond.....	20.00
Mrs. John C. Lee.....	50.00
Dr. Stella Mason.....	1.00
Grace R. Hebard.....	5.00
Mrs. Lewis J. Cox.....	5.00
Mrs. Charles B. Wood.....	100.00
Dr. Ellen C. Sabin.....	10.00
Mrs. Edith L. Stebbins.....	10.00
Mrs. Frank Sommers.....	50.00
Miss Sarah C. Scott.....	25.00
Mrs. Virginia Branner.....	5.00
	\$ 2,014.94

DUES—1917

Maryland Woman Suffrage Association.....	\$ 41.00
Michigan Equal Suffrage Association.....	150.00
Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association.....	10.00
Arkansas Equal Suffrage Central Committee.....	10.00
National Men's League.....	100.00
Utah State Suffrage Council of Women.....	10.00
	321.00

ANNUAL PLEDGES—1917

Mrs. James E. Neal.....	\$ 25.00
No. Car. Equal Suffrage League.....	48.06
Texas Woman Suffrage Association.....	750.00
Berrien County Equal Suffrage League.....	15.35
Miss Kate Gordon.....	50.00
Dr. William Allee.....	60.00
Mrs. William Allee.....	60.00
Alfred G. Lewis.....	100.00
	1,108.41

ANNUAL PLEDGES—1918

Forward.....	\$3,444.35
West Va. Woman Suff. Assn.....	\$ 25.00
Marion Reilly.....	75.00
Estate Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw.....	2,500.00
Kate Gleason.....	300.00
Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association.....	250.00
Mrs. Victor Sorahan.....	500.00
Estelle B. Crane.....	10.00
Laura R. White.....	50.00
Mrs. Clement A. Griscom.....	50.00
No. Car. Equal Suff. League.....	50.00
Esther G. Ogden (Mite Box).....	4.34
Mrs. Ben Hooper.....	100.00
Mrs. E. Virginia Smith.....	10.00
Katherine Reynolds McCormick.....	25.00
Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid.....	10.00
Mrs. William H. Allee.....	10.00
Mrs. G. H. Bass.....	10.00
Mrs. Frances Fort Brown.....	100.00
Newton Equal Suffrage League.....	200.00
A friend (by Mrs. Catt).....	550.00
Mrs. John J. White.....	500.00
D. of C. State Equal Suffrage Association.....	150.00
Madison, New Jersey, Equal Suffrage League.....	25.00
Mrs. M. A. Blair.....	25.00
Mrs. Alice Lockerby.....	25.00
Mrs. M. A. Hawkins.....	10.00
Mrs. George Notman.....	50.00
Mrs. Joseph Daly.....	25.00
Mrs. Augustus Peabody.....	100.00
Mrs. James Macpherson.....	100.00
St. Joseph County Equal Suffrage Association.....	20.00
Equal Suffrage League, Summit, N. J.....	10.00
Mrs. Arthur Livermore.....	50.00
Mrs. R. G. Shaw.....	2,000.00
Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.....	375.00
Mrs. Henry Villard.....	100.00
Miss Julia Rogers.....	100.00
Mary Parke London.....	50.00
Mrs. S. S. Mitts.....	25.00
Mrs. George H. Boyd.....	50.00
Mrs. William Wilcox.....	300.00
Elizabeth Tone.....	10.00
Mrs. C. E. Ellicott.....	10.00
Mrs. B. F. Pitman.....	10.00
Mrs. Robert Huse.....	20.00
Mrs. H. A. Robinson.....	50.00
Mrs. James Morrison.....	10.00
Mrs. B. F. Saunders.....	25.00
Mrs. F. J. Tone.....	110.00
Mrs. John W. Laurence.....	25.00
Carrie C. Catt.....	500.00
	10,134.34
Total.....	\$13,578.69

Women in the Current News

IT is no longer difficult to give examples of the woman in business, or rather there is now an *embarras de richesse*. In *Forbes Magazine* (Finance), Marian R. Glenn runs each week the story of a woman who has made her pile by hard work and business acumen. Among the latest are Sallie Cross Foster, expert in office management, and Mme. E. S. During, proprietress of the Green Witch Tea Room, a French woman who has made a fortune in New York real estate. Mme. During has recently equipped an ambulance for France. Hardly an issue of the *American Press* fails to carry its story of the woman who is running her husband's newspaper while he is away at the front, or the woman who has started a paper on her own account and made a success of it.

THE *Woman's Home Weekly* and the *Indianapolis News* carry each a unique story of a business woman. Mrs. M. Armer, "Mohair Queen," is the *News*' theme. Mrs. Armer began her career in New Mexico at the age of 18, in the days when Apache raids were of frequent occurrence. In those days her husband was a miner with goat raising as a side line. When he died, Mrs. Armer found herself with six children under twelve years on her hands, and a flock of 137 inferior Angora goats. She turned the goats to good account,

bred them up to a high standard, and now has an income of \$24,000 a year and six children educated and started in the world. Three sons are in the army.

MRS. G. H. MATHIS, whose story the *Woman's Home Weekly* tells, and Mrs. Harriet W. R. Strong (*New American Woman*), are more than business women. They are applied scientists whose work is of value to the community. Mrs. Mathis of Montgomery, Ala., is "doctor of run down farms." By her work of scientific rotation of crops and upbuilding of worn out soils she is credited with having increased by \$10,000,000 the annual value of farm products of Southern states. She earns fees as high as \$35,000. Mrs. Strong of Los Angeles, has done work of equal value for Western states. She is a leading authority on water and water power. Thus between them, she and Mrs. Mathis share dominion of the "dry land and the waters." Mrs. Strong is a member of the Arizona and California River Regulation Committee. From her brain sprang the reclamation of the Imperial Valley, once a desert now a spreading wheat and alfalfa land worth many millions. Her son-in-law, Hon. Frederick C. Hicks of New York, will introduce in Congress as a war measure a comprehensive conservation project of Mrs. Strong's.

Children's Year

THE Federal Children's Bureau in cooperation with the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense has begun active work to put into effect its war program for the 30,000,000 American children as outlined in the *Woman Citizen* of January 26.

It sets April 6, the first anniversary of the declaration of war by the United States, as the beginning of Children's Year, and sets the country the task of saving the lives of 100,000 babies and young children—that is, of cutting down the nation's child death rate by that much. April 6 is National Weighing and Measuring Day. In order that each state may feel responsible for a definite number of lives, quotas have been assigned the states on the basis of the population under 5 years.

The quotas run from 60 lives in thinly populated Nevada to 8,455 in New York State. It is expected that 5,000 or more local committees of the Child Welfare Department of the Woman's Committee, will be able to carry the campaign to every community in the country.

The program for live saving covers:

1. Prenatal care.
2. Registration of births.
3. Children's clinics and conferences.
4. Organization of state and city divisions of child hygiene.
5. Guarding of milk supply.
6. Standardizing of family income.

For Fifteen Cents

FROM a recent *Monthly Bulletin* of the State Federation of Labor of Alabama—where a chivalrous manhood takes care of womanhood—comes the following:

"Under a recent date line, Escambia County, State of Alabama, rises to remark that Escambia County has made a most advantageous contract with a certain employing concern, where the county has leased its women convicts for two years for the munificent sum of 15 cents per day. Such things make us wonder if we are still in the dark ages, with all the blind ignorance of human instincts, with all the intolerant cruelty of the old savage slave dealer and buyer, and this happened in the enlightened State of Alabama. Women sold into slavery to the highest bidder, to do whatever that bidder desires; work, slave, toil through the days; rest in stockades, filthy and unfit, for the nights; truly a picture upon which every Alabamian should look with pride; and candidates for the governorship favor the 'gradual' removal of convicted persons from the mines and lumber camps.

"For years and years labor has fought this system of slavery in the state. Governors have promised to abolish it; legislatures have promised to abolish it; the people have demanded its abolishment, but when it comes to weighing the human soul against the almighty dollar, the dollar wins every time. Poor, indeed, must be that state which has to sell its legal slaves into involuntary servitude that it may use the revenue thus obtained to pay its teachers, to pay its officers, to pay its expenses in other ways, to pay the jurors who send the unfortunates to the mines, to pay the judges who pronounce sentence.

"And not a man offers for office in the state but who will wink at this inhuman traffic in human souls; not one of them will come out flatly for the abolition of the traffic."

Where Is Your State?

HERE it is March! And we are wondering just what delightful surprises its four full weeks will hold for the *Woman Citizen*.

And that reminds us of an enthusiastic friend of our youth who regularly once a year upon our natal day indulged in such epistolary sentiments as "Here you are nineteen! Nineteen is ordinarily not considered any special kind of an age to arrive at but to my mind it has all the virtue and interest of being neither eighteen nor twenty," etc., etc. Which, after all, does not restrain us, as it doubtless should, from remarking the advent of March and the approach of April.

We are hoping that during this month this column will have a great deal of interesting material to publish from the various state and local associations who are launching our Spring Drive for 100,000 new subscribers. Each state has a special set of problems and its own particular method of solving them, but it always helps to know something of what the other fellow is doing.

So let us hear from all of you often. This column is not ours but yours and we expect that you will fill it each week with valuable information.

VIRGINIA—We think your discount a very generous one, and now that once more our weather is normal and grippe has loosened its grip, the campaign for your magnificent weekly must make a sprint toward its goal. We await the receipt books eagerly, feeling sure they will facilitate the pleasant business of recording subscriptions. They will also add to our already heavy obligations to you. *Suffrage news and Suffrage views fresh every week for less than two cents the issue to the subscriber!*—Helen Stockdell.

IOWA—I am hearing good reports from several of my agents and mean that Iowa shall send in a thousand subscriptions this year. The women are all enthusiastic.—Effie M. Jones.

TEXAS—We are entering into a campaign for the Primary Suffrage but are not forgetting the *Citizen* and hope within a few weeks to have turned in a long list of subscribers.—Lavinia Engle.

ALABAMA—I have the greatest confidence in the fact that there is no better means of getting our suffrage message across than through your *invaluable paper*, which during the last year has certainly attained to a rare degree of excellence. For the sake of the suffrage movement and for the sake of the individual suffragists, you have my heartfelt wish that the new subscribers to the *Woman Citizen* may number 100,000 by the end of the year.—Mary Parke London.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—I am appointing good chairmen for our big cities, as well as one in each county, beside sending out many personal letters, so we should soon have good results.—Mary Post.

NORTH DAKOTA—Mrs. Emma S. Pierce, Press Chairman, has sent out over 200 letters in behalf of the *Woman Citizen*.

State Circulation Chairmen

Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
 Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
 Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
 Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane of New Orleans
 Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York of Augusta
 New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin of East Orange
 New Hampshire: Mrs. Mary Post of Portsmouth
 Rhode Island: Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt of Bristol
 Kentucky: Mrs. Charles Firth of Covington
 West Virginia: Mrs. P. S. McBee of Morgantown
 Massachusetts: Mrs. R. L. DeNormandie of Boston
 Texas: Mrs. Helen Moore of Galveston
 South Carolina: Mrs. J. T. Gittman of Columbia
 Alabama: Miss Mary P. London of Birmingham
 Indiana: Mrs. Jessie Croan of Anderson.

Look to your laurels, Iowa and New Jersey! Virginia's one hundred and eighty-nine chairmen are getting to work.

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

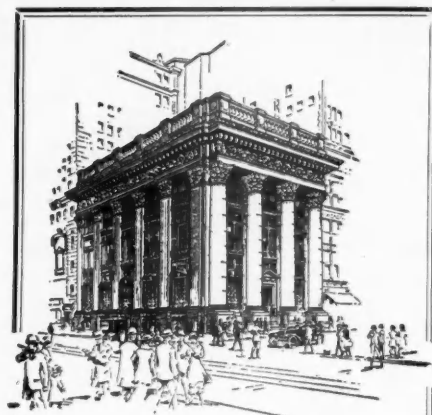
To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Co-operating Subscribers who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.



The Woman's Department at
 our Fifth Avenue Office
 is in charge of
 Miss V. D. H. Furman
 and is
 especially equipped to handle
 the accounts of women and
 women's organizations

**COLUMBIA
TRUST
COMPANY**

358 FIFTH AVENUE

We are sometimes called the Official Suffrage Bank

METROPOLITAN DYE WORKS

**CLEANERS
and DYERS**

First Class Work. Reasonable Prices.
 Prompt Delivery.

For stores throughout New York City, see telephone directory.

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 Regular High School and College Preparatory
 Courses, Special Certificate Courses; The Arts,
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 Normal Training, Domestic Science, Business
 Course, Parliamentary Law.
 Mrs. Nanette B. Paul, LL. B., President,
 Author of "Paul's Parliamentary Law"
 and "The Heart of Blackstone"

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CONN.**
 Hardy Trees, Shrubs and Roses—the kind
 that live, thrive and bring quick results.
EVER-Bearing Strawberries—fruit from
 June to November, a full crop of large de-
 licious berries in September and October,
 the first season planted. Try them.

SUFFRAGE RESTAURANT
 3 EAST 38th STREET
 NEW YORK

Trade Where
You See
This
Emblem



Eat Where
You See
This
Emblem

THE FOOD ADMINISTRATION

asks every loyal American to help win the war by rigidly maintaining, *as a minimum of saving*, the following program:

Have TWO WHEATLESS DAYS (Monday and Wednesday) in every week, and ONE WHEATLESS MEAL in every day

Have ONE MEATLESS DAY (Tuesday) in every week and ONE MEATLESS MEAL in every day. Have TWO PORKLESS DAYS (Tuesday and Saturday) in every week

Make every day a FAT-SAVING DAY

Make every day a SUGAR-SAVING DAY

Use FRUITS, VEGETABLES and POTATOES abundantly

Use MILK wisely

Hoarding food in households is both selfish and unnecessary; the food hoarder is working against the common good and even against the very safety of the country.

KEEP THE PLEDGE

Valenciennes Laces



Reg. Trade-Mark

at McCutcheon's

In addition to a carefully selected stock of all kinds of fine quality Laces, particular attention is directed to an unusually extensive assortment of Valenciennes Laces.

These Valenciennes Laces consist of matched sets of the most desirable weaves and designs, manufactured in England and France.

Also an interesting variety of "Entre Deux" or Seamings and dainty narrow Edgings, always greatly in demand and difficult to procure.

These French and English Machine-made Laces in many instances are reproductions of the Hand-made Belgian Valenciennes mentioned below.

Hand-made Belgian Valenciennes are being displayed in our Lace Department, in a wonderful variety, considering the present difficulty in procuring Belgian-made Valenciennes Laces. These are real Belgian Laces and are made of specially prepared thread.

The above Laces are marked in our regular stock much below present values.

Orders by mail given special attention

James McCutcheon & Co.

Fifth Avenue, 34th and 33d Streets, New York

THIRTY THOUSAND DOLLARS

will be paid to suffrage associations in the United States for new subscriptions to

The WOMAN CITIZEN in 1918

The Honor Roll

is rapidly growing in length and with it the interest and enthusiasm of the enrolled associations is increasing. Is your local association making an effort to secure its share of this generous amount of money? If not, what is the reason for the delay? Do not let neighboring associations take the lead, but join in the race at once. There is no handicap to equalize the chances of competitors, but if you start your work *now* your reward will be substantial if you put effort into it.

"There is really nothing easier than securing subscribers for The WOMAN CITIZEN"

writes Doctor Effie McCollum Jones, who has sent us subscriptions from many states, including her home state, Iowa.

Fill your treasury and be rewarded by winning a
CASH PREMIUM



The arrow points to the premium offer on opposite page

KEEPING EVERLASTINGLY AT IT

was the corner stone on which the success of Woman Suffrage was built. Following the old custom of putting valuables into a corner stone, suffragists many years ago chose

**Courage
Perseverance
Co-operation
Belief in their Cause**

as precious things to work with. These they put to good use, inspiring not only their own country women, but women of every nation to unceasing effort in the great work undertaken. Journalism was slow in making its importance recognized as a medium through which to spread suffrage. If Susan B. Anthony's magazine "The Revolution" had received financial support fifty years ago it is safe to believe that the Avenue of Struggle would have been much shorter.

The University of Experience

will soon start a course in full suffrage for all women of voting age. There are now twenty-seven million to qualify for admission. One of the best lexicons each one of these twenty-seven million can read as a guide in this new educational course is the WOMAN CITIZEN. It keeps its readers thoroughly informed on all suffrage matters and is the only woman's national political weekly published. To-day everyone is alive to the value of the printed word. The Hundred Thousand New Subscriptions we are working for is not impossible in 1918, but fifty years ago would have been regarded a miracle.

Don't Fall Behind the Times!

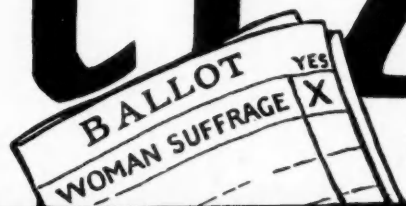
Subscribe *now* to the WOMAN CITIZEN and help it parallel the great success of the Cause it exploits.

Your local association will be glad to have your dollar for a year's subscription, as thirty cents of it will go to its treasury. Send it today

THE **W**oman **C**itizen

THE WOMAN'S

FOUNDED 1870



**WHEN MOTHERS ARE
POLICEMEN**

**BIG BUSINESS AND LITTLE
CHILDREN**

**THE JETTISONED
PROFESSIONAL WOMAN**



Franklin Simon & Co.

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Fifth Avenue, 37th and 38th Sts., New York

Two Exclusive Spring Models

MISSES' BRAID TRIMMED SUITS

SIZES 14 to 20 YEARS

No. 5—Misses' Braid Trimmed Suit of *wool poplin* in navy, Pekin blue, tan, gray or black; semi-Empire coat with circular flare, black silk braid and button trimmed; long tapering collar with overcollar of silk; inset pockets; shirred back skirt with pockets to match those on coat.

24.50

No. 7—Misses Braid Trimmed Suit of *serge* in navy, rookie, gray or black; semi-Empire two-button coat, graduated size, belted at sides, deep roll collar of self material, over collar of novelty silk, self bound pockets; shirred back skirt with braid-bound pockets.

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Prompt Delivery Free—Anywhere in the United States

Best & Co.

Fifth Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street

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Reg. Trade Mark.

Just arrived via. S. S. ROCHAMBEAU

A Select Assortment of

Infant's Hand-Made Dresses

1 to 3 years

—for discriminating mothers and shoppers for babies who rely upon the fine merchandise at BEST'S.

Elaborately embroidered; hemstitched; inset with real Valenciennes lace. Many of the models are *boyish*—straight effects, yokes and Gretchens. All exquisitely dainty—in keeping with the bud-like delicacy of baby features.

Among new ideas introduced are light blue chenille appliqued upon a little pink satin sash; elaborately hand-embroidered hems, loose side panels, and very fine lace-inset pockets, *such charming little fancies.*

Women's Sweaters



Reg. Trade-Mark

at McCutcheon's

An attractive variety of Sweaters for Women and Misses is shown in reliable qualities and smart styles. Special mention is made of the following unusual values:

Scotch Wool Spencers—Black, White, Purple, Green, Sky, and Gray, \$1.95.

Shetland Wool Spencer Coats—Obtainable in Sky, Rose, Reseda, Pink, Purple, Lavender, Gray, Sand, \$3.95.

Shetland Wool Sweaters—Large sailor collar and sash, Rose, Nile, Lavender, and Corn, \$7.50.

Fiber Silk Sweaters—Sailor collar and sash; Black, White, Watermelon, Pink, Maize, and Purple, \$9.75.

Brushed Scotch Wool Sweaters—Shawl-collar in Copenhagen, Emerald, Purple, Reseda, Rose, Heather-mixture, and Black or White, \$11.95.

Pure Silk Sweaters—The most desirable weaves and models, \$24.50 to 47.50.

Imported Wool Sweaters—Chiffon weight, Llama Wool, smart model, with sash; Navy, Copenhagen, Tan, Apricot, and Nile, \$15.75.

Orders by mail given special attention

James McCutcheon & Co.

Fifth Avenue, 34th and 33d Streets, New York



THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

The office of publication is at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. The business manager is Florence E. Bate.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue, New York

March 9, 1918

Vol. II (New style) No. 15

Copyright, 1917, by
THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE and HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
OF NEW YORK CITY

and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, *The Woman Citizen* becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confering upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays 136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.

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THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

March 9, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

"For France"

PEOPLE who are reading in the press of the country about the Army and Navy Meet scheduled for Madison Square Garden, New York, March 15, 16, 17, for the benefit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals in France, can have but a faint conception of the magnitude of the undertaking from a financial and business view point. To begin with the ending, it is hoped and expected to clear \$60,000 by the three days' performance. Nobody but women would have the nerve and the faith to hope and expect it, but this matter is in the hands of women. Suffragists, of course, though suffrage and every other controversial question has been stowed away in the hold for the nonce in order that all sorts and conditions of people may get together with only the good word "For France" on their lips.

And they have gotten together.

Never was there such a story of up-leaping, out-going cooperation as has met this project as presented by the generalissimo in charge of it, Elizabeth R. Strange. Estimated in dollars and cents, the rentals donated, the privileges waived, the gratuitous service given run into thousands and thousands of dollars. When Mrs. Strange went, for instance, to the management of the Garden, to try to effect the most advantageous arrangement possible, the most advantageous arrangement the management could think of was to give her the Garden outright. The most advantageous arrangement the holders of the Garden's selling privileges could think of was to waive them absolutely in favor of the Meet. The Army and the Navy were instant in sympathy and cooperation and took upon themselves responsibility for striking programs to be given by the soldier and sailor boys. As usual, the artist world drew heavily on its resources for first aid. Neysa McMein has drawn and donated a promotion poster that is an exquisite sample of her exquisite art. When R. H. Burnside, managing director of the Hippodrome, was approached for some advice he and William G. Stewart, his stage manager, whole-heartedly volunteered to direct the program.

IT can be said, for one feature, that a representation from every regiment in Greater New York will be gathered together under the same roof for the first time, and picked men

from these organizations will give exhibitions of bayonet fighting, riot formations, machine-gun work, gas-mask drills, signalling, and other striking "stunts."

Furthermore, Manhattan will have an opportunity on this occasion to see how the national army men of New Jersey compare with those from New York, as Camp Dix is going to send a large detail, including its famous "Singing Sammies," and Camp Upton is also to have its representation.

There will be at least a dozen bands, besides several singing units and other features, and after the men have shown what they have learned in the way of anti-Boche methods, several women's organizations will give performances. Prominent among these will be the Women's Motor Corps Service, under the captaincy of Mrs. Helen R. Bastedo.

TO those who have known a good many meatless days of late, the news that the week from March 9 to 16 will be celebrated throughout New York state as "Meet week" may come with a certain relishful sound. The attention of the New York press, New York women's clubs, men's clubs, etc., is to be engaged in the general drive for financial contributions that will culminate in the Meet. New York state suffragists took a heavy apportionment of the sum of \$125,000 which the National Suffrage Association must raise for the upkeep of the hospital unit, but other states are also under pledge to raise thousands of dollars and the spring programs of all the suffrage associations are colorful with money-raising schemes for the Hospitals.

It is the women and children of France who are to benefit through the Women's Oversea Hospitals, the first unit of which has already reached France. For the four years of the war French women and children have been virtually without medical and surgical attention. All available doctors and surgeons are at the front, a situation that has borne with especial severity upon women who have given birth to children without the medical and surgical attention needed. It is to meet a need which the French High Commissioner calls dire that the Women's Oversea Hospitals are being sent to France.

Big Business and Little Children

WE are going to let the Federal Suffrage Amendment rest in peace in the United States Senate for a moment while we eat up some space in paying our respects to the Brown bill fathered at Albany by Senator Elon R. Brown. The force of that bill would be, according to the State Child Labor Committee, to abrogate all the child labor laws of the State, all the night labor laws and the laws for protecting hours and conditions of labor for women. It gives complete "discretionary power" to the industrial commission, wiping the slate clean of the system of checks and balances built up in the interest of women and children.

Let us say that Senator Brown has no connection with the canneries, let us say that his mind functions irrespective of his pocketbook, let us say that it is only his intense desire to serve America that makes him want to speed up without regard to what breaks down. Drape himself in patriotism as he may to-day, the Senator was just as much for the abrogation of labor laws in New York before this country went into the war as he is now. He is very definitely taking a "business" point of view in connection with the matter, and it is the view of short-sighted business at that, a point of view turned to-day toward capitalizing all possible opportunities to break down labor legislation.

In view of federal efforts to keep standards up to the mark, and in the face of the sorrowful experience of other warring countries which hurriedly broke down their protective labor laws only to have to build them up again as hurriedly, it is inconceivable that New York should be so misrepresented at Albany as to have foisted upon her Senator Brown's reactionary legislation. It is with a sustaining sense of their new-come political power that New York women range themselves against his program. The question, "What are you going to do about it?" no longer finds them helplessly huddled back on indirect influence. Not for nothing have New York women been trained in the way of education, agitation, and organization. They have but to begin wirelessly from the greater organization to the less, from the State Party to the election district, in the old suffrage way, to marshal an irresistible force of public sentiment against the proposed legislation. Not for nothing are we backed now by full political rights. It is as full-fledged voters that we make appeal in these later days to Albany. We shall find that the new investiture is far from being a drawback.

Jettisoned Professional Women

"I AM sorry for the man who is engaged in an unessential occupation in these times of war," said a man who owns warehouses. By unessential he means such things as music, printing of books, making of pictures, the carrying on of social service and the buying and selling of other than war supplies. The Government is using his warehouses; therefore, they are essential.

Following this same line professional people in England and

America have been scrapped. Little businesses have been jettisoned—and the gloom of failure has been stamped upon a host of serviceable folk.

It was to a considerable extent jobless professional women who made the nucleus of England's WAACS—Women's Auxiliary Army Corps. At first, these women were a hopeless problem, says Miss Helen Fraser, a burden to be carried by charity and, in the many cases where women were physically incapable of rough jobs, they must still be a social problem.

ALREADY in the United States a tragic little procession of women in the discarded professions is trailing through offices and bureaus of placement. One small college in a Southern state has been smashed so flat by the steam-roller of war necessity that every member of the faculty, from the president down, is thrown out of business. One of this Southern faculty is a typical case of the jettisoned woman. She is a middle-aged teacher of art, and, so far, no one has been able to suggest anything to her as a substitute for her lost profession but domestic service, and for this she has neither training nor aptitude.

Music was one of the first things to be jettisoned. Then word came that American bands in France were not up to the standards of French bands, either in quality or quantity. This let in some trained male musicians who might otherwise have been without work or at the mercy of the unassortive methods of employment bureaus. Entertainers are wanted in camps, and women musicians able to give away their time, have scrambled for a chance to do this as unremunerated service to country.

Within a few days the question of music as a mode of therapy has come to public attention. It has casually revealed the fact that a large number of invalids from the Army of the United States of America have been sent back from France and are now in hospitals here. A press report of February 9 shows 650 men in the Columbia University Base Hospital in the Bronx, New York city. They are suffering from shell shock, heart weaknesses or tuberculosis. Some are wounded men returned home.

FOR shell-shock cases the hospital authorities are experimenting with music as a remedial agency. "Some of the worst and most hopeless cases were brightened by music and its effect upon them was so gratifying that the medical staff has asked for a repetition," reports one doctor.

If music turns out to be one of the "essential occupations," after all, it will prove a God-send to some of the jettisoned professional women whose career has been wrenched out of hand by the sudden economic changes of war. Here is an opportunity to round up, according to professional competence, a regiment of trained servitors.

What will the authorities who have human fates in their hands do for these professional women, scrapped on the dust heap of "unessential occupations?" Will they leave the whole subject in the hands of rich amateurs or will they see to it that honest professional skill comes to its own? Surely one of the most essential things in war time is to prevent the creation of a dependent class.

What They Proved

ON Tuesday New York women had a limited chance to prove whether or not New York women want to vote.

They proved that:

Over 90 per cent of the women who registered for a special election can be relied on to vote at it.

(Only 33 1/3 of the men eligible to vote Tuesday made use of their chance.)

They proved that the Socialist women are no more interested in voting than are Republican and Democratic women.

They proved that sex antagonism is no factor at the polls; for they voted for men candidates in far greater numbers than they did for the one woman candidate.

They proved that the polls can be as orderly as the churches.

They proved that the *New York Times* was wrong, as usual, in all its elderly fears.

Will He Represent New York?

ALL over the state of New York there is a mounting insistence that Senator Wadsworth get in line with the people's mandate on suffrage by voting for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Local by local, the State Federation of Labor is urging the Senator to represent New York. Individuals, organizations, church bodies, civic, women's clubs, the county committees of his own Republican organization—all are calling on Senator Wadsworth to remember that he is in Washington to represent a constituency back home. That constituency is for woman suffrage, but it is not asking him to vote for woman suffrage. It is asking him to give New York a chance to ratify that Federal Suffrage Amendment. If he believes New York won't ratify, let him back up his belief by putting the matter to the test. If he believes New York will ratify, who is he to stand in the way of the sovereign will of the people? He cannot represent New York and disregard New York's commitment to woman suffrage.

Public Sentiment and Suffrage

IN a recently printed letter, Mrs. James W. Wadsworth tries to make a case against woman suffrage by massing old majorities cast against suffrage in times past. But public sentiment is a fluid thing that constantly changes, widens, and mounts. It took public sentiment just two years to pick up 150,000 votes from the no column in New York's suffrage vote and place them in the yes column.

Mrs. Wadsworth asks how long it will be before the Socialists and other radicals will increase in power if the women of the old party stay away from the polls.

Well, on that hypothesis it won't be long. For the Socialist women have the advantage of a political co-education with men which the men of the old-line parties have heretofore rigorously denied to women. The only way to meet and balance that situation is for the men of the old-line parties to take just as much interest and satisfaction in getting out the woman vote as Socialist men are accredited with taking. Socialist men have no

greater stake in the government than have Republican and Democratic men. What Socialist men have done Republican and Democratic men can do. Let the men of the old-line parties do their legitimate share in stimulating and encouraging the political interest of their women and the old-line parties will get their share of the woman vote.

SETTING forth what seems to be a cherished grievance because of the isolation of the antisuffragists, Mrs. Wadsworth makes an incontrovertible point for the strength of public sentiment back of suffrage. No organization but hers, she says, has worked or spoken or distributed literature against suffrage in any of the campaign. That is to concede a vast amount of public sentiment to suffrage, but no more than enough. For it is true that all the great organizations, religious, educational, industrial, temperance, civic, women's clubs, political parties—representing a crystallized sentiment of unparalleled reach and breadth—not only have not worked against suffrage; they have very definitely worked for it. Mrs. Wadsworth is in error, however, when she says that in each of the campaigns hers was the only organization that worked against suffrage.

We recall one: The German-American Alliance in the Nebraska campaigns.

How Much Is Two-Thirds?

REPRESENTATIVE McLEMORE, of Texas, recently introduced a resolution in the House, directing the Judiciary Committee to consider the question of the constitutionality of the vote by which the House recently passed the national prohibition amendment. He contended that the vote was illegal and unconstitutional because two-thirds of the elected members (435) did not vote for it. There were several vacancies, four from New York alone, but he held that these should be counted in the total when figuring the two-thirds required to pass an amendment.

It has now been discovered that this point has been brought up before and Congress then decided that the two-thirds required for the passing of a constitutional amendment is two-thirds of those present. It is clear that an earlier Congress saw that unscrupulous men might absent themselves when a vote was to be taken and thus render it impossible to secure a two-thirds vote and that Congress declared against a practice so unjust and unrepresentative.

C. C. C.

Live Work

TOO much cannot be said in praise of the system of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party to stimulate and sustain women's interest in the state legislation that is forward at Albany. Under the direction of Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw a "Legislative Bulletin" recapitulates the measures of immediate interest to women voters, stresses cardinal points, explains, adds little notes of warning or of commendation, and vitalizes the whole legislative situation for the woman voter.

Suffrage in the Senate

WASHINGTON.—The Senate's live interest in the federal woman suffrage amendment and indications of an early vote on the question appeared in a short debate precipitated a few days ago by Senator Gallinger, dean of the Senate and minority leader. The New Hampshire Senator, besides being the leader of his party claims to have been a suffragist longer than any other member of the Senate, and he obtained the floor recently immediately after roll call to read to his colleagues a letter from John Hays Hammond, president of the National League of Republican Clubs, urging favorable action on the federal amendment.

Senator Shafroth of Colorado, Democrat, another staunch suffragist, was on his feet as soon as the Republican leader had finished, reiterating the arguments for political equality for women. Senator King of Utah, and Senator Phelan of California, Democrats, and Senator Borah of Idaho, Republican, were the other participants in the brisk exchange which developed between the two sides of the chamber, Senator Borah bringing it to a close by demanding "Why don't we vote on it?"

Mr. Hammond wrote Senator Gallinger that "it would be a great misfortune to have this issue injected into our next political campaign, as would be the result of the defeat of the federal suffrage bill in this Congress." But, he continued, "the question is above state, above party, it is national. Winning the war is now the supreme duty of Americans, and the inspiring co-operation of our eager and patriotic women would be of incalculable service in promoting essential legislation, by their influence at the polls."

Senator Gallinger, declaring that he had been a believer in woman suffrage for more than 30 years, said that he hoped to see early action by the Senate as a matter of clearly established justice and good policy. He was convinced, he said, that the right to vote had been denied to women merely because men had the power to deny it—"another illustration of the false doctrine that might makes right."

Senator King, urging state rights against federal action, was vigorously answered by Senator Shafroth, and by interjection from Senator Phelan of California.

THE letter from Mr. Hammond, the reading of which occasioned the Senate discussion, was, in full, as follows:

"My dear Senator Gallinger:

"No argument is needed to convince even the most conservative of men of the inherent justice of the cause of woman suffrage. Some, however, have questioned its expediency; but the logic of events during the past few years must compel a change of heart and mind in even these 'doubting Thomases.'"

"England, ever slow to make radical changes in political thought, has finally recognized both the justice of the cause and the advantage to the nation in granting women the vote.

"No wise statesman can doubt the ultimate triumph of the cause in this country. Why, then, not concede now what we shall otherwise inevitably be forced to grant after a prolonged and unprofitable contest?"

"It would be a great misfortune to have this issue injected into our next political campaign,

as would be the result of the defeat of the federal suffrage bill in this Congress. Winning the war is now the supreme duty of all Americans, and the inspiring co-operation of our eager and patriotic women would be of incalculable service in promoting essential legislation, by their influence at the polls.

"The question is above state, above party—it is national.

"Very sincerely yours,
" (Signed) JOHN HAYS HAMMOND."

Senator Gallinger's Speech

AFTER reading the above letter from Mr. Hammond, Senator Gallinger spoke as follows:

"Mr. President, the letter I have read is from the pen of a man of large affairs and broad vision, a man who has doubtless given the matter the most careful and conscientious consideration. When men such as John Hays Hammond reach the conclusion that women have a right to equal participation with men in governmental affairs it is indicative of a growing sentiment on the part of many who have heretofore been indifferent if not hostile to the equal-suffrage movement. When one stops to reflect upon the part that woman is playing in matters connected with the war in which we are engaged it forces one to the conclusion that woman has won for herself the fullest possible recognition in everything that tends to the best interests alike of the home and the State. In all the history of the world there has been no such exhibition of loyal devotion to the cause of liberty and justice as the women have manifested throughout our entire land, a devotion certainly as great as that which our soldiers are showing in the camps and on the battle fields. No sacrifice has been too great, no labor too severe or exhausting, that the women of the country have not accepted cheerfully and performed in a way that can not fail to excite the admiration and gratitude of all lovers of our institutions.

"They ask now for full recognition of their political rights. Their request is reasonable and just and should be granted ungrudgingly and without hesitation. Already the House of Representatives, by more than a two-thirds vote, has passed the constitutional amendment submitting to the several States the question of conferring upon them the privilege of full citizenship, so far as suffrage is concerned. It remains for the Senate to take action on the subject, and I venture to express the hope that the requisite number of votes in this body will be secured when the matter shall be submitted for our consideration and action.

"For more than 30 years I have been a believer in the right of women to vote, and I have never wavered in my conviction as to the justice of the cause. That right has been denied to women simply because men have had the power to deny it. It has been an illustration of the false doctrine that might makes right, because the principles of justice are not founded on either force or governmental decrees. I have never been able to understand why women who possess every other qualification for suffrage but that of sex should be denied participation in the affairs of the State, and I look forward with pleasant anticipation to the time when the mothers, the wives, and the sisters of men will be given the same rights, so far as the ballot is concerned, that the fathers, the husbands, and the brothers enjoy. A great opportunity is presented to the Senate to wipe out the inequality that now exists and to submit to the several States an opportunity to make our country a land of absolute equality, based upon the fundamental principles of right, justice and humanity.

"I ask that the letter of Mr. Hammond shall lie on the table, as the constitutional amendment is now on the calendar, from which I trust it will soon be taken and agreed to by the Senate.

"While our boys are fighting for democracy abroad let us do our part toward establishing a real, true, genuine democracy at home."

London, Feb. 7, 1918.

DEAR MRS. CATT:

I must write you one paean of joy over our Bill. It is now an Act of Parliament and the law of the land. There was a sharp tussle at the very end between the two Houses and we were on tenterhooks of anxiety till about 3 o'clock last night, February 6. The subject of dispute was not woman suffrage but proportional representation. We felt our old enemies were pouring oil on these flames in order to destroy the Bill and woman suffrage with it altogether. However, the Government stood firm (and the chief of all parties supported them) on the most important point. The Royal assent was given by commission in the House of Lords within half an hour. Mrs. Strachey and I and Miss Palliser were there (I did not wait till the very end, because I knew that A—and P—would be anxious) but R—and E—stayed and went into the House of Lords and saw the Royal assent given, with all the interesting old ceremonies and clothes. I know how you will have rejoiced with us.

With affectionate greeting,

Yours ever,

MILICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

Thinking in France

MISS MARY W. DEWSON of Massachusetts, one of the sixteen stars in the National American Woman Suffrage Association service flag, sends back word to Mrs. Catt from her post in Valence: "They are thinking in France," and encloses two clippings on woman suffrage from French papers. One is from a little provincial sheet and reads: "Something happened last Tuesday in the Chamber which has never happened before, a president was heard to proclaim women's right to the vote, and the Chamber to receive with applause words which seem simple enough today, but which would have been considered an intolerable audacity thirty years ago.

"Although this war has been a source of great suffering to woman it will at least have pushed forward some of the more important social benefits for which women would otherwise have had to look to the future. Votes for women are on the schedule when victory comes to France. That is to say there will be two victories."

The other clipping is from Le Progres of February 2, a Lyons paper. "The women's rights group in the Chamber has framed its membership as follows: President M. Siegfried; vice-presidents, MM. Doizy, Marin, Andrieux and Merlin; secretaries, MM. Etienne Flandin, Roulleaux-Dugage, Gilbert, Laurent and Lancien. The speaker is M. Mauger. The group has decided to study among other questions: The municipal vote for women; the access of women into university and industrial posts; and equality of treatment for equal work."

So sure are the French women that municipal franchise is to be achieved promptly that the Union Fraternelle des Femmes is publishing a little leaflet of instructions in municipal voting for the coming women voters.

Canadian Women on War Council

NO more notable event has occurred in the history of women's political evolution than the convening of a war council of women at Ottawa on February 28 to confer with the War Cabinet of the Government. This conference was bidden by the Government early in the month and it was composed of forty or fifty members representing the country geographically. In addition, industrial, agricultural and professional interests had their special women delegates. The Women's Press Club, trained nurses, various Dominion organizations, all sent their representatives. Mrs. J. A. Hamilton was there for the Women's Equal Franchise League and Dr. Margaret Gordon for the Canadian Suffrage Association.

In his speech of greeting, His Excellency the Duke of Devonshire, said that "the spirit of Canadian womanhood has entered into the tremendous struggle" of the war. What is wanted now is that effort should be made by every man and every woman in the Dominion to coordinate all forms of activity for an endurance test. The President of the Privy Council frankly outlined the program of the conference, as a discussion of ways for supplementing man-power of the nation by the assistance of women. The conference lasted several days and took up in detail such matters as reinforcements at the front, the necessity for greater production, and the necessity for thrift and economy.

CANADA is going full steam ahead in the matter of the political and civil emancipation of women. Not only has the Government publicly proclaimed its reliance upon women but Premier Borden has promised that the truncated Parliamentary franchise for women given them at the last election shall be made full and complete.

Nova Scotia, which approached the suffrage question some months ago and, having brought it to a third reading, shied off again, has now given women of the Province very definite promises of enfranchisement. In the speech from the throne at Halifax on February 21, at the opening of the Provincial Parliament, it was announced that a bill giving women the same franchise rights as men would be introduced.

With the gaining of political rights has come an effort to remove civil disabilities as well. The Manitoba dower-rights bill uncovers a curious situation. Dower, it would seem, was abolished in Manitoba in 1885 owing to the fact that so many of the early settlers who owned real estate had Indian wives. White women have been subjected to any inconvenience and injustice which might arise from the husband's desire to will away from wife and children all the property standing in his name. A clause of the new Dower Bill which was introduced in the local Legislature by Stephen A. Clement of Brandon was received with much applause. It provides that a husband may not will away more than two-thirds of his total estate, real and personal, from his wife.

ALEXIS YAKOVLOFF and his wife were co-workers in perfecting an anti-aircraft gun which is now being offered to the United States Government.

What Counts

I'M tired of eating corn bread, and I'm tired of meatless days,
My soul has come to loathe a bean, no matter what its phase,
Of left-overs I'm tired and sick, I've swallowed crumb and drop,
And now I fear I've reached the point where I would slack and stop.
But I recall that grains of wheat make up a big amount,
And if we'd win we must drill this in, "It's the little things that count."

I'M tired of sweetless days and weeks, I want a big iced cake,
I'm just a little weary of the kind that is a fake,
The butterless, eggless, milkless type, and the gingerless gingerbread,
I long just once for "ye olden days" when we were overfed.
But then I think, "These atoms sweet make up a big amount,"
And if we'd win we must drill this in, "It's the little things that count."

I'M tired of knitting all the time, I want to read a book,
Or curl up tight and take a nap in some nice quiet nook.
Of bandages and slings I dream, and the absorbent pad,
And all these gauze compresses, they make me sick and sad!
But I recall that howe'er small, they swell the whole amount,
And if we'd win we must drill this in, "It's the little things that count."

AND so whene'er I'm weary and my brain is fagged and dull,
And in this round of little jobs I'd like to find a lull,
Or when I think that since I can't be Pershing, Haig or Joffre,
I might as well relax a bit, or throw the whole thing off,
Then I recall that howe'er small, we swell the whole amount,
And if we'd win we must drill this in, "Tis ordinary folks that count."

Alice Forman Wyckoff.

For the Liberty Loan

THE women of Texas are being thoroughly organized for the Third Liberty Loan Campaign, every county having its own organization. This work is being perfected under the direction of Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, who was recently appointed by Mrs. W. G. McAdoo, chairman of the National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, to the chairmanship of the Texas branch of that committee.

Mrs. Cunningham has had thorough preparation for her duties. For three years she has been the president of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association and in June was elected president of the Texas Woman's Anti-Vice Committee, composed of the heads of nearly every woman's organization in the state. After accomplishing much good around the army cantonments, the committee has now merged into the Texas Social Hygiene Association.

Big Biennial Backed by Uncle Sam

THE fourteenth biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs will be held in Hot Springs, Arkansas, April 30-May 9.

The chief welcome will be voiced on the evening of April 30 by Governor C. H. Brough, the "Suffrage Governor," who succeeded in helping make Arkansas the first suffrage state in the South.

The convention is being held with the full approval of the United States Government and the personal endorsement of William G. McAdoo, director general of all the railroads, who has promised that instead of discouraging the meeting the Government urges it and will back it with speakers and railroad accommodations.

War work will be the constant theme and service will be the convention's keynote.

The Arkansas biennial board has issued a special notice extending a cordial invitation to club women all over America to attend the convention, even though they are not delegates.

Guest tickets will be provided for sessions in the Auditorium and special arrangements are being made for the entertainment of visitors by the Hospitality Committee. The Hotels Committee, Mrs. J. H. Avery, chairman, will be able in many cases, upon prompt notification, to place these visiting club women eager to get in touch with national service in hotels with their accredited state delegation.

The Press Committee of the G. F. W. C., in the name of Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, chairman of Press, and Mrs. James J. Read, has extended an invitation to Miss Young of the *Woman Citizen* to be a guest of honor at the press conference and the press luncheon.

Arkansas club women and the biennial board extend an invitation to readers of the *Woman Citizen* to be present at this great war-time gathering of organized womanhood.

L. M. S. R.

Suffrage in Hungary

THE Vienna paper, *Reichspost*, published a summary of a pamphlet on the new Hungarian Franchise Reform Bill, by M. Vazsonyi, who is described as the "Franchise Reform Minister." It has now reached this country via Berne.

After paying tribute to the patriotism of Hungarian women during the war, M. Vazsonyi says:

"Women's work has become a matter of public interest, and it is impossible therefore that we should continue to exclude women when we are extending the franchise for men."

He goes on to define the special conditions under which it is proposed to give women the vote in the bill now before the Diet. It was agreed that a woman was to be entitled to vote if she possessed a certificate proving she had passed through four classes of a "Bürger-schule" or of an educational establishment of equal standing, or if she could prove that she had received a corresponding education through other means. This would give the vote to 200,000 women.

As the new bill is a democratic measure social justice demanded that another legal title

(Continued on page 296)

NOT all the great battles are being fought in the trenches abroad. Right here in New York—on the streets and in the homes—a battle is being fought, the winning of which is quite as essential to the welfare of future generations as many a battle that will be fought abroad. This is the movement to protect and safeguard the young girl who has succumbed to the lure of the uniform—a popular hysteria just now—and who, in the excitement of the times, may lose the poise and reserve essential for self-protection.

It is such a task that the first woman police commissioner, Mrs. Ellen A. O'Grady, of New York City, has attacked in her effort to make the world's second largest city safe for women and girls. As fifth deputy police commissioner, Mrs. O'Grady is charged with a heavy responsibility toward the several million women and girls of the great city of New York. The appointment of a woman to this post is one of the most important advances yet made by women in assuming their rightful share of the responsibility of municipal government, and marks one of the many changes that have followed the suffrage victory of last fall in New York state.

"NO greater problem confronts this department today than the problem of the young girl who has been swayed from her proper balance by the sight of a uniform," declared Commissioner O'Grady in the course of an interview with a representative of the *Woman Citizen*. "Almost without thinking, due in a measure to the excitement and unrest of the times, she has allowed herself to be carried away. The appalling thing about it all is the youth of these girls. They are mere children. One asks herself over and over again where are the girls' parents, of what are they thinking to allow their daughters to run the risks they do. In all my years of service the girl problem has never been just like this today. Of course, we have all those world-old problems which enter into the life of a big city, but the thing that claims immediate attention is protecting these girls. It is through the girls themselves we must work. Their home conditions must be learned, and all that groundwork of material must be closely scrutinized before one can prescribe the cure. Sometimes it is best to take the girl from the home, because as you know home is a word that admits of wide interpretation. Many of these young girls come from out of the city and then we must send them back to their home towns.

"Conditions will be different when women sit in the councils of government with the men," said the Commissioner, "and when the laws of the future are made they will be framed from the standpoint of justice to all. No man will go his way free while the girl is left to stand the blame and bear the stain."

As the Commissioner talks one is conscious that here is a police official who is seeing the young girl—and the older girl, too—and all her problems with the eyes and the heart of a mother. The desire to protect and save is uppermost in her mind. While there will be no lightening of discipline, while sentimentality will not be allowed to creep in, the girls who come to her for advice or for correction will know they have some one who stands ready to help and willing to point the way for a new and a better start.

THE woman who approaches this tremendous new problem in the good old mother way is fortified with years of experience as a probation officer in the courts of Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond. Honesty of purpose and a keen, clear, vision into the heart of things seem to be hers. She is a womanly woman, peculiarly fitted, it would seem, to her work, one who stands ready to reach out a hand to all who come. And many come. All day long the office of the Fifth Deputy Commissioner is thronged with those who are seeking advice and counsel. Getting an interview under these circumstances means fairly snatching a few precious minutes and finding that some of those must be divided with calls on the telephone and pressing business demands.

"As a policeman do you think there is any great difference in the woman's viewpoint and the viewpoint of man?" was asked of Commissioner O'Grady.

"I do, indeed. It is not an antagonistic difference and the union of the two makes the complete circle. We have the two viewpoints in the home and we need them in the larger home—the state. Women are much more prone to think along detailed lines than men. They go after the little things. Of course, in this work with girls, where there must of necessity be the investigation of the home conditions, it is much easier for a woman to get at the root of the while situation than it would be for a man. A man gets to a certain point and feels a hesitancy about intruding further. It seems too intimate a situation for his handling. But the woman can go right to the bottom of the situation. It is just one woman talking to another and in almost every instance a woman will talk more freely to another woman. Her reserve is more easily broken down and many times she is glad to talk it all out with one who can get her viewpoint. Naturally when you have all the facts at hand you can proceed more intelligently in prescribing the remedy."

"I WONDER," continued Mrs. O'Grady, "if the women, or the men for that matter, know the intricate protective machinery that is always in operation in the New York Police Department? Those who entertain the old idea that arrest and punishment are the chief aims of the department would marvel to see the moral welfare work being done today, especially among the youths. For years the department has been emphasizing the humanitarian side, the protective side, of the boy and girl problem."

In connection with this welfare work Commissioner O'Grady paid high tribute to the large organizations of women in the city. It is her intention, she says, to co-operate with them

When Mothers



ELLEN M. O'GRADY

FROM PRESENT INDICATIONS
MAYOR Hylan appointed
YORK'S FIFTH DEPUTY POLICE
WOMEN AND GIRLS WHO WILL
ONCE AS THEIR MENTOR AND
AND UNSENSATIONAL, IT'S THE
BECOME THE POLICEMAN.

in all possible ways, just as she had done during her years as probation officer.

"What of women juries, do you favor them?"

"Yes, why not? However, I do not favor women juries for women and men juries for men, but juries of both men and women. After all, why should sex be the determining factor in so many avenues of our activities? Fitness and ability and not sex are coming to be the standards of the world.

ers Are Policemen



GRAD POLICE COMMISSIONER

ONSBODY IS GOING TO BE SORRY THAT
NTED ONE ELLEN O'GRADY TO BE NEW
LICE COMMISSIONER. LEAST OF ALL THE
WILL PASSED ON TO HER TO ACT AT
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THE OTHER IN MRS. O'GRADY THAT HAS

“WOMEN have much to give and they are giving it with a will. A comparatively short time ago—perhaps so short a time as five years ago—there was noticeable in many parts of the country a social awakening, due in a great measure to woman. A body of women awakened almost overnight, as it were, to the factory problems, the matter of the wage scale, the working hours and conditions relative to child labor. And now everywhere the women are getting yet wider awake, and learning day

by day how much the state needs the housekeeper as well as the politician.

“That is what my own duties mean. I am looking after my family, only in this instance it is a very large family, and its problems are magnified and multiplied—still it is just home-making on a larger scale.

“Now that the women of New York have the franchise and now that it is imminent the country over, think what a power will be behind our efforts to better certain conditions.

The activities of certain state politicians anxious to tear down the protective laws created to safeguard the children in the factories were condemned by the woman police commissioner.

“I strongly oppose a return of all conditions—even for the period of the war—that prey upon the health, the growth and the well-being of the growing child,” said Commissioner O’Grady. “It cannot be done with impunity. The war demands much of us—even of children—but surely it cannot demand that we should sacrifice our boys and girls, their physical, social and moral welfare in this manner.”

It is too early as yet for the Commissioner to announce a constructive program. Her work will lie with women and young girls and will be an amplification of her work as probation officer. This much is certain, however, that it will be a program founded upon actual knowledge of the conditions with which she is working—gained in the school of experience. The keynote of her program will be common sense.

COMMISSIONER O’GRADY believes that the greatest need just now is for women protective officers. Four women have been assigned her from another department of the police force, and they will assist their chief in protecting the young girls of Greater New York.

Commissioner O’Grady did not just happen to be appointed as the Fifth Deputy Police Commissioner of the police department of America’s greatest city. She earned the gold and blue insignia of her office which glistens against the tailored gown of dark blue cloth. Both Mayor Hylan and Commissioner Enright had first-hand knowledge of her fitness for the office before they concurred in her appointment, which marks the most sweeping recognition ever given a woman in the policing of a great city. Incidentally she jumped from a salary of \$1,320 to a salary of \$6,000 a year.

IN making the appointment, the latter part of January, Commissioner Enright said: “My experience in this department has demonstrated to me the absolute necessity of having a woman as deputy commissioner.”

Suffragists Select Police-Women

THE Mayor of San Antonio, Texas, recently appointed six additional police-women who are to assist in controlling vice conditions. Of the six one was a colored woman. San Antonio had previously tried out a police-woman besides matrons at jails and railway stations. In the present crisis the Mayor appealed to Texas women’s organizations to help him out. Presidents of all the women’s associations in the city were asked to select candidates for the police. Mrs. Rena Maverick Green, president of the Equal Franchise Society, acting as chairman of the committee. Suffragists stand strongly behind this move, believing it a measure in accord with the National American Woman Suffrage Association’s pledge at its convention in December to support the government during the war and especially in the field of woman’s labor. This taking women’s organizations into municipal councils for policing purposes has been accelerated since the war. In one instance, St. Louis, Missouri, it was initiated by suffragists.

Before the war there were, at the end of 1916, in the United States 125 police-women serving in forty cities, the largest number being in Chicago. New York City had none. It now has four as war police who are responsible for the safety of girls around encampments. Many other cities have appointed women police as a war measure and there is little doubt that many of them will remain after the war is over. In addition to appointments of local police forces, under the charge of Maude Miner, Chairman of Protective Work for Girls, the War Department has fifty-five women police placed at military encampments in all parts of the United States.

All of which brings to the fore the demand for police-women in warring countries. England found early in the war that extra service of women was necessary. Its first plan was to mobilize an untrained force for swift service. But the untrained woman only tided over a gap. The trained woman was as much needed as the trained man. So England has developed a system not only of women police, but of training schools for women police. In July, 1915, there were fifty women in the British police service; in July, 1917, there were 612.

On School Boards

BRUCE W. WATSON, writing in the *Municipal Review*, notes the fact that women are eligible for many city and county school boards, yet the practice of electing them is not general. The writer recalls two cities which elected women and later discontinued the practice. “This certainly,” says he, “was not due to dissatisfaction with women’s service on this board. Wherever chosen they have performed the duties of the office with dignity and intelligence, with exceptional devotion and conscientiousness.”

For many years there were six women (13 per cent) on the New York City school board of forty-six members. Two months after New York women got the vote the board was reorganized and the number culled down to seven, two of the seven, or 30 per cent of the members appointed, were women. What’s in a vote?

A. S. B.'s Page

Is It Non-Partisan?

WHEN one-half of a man's critics declare that he leans too much to the left, and the other half insist that he leans too much to the right, it is a fair inference that he is holding himself pretty straight. The anti-suffragists are continually berating the Suffrage Association on the alleged ground that it is pro-Socialist, while on the other hand many of the Socialists charge it with being a bitter and bigoted opponent of Socialism.

The New York *Call*, the Socialist daily, although an advocate of equal suffrage, has been especially sharp in its attacks upon the suffrage organization. In its issue of February 17, 1918, it says editorially of the New York Woman Suffrage Party:

"If the Woman Suffrage Party would publicly and honestly announce itself to be an anti-Socialist organization, we should be delighted to have the public in general and the new women voters in particular at last know just where its members stand. But we do most emphatically object to their being an anti-Socialist organization while attempting to fool the public and the new women voters into believing they are non-partisan."

This criticism is called out by the words of a borough chairman, who said:

"We want New York state to be the first to ratify the Federal Amendment. Then we want to educate the women in the technique of voting. We want the women to determine their political principles for themselves, becoming Democrats or Republicans as they think best. That is why we as a suffrage party have remained non-partisan."

Apparently the grievance is that the Democratic and Republican parties were the only ones named. Is the suffrage organization to be set down as anti-Progressive because this woman did not mention the Progressives, or as anti-Prohibitionist because she did not mention the Prohibitionists? In discussing non-partisanship, it is easy to name the leading parties only; but all the smaller ones are understood to be included.

Members of the suffrage organization are pro or anti Socialist in their views as individuals, but the organization as an organization tries to steer a straight course. From the fact that it is accused by each side of being partial to the other, we may infer that it has succeeded in remaining really non-partisan.

Seven-Cent Milk

WHILE working for the soldiers at the front, American women are also trying to guard their country against the enemies in the rear. One of the most dangerous of these is hunger. A social settlement in Boston—the women's residence of the South End House—has taken a practical way to lessen the ill effects of the high price of milk upon the children of the poor.

Even skim milk contains a great deal of nourishment. The settlement has arranged with a milk dealer to supply bottled skim milk at seven cents a quart, and sells it at that price to the neighbors. At its baby clinic, it has an exhibit of milk soups and milk puddings, and

the mothers are invited to sample them, and to take away the recipes. Thus the settlement is spreading a wide knowledge of the food value of skim milk, and building up a large demand for it. The idea is worth trying elsewhere.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that the woman at the head of the settlement is a suffragist.

Patriots or Profiteers?

THE magnificent response of women to the duties that came to them with the war is winning praise in every allied country. It has already brought them the ballot in England and Canada; and the recent suffrage victory in New York was due to the double fact that the women there did extraordinary work for the suffrage amendment, and also extraordinary work in war service. Yet certain enemies of equal rights are trying to convince the U. S. Senators that the women's vote will be an unpatriotic vote!

What class of our people has responded the most faithfully to Mr. Hoover's appeals for food conservation? Who but the housewives? Contrast their patriotic saving and self-denial with the brazen profiteering of many business firms, and say whether it is just to give a vote to the profiteer and deny it to the patriot!

Looking Ahead

THERE is a singular lack of foresight in the minority of "last ditchers," the "bitter enders," in the United States Senate who are bent on staving off the submission of the woman suffrage amendment to the latest possible moment. They know that it must go through, and go through before long. Every intelligent man sees that it is coming. Why then put up an irreconcilable and losing fight to delay it for a few months or a year, at the cost of making the after adjustment to the changed conditions the more difficult?

The vicious interests, of course, will keep up their fight to the last gasp; but the more or less well-meaning conservatives ought to consider whether, by antagonizing the new women voters to the last moment and to the last inch, they are really promoting the interests that they wish to serve. It looks rather dubious.

Women and Morals

LABOR unrest is a constant source of trouble. The recent report of the commission appointed by the President to investigate its causes is full of interest. The commission found a number of causes. One was (on the part of certain employers) "an academic fear that the granting of just demands will lead to unjust demands."

This puts in a nutshell one of the objections that the woman suffrage movement has had to meet all the way along. Whenever women asked for something reasonable and fair, it was always assumed that if they got it they would forthwith demand to be freed from all family claims and ethical obligations.

When girls began to ask to go to college, it was seriously asserted that "a woman who can

read Homer in the original will not be willing to darn her husband's stockings."

"On the contrary," answered an advocate of the higher education, "it will give her something pleasant to think about while she is darning them."

When married women asked to control their own property and earnings, it was seriously urged, "If the husband does not control his wife's money, she will spend it on other men."

Now women are asking for a vote—a demand as simple, as righteous and as fair as any of the others. At once the old cry that has been raised against every previous step of women's progress is lifted again—the prediction that if women are emancipated from political disfranchisement they will straightway claim emancipation also from all the Ten Commandments, and plunge into a carnival of immorality. It is the old scarecrow in a fresh outfit of tatters, fluttering to the same old breeze of timorous conservatism.

There were some echoes of this ancient fear to be heard during the recent debate on woman suffrage in the United States House of Representatives. There may be a few echoes of it even in the coming debate in the Senate. But it is growing harder and harder to frighten men of intelligence with this particular bugbear. Immorality exists—the more is the pity—but no part of it is traceable to the collegiate education of women, or to the married women's property laws. None at all of it is traceable to women's votes, in the countries and states where they have the ballot. On this point the clergy of all denominations, resident in these states, are practically unanimous. Even before the war, the proportion of illegitimate births to the population was larger in Germany, where women are rigidly debarred from suffrage, than in the Scandinavian countries where women vote.

A sign of the final passing of this objection in England is to be found in the solid vote for woman suffrage cast recently by the leaders of the Church of England, when the measure finally went through the conservative House of Lords. It was supported not only by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York, but by the whole band of Bishops as well, not one of the "peers spiritual" being recorded in opposition.

Our Biggest Victory Yet

THE suffrage triumphs grow bigger and bigger. The recent victory in New York more than doubled the number of women in the United States who were entitled to vote. The victory in England enfranchises about three times as many women as the victory in New York.

Some time ago, a suffrage cartoon was published, showing the growth of the woman voter. Beginning as a tiny figure, when only the handful of women in early Wyoming could vote, she marched on, growing larger and larger with the years. In 1917 she doubled her stature. Now she has doubled it again. From a figure like a tiny toy, she has become

"A daughter of the gods, divinely tall
And most divinely fair."

War Service



MRS. ED-
WARD A.
QUINN,
PRESIDENT
OF CIVITAS



Hospital Unit Reaches France

THE first contingent of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., landed in France on Tuesday, February 26, and has met its director, Dr. Caroline Finley, who preceded the unit last November and has since that time devoted herself to perfecting the local French arrangements for its installation. Ten of the forty nurses and nurses' aids went in this first group. The remainder will sail when the unit is established in the village allotted to their care. Seven women doctors have already gone, four from New York Infirmary for Women and Children and three from Philadelphia. Women as mechanics and chauffeurs combined will take care of the motor vehicles, several of which have been donated to the unit and are now in France.

"Civitas" Goes Abroad

THE CLUB NAME "Civitas" of Brooklyn, New York, has been making history for itself for twenty-five years. Now it has gained international fame, for it is painted on the outside of an ambulance which its members have given to the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., and will be known and blessed by many of the sick and wounded in desolated France.

Civitas has a history running level with the advance of women into public life. It began with the timid boldness of a few society girls who wanted to know things for themselves. The club was fortunate in a talented member, Mrs. Darwin J. Maserole, who so directed the early policies of the club that it has maintained its unique and progressive programme "to awaken an interest in civic and social welfare and to further all movements that aim to advance human progress."

The present president of Civitas, now serving her second term, is Mrs. Edward A. Quinn, who was on the last Brooklyn Board of Education of 46 members. She worked hard for the establishment of the Gary plan, with which she had long been familiar. As her message to the *Woman Citizen* indicates, this gift of the ambulance is quite in line with the club's traditions. "We feel," says Mrs. Quinn, "that all

of the important movements of the day for social welfare have had the backing of the club. The 'Society Girl' idea was long since abandoned and now the qualifications for admission are very severe. All questions are handled without gloves, our idea being that the truth must be found in order to inform public opinion and so solve the matter."

BOYS and girls of the Pastorious school of Germantown have knitted three woolen blankets which they have sent forward through the Woman Suffrage Party of Pennsylvania for the U. S. A. Women's Overseas Hospital in France. Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, chairman of the Central Advisory Committee, says that as soon as the most urgent needs of the hospital are known the Committee will depend on suffrage organizations to supply many such articles as those supplied through the forehand-edness of the Pastorious school-children. She suggests that donors wait until the list reaches this country so that selection may be made of the things most urgently needed.

Another Call

WOMEN are being called for to fill positions as United States deputy shipping commissioners, the principal duties of which, according to the United States Civil Service Commission, are performed chiefly on ship-board and wharves and "require good physique and tact in dealing with seamen." As the deputy shipping commissioner acts in the absence of the shipping commissioner, applicants for the job, says the civil service commissioner's announcement, "must have had such experience as will make them familiar with the shipping and discharge of seamen and with such questions as may arise between the masters of a vessel and the seamen." If women are appointed, it is stated, they will have the right to board ships in their capacity as Federal officers and will be called upon to do the same work as the men deputies.

The examination to be held by the Civil Service Commission March 20, is the first of its kind opened to women. A deputy shipping commissioner is now needed at Baltimore, Md.,

and women who think they would like to try for this work and similar positions which will be vacant from time to time in other parts of the country, are invited to write the United States Civil Service Commission, at Washington, D. C., or apply to local United States Civil Service boards.

Teaching the Boys

MRS. CORA WILSON STEWART, heroine of the Moonlight Schools of Kentucky and president of the Kentucky Illiteracy Commission, has begun school work with Kentucky men of draft age. She says that thousands of men of draft age are learning to read and write in order that they may communicate with their families when away at camp.

"In Kentucky, we started to concentrate our work on these future soldiers last summer. During the hot nights of July and August, the men who were expecting to be called in the second draft worked eagerly and patiently. We had special soldiers' readers bound in red, white and blue. The first page began 'I go. I go to war,' and one of the first sentences was 'There is the camp. There is the flag.' By the time they were drafted most of them could sign their names to Liberty Bonds and write home to their people. One boy told me with pride that he could now 'write to his mother and to young ladies.'"

The National War Council of the Y. M. C. A. has adopted these soldiers' readers for use in the camps. Through the Moonlight Schools, Mrs. Stewart said, the Kentucky women who are learning to read and write are also being taught war history. The reasons for the war, the necessity for thrift, and food conservation are part of the studies.

Texas Initiative

THE Equal Suffrage Association of Houston, Texas, has launched a lively campaign to raise \$7,500 with which to finance a program of war service work. Under the leadership of Mrs. Hortense Ward, president of the Houston Association, and Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, state suffrage president, twelve captains with their teams form the active workers in raising the funds. The direction of the campaign is in charge of Miss Donna Roberts of Dallas. A large number of women will take part in the finance drive.

Training for Women in Agriculture

EVERY woman interested in agriculture should take notice of the opportunities for training in this line of service for her country offered by various state schools of agriculture and special schools offering courses this spring to fit women to undertake farming and gardening and thus help on the food production campaign. Programs of schools thus offering will appear from time to time in the *Woman Citizen*, and it is earnestly hoped that a very large number of women will avail themselves of the courses offered in various schools of agriculture for their benefit. Such training will make their service of infinitely more value than it can otherwise be and the brief time which it will take is well spent.

At Farmingdale, Long Island, the New York State School of Agriculture is offering a three months' course for women. Mr. A. A. Johnson is the director of this school and applications can be made to him at once. The school opened on the 4th of March, and its program is as follows:

SPECIAL THREE MONTHS' COURSE FOR WOMEN

VEGETABLE GARDENING

Lecture 2 hours, laboratory 6 hours a week. A course in vegetable raising that will cover in detail the production of all vegetables commonly grown in this latitude. The work will be made intensely practical, will include seed testing, starting seeds in flats, use of cold-frames, setting out plants, harvesting, packing and otherwise preparing the vegetables for market, storing vegetables. Each student will have the complete care and management of an individual garden, and in addition will be given an opportunity to gain experience in commercial gardening methods on the extensive vegetable growing section of the school farm.

INSECT PESTS OF FARM AND GARDEN

Laboratory work 2 hours a week. A practical study of the economically important insects and methods of controlling the same. Work will be given in mixing insecticides and in combating insect pests in the gardens and orchard.

SOILS AND FERTILIZERS

Lecture 1 hour, field or laboratory work 3 hours a week. A practical study of different types of soils and methods of handling the same, manures and commercial fertilizers, mixing fertilizers and their application, general principles of soil fertility.

POULTRY

Five hours a week. An intensive course in poultry husbandry designed to give a maximum of instruction in a minimum of time. The work will include incubation, rearing chicks, feed, care and management of poultry, killing, dressing and marketing, and principles of poultry house construction.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Lecture 1 hour, laboratory 2 hours a week. A course in feeding, care and management of dairy cattle, hogs and horses; milk testing and the study of milk in the home. The student will learn to balance rations, care for animals, milk cows, drive horses, etc.

FARM MECHANICS

Two hours laboratory a week. This course, necessarily elementary, will be made as practical as possible. Some time will be given to a study of the structure and working principles of farm tools and the simpler farm machines. Some simple carpentry work will be offered, to teach the use of the saw, hammer, etc. Some rope work will be given, such as rope-end-knots, square knots, hitch knot, express package tie. Some elementary planning of chicken yards, coops and poultry houses may be offered. If time and opportunity permit, a limited amount of work in concrete construction will be offered.

There will be no charge for tuition, and by the payment of \$30, for board and lodging, the students can be taken care of in the buildings of the State School of Agriculture at Farmingdale, L. I.

Women for Farm Work

THE Department of Agriculture, the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense and the Women's Division of the United States Employment Service will co-operate, it is announced, in a program to supply women for farm work during the war emergency. Camps for the training of women farm helpers are being considered in the plans.

As the result of a conference held by representatives of the three departments named, the Department of Agriculture will immediately ascertain through its 2,000 agents in what states the farmers want women, and the kind of farm work for which there is a demand for woman labor, and to furnish, through its extension service, the lists of trained women who might be available as leaders if training camps for women farm helpers were established.

The Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense will take up the question of training camps and will have charge of whatever recruiting, educational and welfare work is done.

"It is quite evident," says the report of the conference, "that it is impossible to take a woman from the city who has never worked on a farm and send her to such work without giving her an idea or any test of her capacity for agricultural work."

"There should be some sort of try-out system," the report continues, "financed either by the states or state councils of the Council of National Defense, for the purpose of sifting women who applied for farm work and selecting those who are physically fit."

It was suggested that some of the women's colleges, such as Vassar, which has 750 acres of land, might assist in training and the selective work.

The Department of Labor, through its Women's Division of which Mrs. Hilda Mulhauser Richards is the head, and with the aid of the Farm Service Division, will register women available for farm work and place them in jobs.

It was decided at the conference that it was "unwise to stimulate interest in placing women on farms" until it is known whether there is to be a shortage of farm labor."

Hen vs. Kaiser

WHILE it may seem that the question of a few hens in many backyards is remote from the outcome of European battles, consider the Government's calculation that if each backyard in the country can be made to supply the family with eggs, and if the farms double their poultry production, as the Government is asking them to do, there will be added, in the form of poultry and eggs, so vast an amount of meat stuff, to the total food resources of our nation, that the Kaiser can be beaten hands down.

Though the farmer's wife is better situated to raise poultry than the city dweller, even town houses have some backyard space, and even a town housewife can hope to realize the tantalizing dream of fresh eggs and chickens.

Uncle Sam is willing to assist every poultry raiser by placing at his, or her, disposal all the information on that subject of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, or the services of a State Agricultural College and its Extension Department, and for detailed advice state agricultural officers stand ready to help. Every hen is an agent against the Kaiser, for every hen furnishes just that much food for the individual and frees just that much pork and beef and mutton for the men at the front.

HERE are some of the cardinal points advocated in raising poultry:

House the chickens comfortably by keeping the coops dry and well ventilated, allowing plenty of fresh air and sunshine.

Give the hens a good straw litter to scratch in during the winter months.

Keep the nest clean. Provide one nest for every four hens. Gather the eggs twice daily. Keep them in a cool, dry room, or cellar.

Sell, kill, or confine all male birds as soon as the hatching season is over.

Produce the infertile egg. Fertile eggs do not keep as well as infertile ones because the fertilized germ responds more readily to high temperatures. It is impossible to hatch an infertile egg or to cause a blood ring to form in one, and such eggs are much more likely to reach the table in good condition; there is less spoilage in shipment.

The pullets that are hatched early in the spring—in March and April—produce more winter eggs and return the greatest profits. Heat retards the growth of young chickens.

Never allow the mother hen to range with the young chickens until they are at least two weeks old, as enormous numbers of young chicks are lost each year by running in the wet grass when they are too little.

GREEN feed can largely supplement a grain ration. Oats and vetch can be grown for summer use, and cabbage and mangel beets for winter. Cabbage and beets can be stored in a dry room or buried in a pit and covered with straw and earth.

Save eggs during April and May for winter use by preserving in waterglass. Mix 9 quarts of water boiled and cooled, with one quart of water glass. This will preserve 15 dozen eggs. Place the solution in a 5-gallon jar and store in cool place.

The Government estimates that every family should have two hens per person to keep that family in eggs and poultry.

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Correspondence

Feed the Children

To the Editor of THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I WAS interested in the good account that you gave of Mrs. Reed's plan for giving soup to the school children in Cambridge. I believe there are sections in New York where the children are fed in the schools, and it has been in my mind to look into them, because I feel that this winter, and for many winters now, the proper feeding of the poor will be a grave problem. As always in these problems, I find one race leading—the Scandinavians. These races place, and have placed for long years, Preventive Measures first. They say, "There is only one solution—race-hygiene."

We all know their advanced record in votes for women—but that is only one brick in their race-hygiene program, though a very solid one. Finland by her obedience to race-hygiene has brought her infant mortality and her alcohol consumption down, down, down, until it is the lowest in Europe. Norway has the second lowest alcohol consumption (70 per cent of her people have been under prohibition for over fifty years). In Sweden military rejections in the army have fallen steadily. In Norway there has been a constant increase in the height of the Norwegians.

But what I am coming to is that Norway and Denmark both give their children two square meals a day in the schools where they go. First and foremost, race-hygiene demands properly nourished children. I have wished

again and again this winter that I could give time to a survey of this feeding of the children in Scandinavia and properly present it to civic workers—and so I am glad to see such good publicity given to Mrs. Reed's scheme.

ELIZABETH TILTON.

Cambridge, Mass.

To Dethrone Tyranny

To the Editor of THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

WE believe today, what we have always believed, that civilization demands the abolition of the war system, and that men and women can devote themselves to nothing higher than to work for this abolition.

Since the world had not advanced far enough toward world federation to make the present war impossible, we, while holding the above ideal, find ourselves in agreement with the policy that it be fought until the German people are able and willing to make a peace based on the co-operation of law-abiding nations, leaving no possibility of world domination by imperialistic autocracy.

We believe that in taking up arms against the German government the United States is fighting to dethrone a tyranny that threatens, in the words of the President, "to master and debase men everywhere."

We are convinced that our ultimate goal—the establishment of a durable peace through international organization—can now be reached

only after the defeat of German might. We recognize the unwavering policy of President Wilson, as shown in his public utterances, to use the instrument of statesmanship whenever and wherever this may contribute to the realization of our purpose in this war. Therefore we believe that those who are working to the end that this shall be the last war, should declare themselves to be loyal to our Government, and should support it, in every way possible, in its aim to make the world safe for democracy.

Further, we believe that nothing should be done to obstruct the waging of this war. We feel that those persons who are continually rebuking the Government for our entrance into it, and who are constantly calling at this time for peace, are prolonging the war. We recognize the necessity of a rigid regime during its course, and we are glad to bear a temporary curtailment of our freedom for the ultimate realization of world freedom.

While not relinquishing for a moment the many kinds of war relief activities to which we all are pledged, we feel that the imperative duty of every American is to promote the idea of a League of Nations, and to stimulate the study of the intricate problems which the world will have to face at the Great Settlement. We believe that it is to this vital and far-reaching constructive and educational work, as well as to relief work, that peace organizations should devote themselves during the war.

FANNIE FERN ANDREWS,
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Suffrage Here and There

THE Woman's Franchise League of Indiana will meet in annual convention at Indianapolis, April 16 to 18. Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, state president, and her committees are working out a program of more than usual interest. One of the features will be the annual suffrage dinner with prominent persons as speakers.

THE village of Gouverneur, New York, has the unique distinction of being the first town to place an "all woman" ticket in the field. Despite the opposition of a number of men who had been office holders for years, the Democratic caucus nominated women for all the village offices.

A BILL is now pending before the provincial legislature of Nova Scotia which will grant the electoral franchise to women on the same terms as men. The passage of the bill is predicted.

The bill provides that a man may vote if he has real and personal property assessed at \$300, and the wife may vote if her husband's property amounts to \$600. In regard to income and other qualifications, the wife may vote if the husband is doubly rated. The daughter has the same right to vote as a son. If the wife owns the required amount of property in her own name she is entitled to vote, according to the terms of the bill.

THE Michigan Equal Suffrage Association will meet in annual convention at Detroit, March 25 to 28, inclusive. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, corresponding secretary of the national association, will attend the convention. Mrs. Wilbur Brotherton, acting president of the Michigan association, announced the tentative plans for the convention last week. The sessions will be held at the Hotel Statler. The convention was first planned for January but owing to Mrs. Catt's inability to attend at that time it was postponed until this month. Mrs. O. H. Clark, who recently resigned as president of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, is to enter upon an extensive program of war service work, following a much needed rest. Since Mrs. Clark's resignation, Mrs. Brotherton of Detroit has been in active charge.

THE Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association is steadily pushing its work for the passage of the Federal Amendment, sparing no effort to show the senators from that state that the "enlightened opinion of Connecticut will heartily uphold them if they follow their party leaders and vote for the Federal Amendment." According to the press department of the Connecticut Suffrage Association, Senator Brandegee wants a "mandate from the people" on this question and Senator McLean is "earnestly seeking to know the wishes of his constituents." Both wishes seem in the way of fulfillment and Connecticut suffragists are beginning to predict that Connecticut may be found on the roll of honor when the vote is called in the Senate.

With four organizers in the field Connecticut has engaged Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker, one

of the prominent workers in the New York campaign, to take charge of a state-wide campaign in Americanization and citizenship.

The young women stenographers and clerks of Fairfield county have banded themselves together in a "Clerical Committee" to answer any S. O. S. call that may come from the suffrage camps. The committee was formed recently at Bridgeport and stands ready to do typing, addressing, or any of the hundred and one things that are needed in suffrage campaign work.

THE campaign for ratification by the state Legislature of the Federal Suffrage Amendment as soon as it shall have passed the Senate has been opened. County Conventions of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana are in full swing to rouse the women and to reach the candidates for the Indiana State Legislature before the May primaries. Madison County was the first to call its Franchise Leagues into convention, elect officers and plan its campaign. Tippecanoe followed Saturday, February 23, with a big meeting at Lafayette, and Carroll, Fountain, Montgomery and Hamilton Counties will hold conventions the first week in March.

A SUFFRAGE CLUB has been organized in Port Huron, Michigan, with the following officers:

President, Dr. Emma E. Bower.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Lincoln Avery, Mrs. Frank Halstead, Mrs. Bert Embury, Mrs. John Wolfstyn.

Secretary, Miss Isabella Woods.

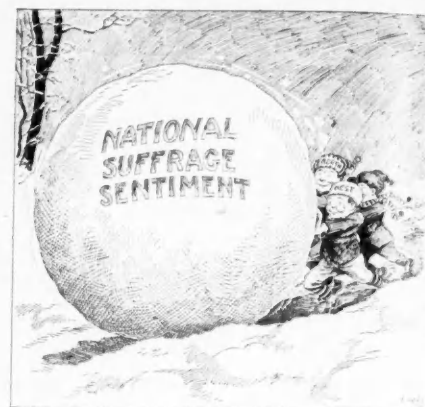
Treasurer, Mrs. Lincoln Boynton.

The Club starts out under auspicious circumstances. At its last meeting it had for its speaker, Mrs. Cornelius Templeton Hatcher, president of the Women Voters' League of Alaska, a talented and interesting talker.

IF THE New Hampshire Equal Suffrage Association were the possessor of a service flag, it could show at least one star indicating foreign service, for Miss Elizabeth Biddlecome, secretary of the Newport League and a graduate of Smith College, is "somewhere in France" with the Smith Unit. This Unit is working in the Somme sector, helping to reconstruct the lives of the French in the sadly devastated regions.

It is an interesting fact that while all the women workers were sent away from this sector when it was recently taken over by the English, the Smith Unit was permitted to remain because of the many pleas made by the French of that locality that the aid which these women had so efficiently given them should not be withdrawn. Mrs. Helen Rand Thayer of Portsmouth, a director of the suffrage league in that city, is the chairman of the Organization Committee of the Smith Unit, directing the work in this country.

Miss Martha S. Kimball, president of the New Hampshire Equal Suffrage Association, directs the work of making garments for the Unit and also for the Italian Relief. Meetings are held every Thursday at the suffrage room in the Woman's Building, Portsmouth, and a valuable contribution has already been sent off.



Chinese-American Women in a Voting State

"THE women of the Chinese colony have taken up the Red Cross work with enthusiasm," says a letter from Boise, Idaho, sent out by the Women's War Work Division of the Committee on Public Information. "First they knitted in their homes and later when the request for more surgical dressings was announced they signified their willingness to take up this work also.

"The Chinese Masons, equally patriotic, decided that, since one of the tenets of their order was relief, they would permit the women to use the temple room of the Chinese Masonic Temple for their work room.

"In this room, heretofore used only by the men of the race who called to worship their joss and to perform their lodge rites, the Chinese women take their lessons in surgical dressings from the instructors of the Boise Chapter of the Red Cross. Their work table stands directly in front of the altar on which the ever burning light is placed and the expression on the grim face of the joss seems to soften as it looks down upon the twentieth century Chinese women engaged in their humanitarian work."

Suffrage in Hungary

(Continued from page 289)

should be found, and it was resolved to give the vote to war widows with a family. All that is required of this group is that they shall know how to read and write, and according to calculations 100,000 voters will thus be added to the register. The third condition is that every woman over the age of 24, who is a member of a scientific or artistic association or society which has been in existence for at least two years should receive the vote.

The bill is now before the Hungarian Diet.

Julius Rosenwald Urges Federal Suffrage Amendment

"I VERY much hope that the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment will pass. My experience in Chicago has been that the women's vote has been responsible for defeating some bad aldermen and electing some good ones who would otherwise have been defeated. What applies locally would apply nationally as well. I believe that the net results of the women's votes can only improve conditions in this country, and for that reason I am strongly in favor of the adoption of the Federal Suffrage Amendment."—Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago.

The Vote and the Voter

The Educational Test

By Henrietta W. Livermore

THE evolution of the conception of the function of government and the rights of the people under it can be clearly traced in the changed ideas of what restrictions properly should be placed on those entitled to vote.

As a requirement for voting the religious qualification has been withdrawn, the color line forbidden.

The sex qualification, though not yet fully discredited is nevertheless in the final stages of defeat. Its speedy abolishment is certain. Citizenship is acknowledged to be a fundamental qualification in all but eight of our states, and there is a growing feeling evidenced by a resolution recently introduced in Congress that the waiving of this condition in these states is in violation of the United States Constitution.

The age of twenty-one years, the attainment of majority, is universally accepted. A certain time of residence is deemed a necessary qualification to identify the voter and prevent fraud. Some small character qualifications are required in all states.

There remain two qualifications, however, on which the public mind is still confused and in doubt. These are property or tax and education.

CONCERNING a property qualification and an educational qualification, public opinion is passing through distinct phases. The trend of the past century has progressed from the time when a property qualification was everywhere required, to the present day when it has almost disappeared. The Poll Tax is the only common tax today and this is not a property but a personal tax.

The reverse is true of an educational qualification. It was proposed in Connecticut in 1854, during the "Know-nothing" agitation against foreign immigration. It was adopted in 1855 in Connecticut, in Massachusetts in 1857, in Wyoming in 1889 and in Maine in 1891. In 1914, no less than seventeen states had adopted educational qualifications in some form.

Professor Smith of Columbia, once made a statement to the effect that no class, arbitrarily excluded from the franchise would consider such exclusion just, but that when all classes have *once been admitted* to the franchise, democracy may then limit itself by its own free will for its own good, and such decision resting on the will and voice of all would be respected. In the main, the difference historically between tax and educational tests is this: the former was imposed by a small group who then had the monopoly, in order to keep others out; the latter by a large body of voters to cut out those of their own number deemed undesirable.

TODAY a literacy test is a question awaiting a verdict. It arose in the Constitutional Convention of New York in 1915; it passed one legislature in 1917, and must pass again and be voted on by the people. A literacy test for immigrants was added to the immigration law last year. The State of New Mexico forbids

such a test, but on the whole the literacy test is growing in favor.

In this article some of the chief arguments for and against both property and educational tests will be presented.

Cooley takes up this question in his "Principles of Constitutional Law." He says:

"The State of Connecticut denies the right of suffrage to all who cannot read, and Massachusetts to all who cannot both read and write; and many of the states admit no one to the privilege of suffrage unless he is a taxpayer.

To require the payment of a capitation tax is no denial of suffrage; it is demanding only the preliminary performance of public duty, and may be classed, as may also presence at the polls, with registration, or the observance of any other preliminary to insure fairness and protect against fraud. Nor can it be said that to require ability to read is any denial of the suffrage. . . . Ability to read is something within the power of any man, it is not difficult to attain it, and it is no hardship to require it. . . . It denies to no man the suffrage, but the privilege is freely tendered to all, subject only to a condition that is beneficial in its performance and light in its burden. If a property qualification, or the payment of taxes upon property when one has none to be taxed, is made a condition to suffrage, there may be room for more question."

PROFESSOR BEARD, in his volume on American Citizenship, writes:

"In the long agitation over the right of the common man to vote (even if he had no property) which followed the Declaration of Independence, the whole question of the suffrage was thoroughly threshed out. Many of the greatest men in our history like Webster, Madison, Hamilton and Jefferson, were afraid of giving power to the poor—particularly to the great cities. They argued: 'The extreme democratic principle has been regarded with terror by the wise men of every age, because in every European republic, ancient and modern, in which it has been tried, it has terminated disastrously and has been productive of corruption, injustice, violence and tyranny; the poor have no interest in the government because they have no property at stake; workingmen, if enfranchised, would neglect their work and engage in politics for which they are not fitted.'"

"Against these dire prophecies the advocates of universal manhood suffrage brought forward arguments based on the 'natural' rights of mankind. They claimed the experiment was based on the professed principles of the Declaration of Independence; that the poor man with only his labor to sell needed the vote to protect himself against laws made in behalf of property and to secure laws favorable to his welfare; they denied that either intelligence or morality was possessed only by the well-to-do; they scorned the idea that the propertyless were represented in the government even though they had no voice in it."

PROFESSOR RAY in "An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics," writes of the educational qualification for the suffrage: "One's attitude is likely to be determined by one's conception of the suffrage as a right or a privilege. Those who regard it as a right are inclined to oppose educational qualifications, while those who regard the suffrage as a privilege to be enjoyed by those who have proved themselves worthy of it will strongly favor educational qualifications. Perhaps the strongest argument in favor of such qualifications is based on the assumption that education is essential to intelligent voting. Opponents of educational qualifications urge that such restrictions do not accomplish the end sought; illiteracy being no proof of defective character. Educational qualifications are also opposed on the ground that they deny to orderly, law-abiding and industrious persons the right to participate in the government which they are compelled to support by taxes."

THE question arises, is not an illiterate class as great a danger in a nation as in an electorate? Big business has found that to protect itself it pays to teach its workers to read and write. Some firms take such time out of working hours, because the increase of intelligence resulting in better work more than compensates for the loss of time.

Should not a democracy feel a like concern for groups in its midst? Every adult should be given an opportunity to learn to read and write, and this opportunity should come to him in the easiest manner. It is as much the duty of the state to see that its citizens are literate as of the individual himself to attain literacy. For it is distinctly to the advantage of the state to educate its adult illiterates. A democracy will ultimately stand or fall according to the intelligence and integrity of its electorate. When opportunity, adequate and acceptable, for literacy has been offered to every adult, then and not till then is it reasonable to require an educational qualification for voting.



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GEORGIA—I am enclosing a list of members of the Georgia General Assembly. The Georgia Woman Suffrage Association has adopted all these men in the hope that through the *Woman Citizen* their consciousness will be awakened to the fact that woman suffrage is here and Georgia must ratify the Federal Amendment when the opportunity arrives. I am sending their home addresses because the Assembly does not meet until June, and we feel also that the entire family is entitled to the benefit of the *Citizen*. There are 236 members of the General Assembly of this state, and aren't we the first to adopt the entire law-making body, state and national?

—EMMA T. MARTIN.

You can find out just where your state stands in our Circulation Contest by reading next week's column.



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1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
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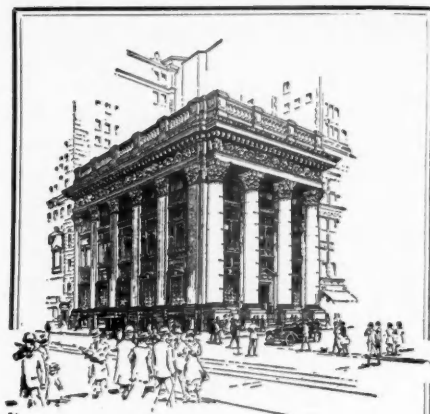
To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

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National Circulation Chairman.

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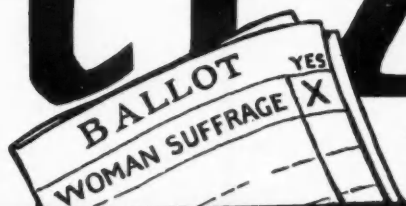
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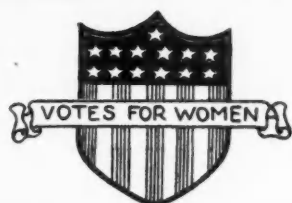
every woman who reads this advertisement will go to her local suffrage chairman or secretary and pay one dollar for a year's subscription to the **Woman Citizen**, either for herself or for a friend, she will be doing an important piece of work. Important because she will be helping to build up a magazine that is published in her political interests

You

will also be helping your local organization as 30 cents of the dollar for the subscription will go to its treasury

One Dollar

the price of a balcony ticket to a play!!!



THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

The office of publication is at 171 Madison Avenue, New York. The business manager is Florence E. Bate.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue, New York

March 16, 1918

Vol. II (New style) No. 16

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
Founded June 2, 1917

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE and HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
OF NEW YORK CITY
and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confering upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE"

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays 136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

March 16, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Drama in Great Britain's Suffrage Triumph

(On January 10, 1918, the House of Lords defeated the Loreburn amendment to the Representation of the People Bill. That amendment would have deleted the bill of the Woman Suffrage Clause. It was downed by an almost two to one vote, thus revealing the strength of suffrage with the Lords. It was on February 6, 1918, that the final formalities were completed and suffrage went over the top in Great Britain.)

WHEN the cabled news reached the United States that the House of Lords had passed the woman suffrage bill sent up by the House of Commons, details were entirely lacking. The belated facts, arriving by the slow process of war-time mail, are just at hand, and contain accounts of some dramatic and significant incidents.

The House of Commons had passed the bill last June by the enormous majority of 7 to 1, but just what the traditional House of Lords would do with it remained a question of speculation throughout the world for months. The debate, which covered three entire days, was opened by the presentation of an anti-suffrage petition signed by 87 peeresses, ladies who, possessing privilege, did not want rights. Several amendments designed to postpone and defeat the purposes of the bill were introduced, discussed, and voted down. The last and hardest fought was a proposal to submit the question to a referendum.

WHEN Lord Curzon, leader of the House of Lords and Lord President of the Council, and, incidentally, president of the association opposed to woman suffrage, arose to close the debate, the vast distinguished audience recognized that the crucial moment had come. For a time he voiced his opposition along the old well-known lines and repeated the familiar misgivings; then he launched into an appeal of passionate oratory, the tenor of which astounded both friend and foe. He and others had predicted that woman suffrage would give an impulse to Socialism, that it would add enormously to the strength of the labor party, that six million women would be so vast an addition to the electorate as to make cautious Britishers tremble, but it soon became evident that another terror far greater than any of these had struck fear into his soul.

IT will be remembered that a few years back the House of Commons gained the power to veto acts of the House of Lords and the effect upon the influence and status of the Lords, if further disciplined by the House of Commons, was in his mind. "You can cut this woman suffrage clause out of the bill," he said, "but if you think that after killing the clause you can save the bill I believe you to be mistaken. Nothing is more certain than that the House of Commons will return the bill to you with the clause reinserted. * * * Are you prepared to embark upon a conflict with a majority of 350 in the House of Commons, of whom nearly 150 belong to the party to which most of your Lordships also belong?" He declined to be responsible for such a catastrophe wherein the Lords were bound to be worsted, and announced his intention not to vote either way.

The anti-suffragists, in a lively tilt in the *Morning Post*, charged him with being a traitor to their cause and declared that he carried thirty votes with him. In reply he defended his position and retorted that even were that true it did not matter, since the majority was sixty.

THE vote was a remarkable victory for democracy. Mindful of the historic significance of the great day, the two men chosen as tellers on the suffrage side were Lord Grey and Lord Aberconway. Lord Grey is the descendant of the Earl Gray who carried the Reform Bill of 1832, which extended the vote to a large number of men, and Lord Aberconway is the son of a well-known and world-beloved suffrage pioneer, Mrs. MacLaren.

Within half an hour after the passage of the bill it received the royal assent. Even here, someone had given attention to

details, that the day might be as noteworthy as possible. Bills are usually sent to the King in a despatch box and promptly returned in the same manner, since, as all the world knows, the King's signature has become the merest form. Once it was different and kings used the veto power and impressed their dignity upon such events with elaborate ceremony, wherein brilliant costuming and rites, now long forgotten, were employed. For the woman suffrage bill, as a special recognition of the gratitude of the nation to the women for their marvelous war sacrifice and service, the ancient ceremony was invoked.

The women of Great Britain, freed by victory from their long, never-ceasing campaign of fifty years, suggest that January 10 shall be made a thanksgiving day on both sides of the ocean as the day which made all English-speaking women politically free. Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Great Britain have all enfranchised their women. Alas, the Federal Suffrage Amendment is still languishing in the U. S. Senate.

C. C. C.

Ratification Rallies

IF the United States Senate doesn't look out some of the state Legislatures are going to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment before the Senate makes use of its opportunity to pass it. New York, for instance, is ready and waiting, determined to be first over the line. North Dakota is peevish because the amendment was not ready to hand on to its special Legislature this year. Montana has sent a hurry-up resolution to ask the Senate to take action. Telegrams from the governors of twelve suffrage states just before the House vote practically pledged that their states would be among the first to ratify the Federal Amendment.

For weeks suffrage organizations have been preparing for the ratification period. Every suffrage association which met last fall pledged itself to conduct an energetic campaign for the Federal Amendment. The tremendous enthusiasm caused by the House vote and the prospect of early victory in the Senate has been evident in the celebrations held in many states, in which Georgia, Texas, Alabama and other southern states have taken an active part. In Iowa each one of the eleven congressional districts held its special celebration in honor of the event, while practically every state has been represented by celebrations of enthusiastic suffragists.

"Advisory To"

SENATOR HELEN RING ROBINSON, in the March *Pictorial Review* adorns a tale with a moral that has already arrested the attention of every thinking woman in the United States. Briefly, the moral is this: The country is not using its woman power to the best advantage under its present policy of putting men in all the superior administrative positions that have to deal with the conservation of production and energy through women. Ever since the war began women who want to help the administration to the uttermost have been watching the working of this policy with a wry and anxious smile. It is an untenable policy, part of an old-time untenable attitude

toward women on the part of men, who come slowly to the admission that women are to be entrusted with authoritative positions in government.

It is not here a question of what women want or don't want, of what is their due and of whether they are going to get it. It is a question of the utilization and conservation of a great agency, a great potency for the common good in war time. It may be true that men can function in woman's alleged sphere most effectively through women. It is equally true that women's initiative is much crippled by being brought up against men's authority in all the larger aspects of work undertaken.

When you stop to think of it, what is there to recommend the idea that if a man can get a woman to tell him what to tell other women to do efficiency is achieved?

The country's welfare demands the recognition of women in direct executive relation to the government's conservation services, not merely as auxiliary to or advisory to some man or body of men. And the sooner that recognition is established, the better. If women's advice is really in order, that is ours.

The Last Reserves

THOSE who treat as a mere war emergency measure the Ottawa Congress of women, lately called to consult with the war cabinet, will miss something deep down and significant. Its truest meaning came out in the words of Sir George E. Foster in his speech at the final session on March 2d. This is the strongest call yet heard from any man in any country for the co-operation of women with men in political life. It is not a surface expression of the country's need of its womanhood for running tractors and knitting socks. It is an acceptance of Mrs. Nellie McClung's phrase that women are needed in government for its very existence. "You must call upon the women to help," said Mrs. McClung. "They are the last reserves. We can't call the angels down."

And Sir George also sees women not only as the last reserves, but as a sure prop to that ideal democracy for which western nations are giving their life-blood.

"Consider yourselves no longer as women segregated from men as far as the Government is concerned. Don't form yourselves into a compact mass as womanhood. You are now diffused throughout the whole mass and are working from within," said Sir George to the women of Canada.

He went on to speak of men and women as "equal parts of the body politic," and added that he would hate to see women adopt the shibboleths and practices of the old parties. He called upon them for help in rooting out "that old and poisonous method of patronage."

In response to vigorous applause at this expression, he continued earnestly: "You'll not do it by clapping your hands. I tell you it's rooted deep down. It has been so long in our country and become so widespread that it will require all the energy women have, added to our determination, to entirely scotch it."

It was a complete surrender to the fact that the "problems of Canada are the problems of its women" as well as of its men.

Socialism in Heaven

WRITING to your great-grandmamas who went to school to him, my dears, one Charles F. Deems, president of the Female College of Greensboro, N. C., once took occasion to point out that "While it is proper that you should be mistress and another woman should be servant, while you are both together upon earth, remember that you will both soon stand before the throne of God where the only distinctions will lie in the larger or smaller development of the principle of holiness."

Woman, he told your great-grandmamas, my dears, "is cut off from the fields upon which men of ability and ambition distinguish themselves. She never appears in the Forum, never in the battle-rage. There can be no female Napoleon, no female Daniel Webster."

And he further warned your great-grandmamas, my dears, of the blight that dogged the woman who aspired to have a little sense by referring her to the effect of sense on those arbiters of her fate—the men:

Men, said he, my dears, "men may admire Mme. de Stael and Mary Somerville, but whatever tribute their abilities and learning may wring from the head, is given with a corresponding diminution of the more precious and spontaneous tribute of the heart."

And finally he offered your great-grandmamas, my dears, this last little lump of consolation:

"You will be called to suffer. This is woman's lot; the effects of woman's sin."

Primary Marriages

THE "secondary wife" with her "narrow gold wedding ring," recently advocated by a German writer; the leaflet, "Empty Cradles, a Soldier's Duty," distributed in millions in the German trenches, urging the soldiers to become "secondary" fathers for the sake of the Fatherland, have become notorious throughout the world. Meanwhile the Allies have not had to resort to such devices, nor has the "strong-minded woman," whom the war has developed, shunned matrimony. Far from it; she has become father and mother; she has become wife and "provider" at once. In England she has married in numbers never reached before. In 1915 the marriage rate in the United Kingdom, according to figures just published, was 19.4, or almost 3 per cent higher than the highest rate previously attained. Having married, the British woman has sent her husband to the front and taken his place in industry, to the number of a million and a quarter, at home.

Where Women Vote

AT the urgent invitation of the Kansas State Board of Health, which has already established a national reputation for its infant hygiene work, the Federal Children's Bureau has recently made a study of maternity and infant care in an agricultural county in that state. The name of the county is not given, but it was chosen as typical. The death rate found among babies is 40 per 1000 births, which is only half the lowest rate found in any of the cities studied by the bureau.

One Minute Talks for the F. S.'A.

OUR Connecticut senators are said to be opposed to the submission of the Amendment to the states. They might well recognize the change in sentiment, at least to the extent of voting to let the states pass upon the whole matter."—Bridgeport *Telegram*.

IT doesn't pay in this life to be anti anything. Senators Brandegee and McLean should wake up. They are standing in the path of progress and neither they nor any other group has the power to stay it. They are setting their faces against one of the greatest moments the world has ever seen. The time has come when it is foolish to continue to prolong opposition merely for the sake of opposition."—Hartford *Post*.

BUT there has been plenty of senatorial howling for sacrifice and labor by the women to further the nation's business.

"How can we consistently and conscientiously engage in bleeding and paying for more of equal rights and liberty in other nations, when our own nation is 'half free and half slave?'"

"And isn't the hypocrisy of the thing emphasized by the fact that our highest legislative body has gone to sleep over the question of freedom or slavery?"—Detroit *Times*.

THE President now favors a federal amendment making possible woman suffrage.

"The Lower House of Congress favors it."

"The National Committees of the leading political parties favor it."

"How now can the Senate oppose what has, in a sense, become a party measure of both Democrats and Republicans?"—Dallas, Tex., *Times-Herald*.

SPEAKING of votes for women, the Tulsa, Oklahoma, *Democrat* says that the politicians might as well rid their minds now of the belief that the women will forever remain docile in politics and vote as they are told. "They just naturally will not do anything of the kind." On the other hand the *Democrat* considers that women are going to rid the offices of some of the incompetent leeches, and that the chances are greatly in favor of improvement in government with women added to the electorate. "Mark it down now, the women are going to vote and they are going to make the world a better place to live in."

The Tulsa *Democrat* also finds some joyful exhilaration in the spectacle of eminent statesmen "who are now at work tearing their shirts for woman suffrage. They are so numerous that a brickbat thrown into a crowd would be sure to hit one of them. They have found, upon consulting their consciences and their natural desires that they want the ballot placed in the hands of women. Some have felt that way about it for years, but just neglected to mention it publicly. Others admit that they have very recently seen the light."

Suffrage In The Field

North Dakota

THE Votes for Women League of North Dakota has sent out a clarion call through the press, and in other ways, to the women of that state, urging them to be awake to their civic duty and vote at the spring elections. Partial suffrage was granted North Dakota women in 1917, and the spring elections offer the first opportunity to use the new privilege generally. On December 27, 1917, the women of Bismarck exercised their right of municipal suffrage for the first time.

"You have an opportunity to do your bit for democracy right at home in your own neighborhood, by voting at the spring election," is the message going from the League to the women of the towns and villages. "Women of North Dakota may now vote on all questions initiated at the township meetings, and for all village officers except Justice of the Peace. Do not forget your civic duty."

Suffrage as a war measure was advocated by the Council of National Defense of North Dakota at the state war conference held at Bismarck, February 26. The resolution passed by the Council, and wired to the Senators of North Dakota, read:

"Inasmuch as England has enfranchised her women as a war measure and inasmuch as a Federal Amendment for woman's suffrage is now before the United States, be it resolved that we urge our United States Senators to work for its passage."

New Jersey

THE newly elected Senator from New Jersey, David Baird, of Camden, had the Federal Amendment for woman suffrage brought to his attention when he called upon Governor Edge at Trenton on Monday. The Governor told him that if he were in the United States Senate he would vote for the measure, and added that in his opinion the time has come when popular sentiment favors the extension of suffrage rights to women.

"We are, of course, very much pleased that Governor Edge has come out in favor of the Federal Amendment," says Mrs. E. F. Feickert, President of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, "and are sure that his advice will carry a great deal of weight with Senator Baird. No man in the state is in closer touch with popular sentiment than is the Governor, and what he says is so is more than likely to be so! We, ourselves, had suspected that popular sentiment was on our side for some time, and have been convinced of it since we started last month a drive to enroll 200,000 suffragists. The names are coming in by thousands. A small committee in Montclair, working for a few hours each day for a week, enrolled 1,725 women. The President of the Equal Suffrage League of the Oranges, Mrs. F. H. Colvin, holds the record so far for individual accomplishment. Working one hour a day for five days, she interviewed 135 women, and enrolled 125 of them. This work is being pushed vigorously in every county. Each city has been given its quota of names to be secured and there is no doubt that within the next three

or four months more than one-quarter of all the women of the State will be enrolled as suffragists."

Indiana

ANOTHER step toward the ratification of Indiana of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, when it shall have passed the Senate, has been taken by the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana. Two suffrage schools will be held this summer, where public speaking, history of suffrage, organization and other phases of suffrage propaganda will be taught. The courses will be short, and not extend over ten days.

Twelve applications for admission to the schools were made at the March board meeting of the Franchise League in Indianapolis, some of them coming from women who are speaking for the State and County Councils of Defense, and desire training in patriotic speaking. There will be a patriotic department for the instruction of speaking on subjects of general patriotic interest, as well as departments for instruction in suffrage history and organization.

Indiana and Purdue Universities have offered the use of their buildings for these schools, and an invitation also has come from Merom, Indiana, that one of the schools shall be held there. The classes will be conducted by trained Indiana women and by competent instructors from the National American Woman Suffrage Association. A part of the course will be the putting into practice of the theory taught, as it will include speaking at nearby towns and holding countryside meetings.

Wisconsin

IF the Wisconsin women had the vote they would use it to give loyal support and assistance to the Government in its conduct of the war, is the conclusion drawn by the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association from the long list of loyalty resolutions passed by the women's organizations of that state. These organizations are outside the societies formed to promote patriotic work.

The Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association, with about 100 local branches throughout the state, has not only endorsed the pledge of the Wisconsin Loyalty League, but has offered its services to the state and has carried out a program of war-service work with excellent results.

Alabama

MRS. SOLON JACOBS, of Birmingham, Alabama, has been appointed to represent that state on the Women's Advisory Committee of the National Democratic Committee, her appointment being made by E. D. Smith, national Democratic committeeman from Alabama.

In accepting her new duties Mrs. Jacobs stated she was thoroughly in accord with the President's administration and war program. She expressed herself as not only in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment but also of the Federal Prohibition Amendment.

Nevada

MISS ANN MARTIN, of Nevada, has announced her candidacy for the United States Senate to succeed the late Senator Newlands. Miss Martin, who has the distinction of being the first woman to be a candidate for the upper house, is vice-chairman of the National Woman's Party. She is the daughter of the late William O'Hara Martin, for many years a senator in the Nevada legislature, and her brothers are now serving in the army.

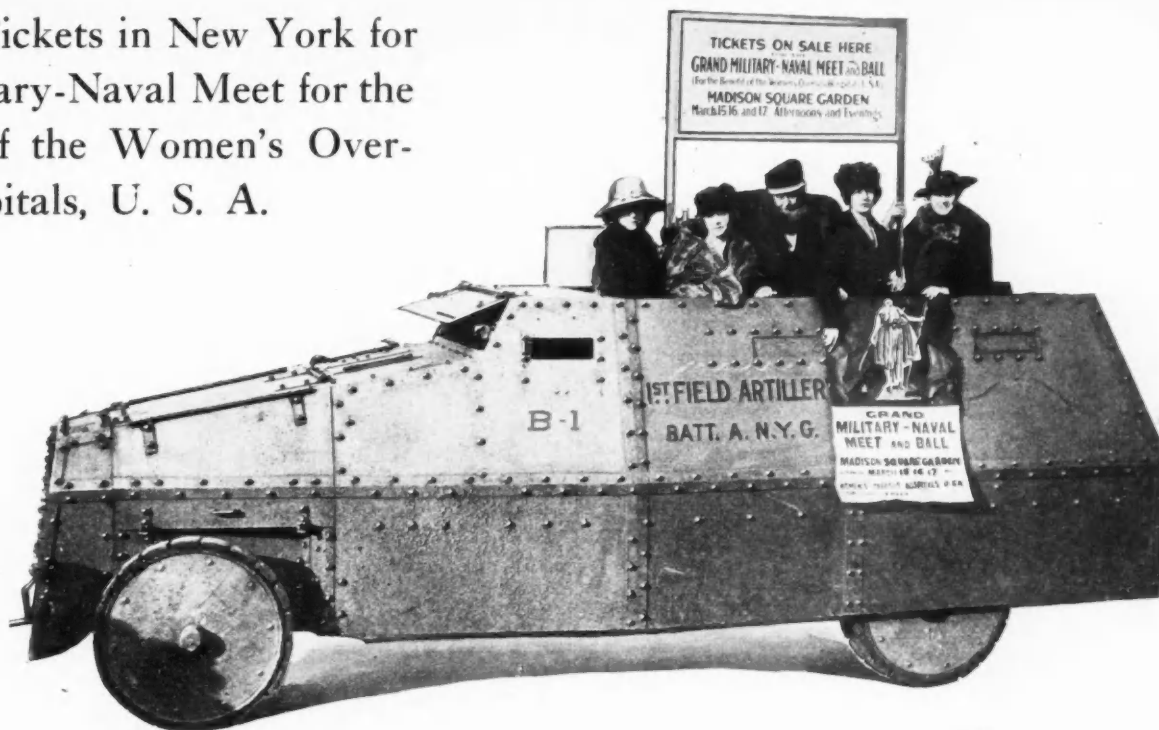
Within a fortnight Miss Martin will start her campaign for the Senate. "If I win a place in our highest legislative body I will do all I can to guard and further the interest of women," said Miss Martin in outlining her platform. "I will try to make good my claims that women in government will benefit all groups of citizens, and I shall endeavor to voice and effectively realize the deep desire of women to give their best services toward the successful ending of the war, and the establishment of a final, just and liberal peace."

Pennsylvania

AMONG the delegates to the third annual county convention of the Woman Suffrage Party held at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., was Mrs. W. H. Palmer, whose work in behalf of the boys in the Pennsylvania mines has been so far-reaching. Mrs. Palmer is the founder of the Boys' Industrial Association in Wilkes-Barre, which was the first effort at giving the "breaker boys" some advantages of education, recreation and manual training. The association in Wilkes-Barre is the parent of the various other associations which spread in all directions and from coast to coast. Through the efforts of this delightful lady, who has reached her eightieth birthday, many of the boys and men in the mines have developed into fine professional men and college graduates. Before the school laws protected the young boys of the mines Mrs. Palmer worked untiringly to protect their interests and welfare. Mrs. Palmer contributed a poem to the program at the convention, from which the following is quoted:

*To-day I stand on a table-land, I gaze adown
the years,
I see the coming woman, and for her I
have no fears.
Had she been Adam's helpmate, we'd change
the written page,
She's make a different history for this
enlightened age.
Our modern Eve would never leave her rose-
encircled bower
With Satan in possession—not she; she
knows her power.
Her home at stake, she'd catch that snake, and
push him through the gate.
And for Divine permission she'd neither
ask nor wait.
If Adam proved a slacker, she'd tell him to
go to—
I rather think she'd like to show the world
what she could do.
I cannot blame her much for that; can you,
or you, or you?*

Selling Tickets in New York for the Military-Naval Meet for the Benefit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A.



The Best Investment

By Jane Thomson

EVERY woman who has ever had funds to invest, knows that there are waiting as many people as she has dollars, to tell her the best investment. During this period through which we are now passing, where there are so many things for women to do, not to speak of all there is to learn, there is one safe rule to follow, "if you have money to invest—buy Liberty Bonds and if you haven't, then save something from your salary or income with which you can buy Liberty Bonds."

Nearly a million and a half men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five have left the positions they filled in civil life to perform some sort of military duty. None of these men is mental or physical defective, all of them are sound and the positions they have left all rank high in economic value. What does this mean, as far as the women of the country are concerned? It means that many of these positions will be filled by women. Some of them will be taken by older men—the positions vacated by the older men will then be left vacant.

IN England and France, so many women became money earners at the beginning of the war that many of them indulged in unheard-of extravagances because for the first time in their lives they had larger sums of money under their control than they previously knew existed. It was a natural thing to happen when women had been used to being controlled by the men of their families and to have what small sums they ever saw doled out to them by the man of the family. In this country, there should be no such hysteria because the women of this country have known a personal freedom that was unheard of anywhere else. The women of the family have been the buyers. Eighty-five per cent of the buying of the country is done by the women, so that they are already trained to a certain responsi-

bility. But the increasing demand for competent trained women is going to place funds in the hands of women who have not had the opportunity to learn how to handle them.

THE financial education of women has never been carried out to any great extent. Many of them hate to go to a man and let him know how ignorant they are when it comes to a question of investment. Some one comes along with a stock or a bond paying a fabulous rate of interest—the salesman is able to convince the woman that she is being let in on the ground floor for a good thing (and she has no way of knowing that it is only a good thing for the other fellow)—she gets her 10 per cent once—maybe twice—and that's the end of her hard-earned money. When I was selling bonds, I found great difficulty in convincing women that it was better to get 4 or 4½ per cent every six months with the certainty that your capital would be returned, than it was to get 8 or 10 per cent for a while and never see your capital again.

The solution of the question lies at present in Government Bonds. It is a patriotic thing for the woman with money to invest it in Liberty Bonds. It is the safe thing for her own protection, not only against the invasion of the enemy, but also because she need not worry about her interest or principal when she buys the bonds of the United States Government.

THERE is probably no one in the country who can see and read who hasn't had the importance of buying Liberty Bonds brought to her attention. The purchase of bonds is by most people considered a measure of patriotism and it is largely upon this basis that most of the sales have been made.

There are two ways by which the government raises money for specific purposes. Billions of dollars are required to meet the need of the present emergency, such vast sums as few of us can comprehend. Either we must lend the money to our government or pay it in taxes. The Congress of the United States has decided that a part of the needed funds shall be raised by each method. The first means that in return for the money lent, a bond is given as a receipt and interest is paid to the holder of the bond. Should it be necessary to have the money before the bond is due, the holder may sell it. This may mean a slight loss, but no loss is incurred if the holder of a bond keeps it until maturity. In the case of tax receipts, it's a different story. You pay taxes and the receipt bears no interest, neither can it be sold for any part of its face value. Therefore, it is worth while to comment upon the fact that Liberty Bonds have an advantage over taxes for those with funds to invest.

AMONG the many things which women are going to have to learn now that the responsibilities of citizenship have fallen upon them, is the complete and entire scheme of business organization, including economic factors which tend to make the values of investments go up and down and which are necessary to know in order to select from all stocks and bonds offered to the public those best adapted to the particular needs of those with money.

The rate of interest may not be so high, but that is made up for in safety. The conditions that bring down the market price of Liberty Bonds one or two points have a greater depreciating effect upon other securities. Should the credit of the United States be wiped out,

(Continued on page 317)

The Women

Editorial C

"Let it be duly recorded that the women in New York voted in 90 per cent of their registered entire vote cast. Woman Suffrage point back with pride to its first voting, strong, dignified and only in the World."

"A 90 per cent poll of the sisterhood, good record, Senator Wadsworth."

"Did you see mother lay her hands to elect four Democrats to Congress?"—*Mail*.

"No more will you hear him insist that he would give women the vote but that he knew from his personal experience that they would not want it."—*New York Journal*.

"The women of Vermont went to the polls with their first general vote in a free franchise."—*Burlington Free Press*.



THE EARLIEST VOTER IN NEW YORK CITY

A Red Letter Day

THE first important woman-voting day on the Eastern coast took place on March 5, 1918, when New York women and Vermont women went in numbers to the polls. To be exact, New York women to the number of 31,958 voted in four sections of Greater New York while tax-paying women of Vermont voted in town meetings all over the state.

New York's vote took on a national importance from the two facts that women's use of the vote in a large Eastern city was put to its first test and that upon the results of election hung party supremacy in the Congress of the United States. For the women of New York city voted for four Congressmen. They voted in three of the city's boroughs, Manhattan, Bronx and Brooklyn, and represented all the kinds of women there are in the most cosmopolitan city in the world. The silk-stocking district, the baby-carriage district, the negro district, the upper East Side and the water front, near Brooklyn Bridge, were all tested out at the polls. The results were so complete a refutation of "all the fears of all the years" of anti-suffragedom that the *New York Times* has had a bad spell of aphasia ever since.

Speaker Champ Clark had called on Governor Whitman of New York to hasten this by-election of congressmen to fill four congressional vacancies. What sharpened interest in this election to the point of intensity was the

fact that the Republicans had 212 members to the Democrats' 211 in the House, a Republican majority of one, with a Democratic speaker. Upon the New York elections hung the question of supremacy. By the election of four Democrats on March 6, majority was restored to the President's party.

Getting Out the Vote

MISS MARY GARRETT HAY, city chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party, and Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, Manhattan Borough chairman, were on their rounds all day with almost uncanny pre-consciousness of difficulties. Every one of the 35,195 women who had registered on the 22d and 23d of February was reminded by a postcard not to fail to be at the polls on Tuesday, March 5. When Mrs. Tiffany found that 24,000 postcards reminding registrants to be sure to go to the polls were held up in Harlem and the Bronx because of confusion about the new postal rates within the city limits, she went in person to start them on their way. When Miss Hay found that women were hesitating about entering the polling places, she got out an "Attention to the Timid" circular in which she reminded every woman voter who had registered for the special election that she owed it "to her conscience and her Government to go to the polls and vote."

"If you are too busy," admonished Miss Hay, "go anyhow."

The Woman Election

March 5, 1918

With apologies to J.

Revised by S.

THE proudest news but
The polls at home
Today, of all the way
Of noble rank is in
Today alike are great and small
The nameless and unknown
Their palace is the people's hall
The ballot-box, the throne

Who serves today up the line
Beside the served all stand
Alike the broken and the whole
The gloved and the hand
The rich is level with the poor
The weak is strong today
The sleekest breadth of cloth
Than homespun from of yore

Today let pomp and pretence
Her stubborn right side
And set a woman's reason
Against a pedant's style
Today, shall even women try
The strength of good and love
The wide world has its weaver
The power in her not hand

While there's a grid to seek
A balance to maintain
With world conditions a measure
Which must be set again
While there's a right to
A wrong to sweep away
Then up, and on with the band
O, woman, vote today!

men Who Did

orial Comment

corded remembered that the first time
voted Congressmen they polled above
registered strength and nearly one-half the
oman Strage in New York can always
to its use of the franchise as a begin-
d and only patriotic."—New York Eve-

of the master woman's vote is a mighty
Wadsn."—Evening Mail.

er lay her apron aside and run to the polls
vals to ingress?"—New York Evening

in hear from the person who loudly in-
give even the ballot if they wanted it,
in his personal experience that they didn't
Journal

ermont for every reason to be satisfied
il vents in exercising the right of suf-
free Press

Woman-Voter on lection Day

March 3, 1918.

biologist J. G. Whittier.

Retired by S. J.

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be sold again—

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te today

"If you are sick, go.

"If you are afraid, go just the same.

"No matter where the polling places may
be—in a millinery store or a barber shop—the
polls are for you just as much as for your
husband or father or brother. March in and do
your duty.

"You will be treated with respect. There
is nothing to be afraid of and everything to be
proud of in the process of casting a vote for
the good of your country."

They Voted

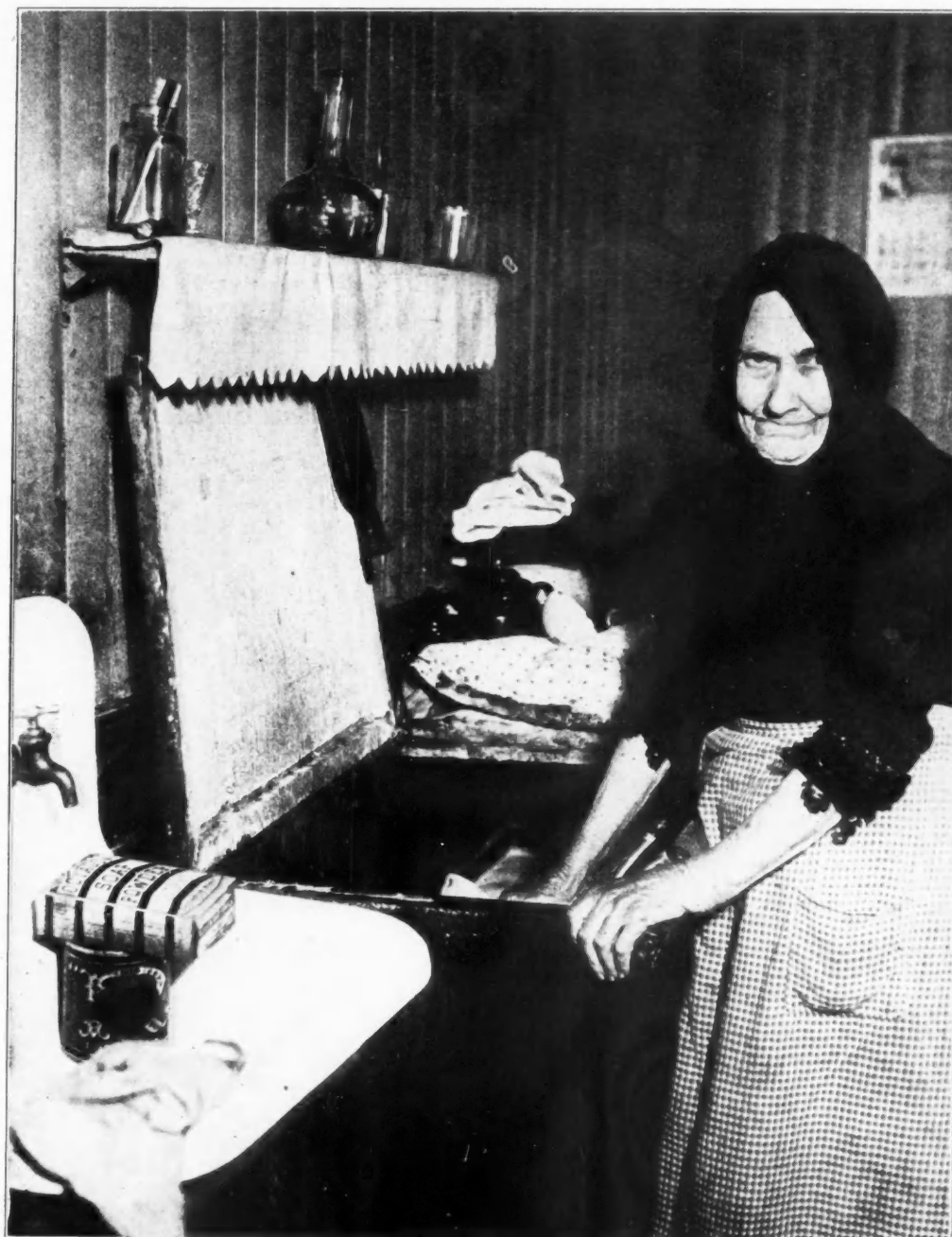
THAT Miss Hay was satisfied with the work
of her cohorts was evidenced by her official
statement to the newspapers at the end of the
day:

"The women voters of New York City who
took part in the congressional elections have

fully justified the bestowal upon them of the
franchise by the state of New York. They
voted in large numbers, 90 per cent of those
who registered going to the polls and casting
their ballots. They voted in a direct, business-
like way that won praise from the men in-
spectors. They voted intelligently, taking the
trouble beforehand to possess themselves of
enlightening information about the candidates
for office. As voters casting their first votes,
I am proud to say that they left little to be
desired as to the way they assumed their polit-
ical obligations.

"The City Suffrage Party is much pleased
with the way the women came out to vote and
with the treatment accorded them. We wish
to thank the political parties for appointing
women watchers at the polls, and the Boards

(Continued on page 316)



THE OLDEST VOTER IN NEW YORK CITY, MRS. SALLY GOLD

Where Is Catherine Breshkovsky?

SO many inquiries have come to me as to the present whereabouts of Catherine Breshkovsky, and as to her attitude towards recent events, that I am going to answer through the *Woman Citizen*.

Madame Breshkovsky's American friends do not know her present whereabouts. Mail comes by way of Japan, and is very slow. The latest direct word from her is a post-card received a few weeks ago, from Moscow, dated October 12, 1917, and written in her "wagon," i. e., her private railroad car. She says, in her quaint English:

"Again, en route, my beloved Alice! How much better it is than to sit in Petrograd, with many troubles and few *sane* people! My most agreeable company was Mr. Thompson and Mr. Robins (this means Col. William B. Thompson of the Red Cross and Raymond Robins), that had the patience to talk with me, taking part in my favorite plans and desires. I owe them many good hours, not only when seeing them, but afterwards when alone. I plunged in thoughts which made me rejoice to have such excellent friends for myself and for my beloved but young and badly elevated Russia. ("Badly elevated" here is doubtless equivalent to the French *mal élevée*.) I am so very glad that these two friends do not find our people as mad as one could view it. They know that our character is worthy of confidence, and in some time all will be changed to the best.

"Till now I was never free from much to do, and now it seems to be more necessary to give the rest of (my) forces to the welfare of all. I kiss your hands. Your quite well Catherine." Madame Breshkovsky has been a leader of that party among the Russian Socialists who believed it to be vitally important to prevent a German victory. On May 25, 1915, she wrote: "From patriotism, as well as from indignation against the ferocity of the Germans, I am hoping for the victory of the Allies. And then the whole world would be gainers by getting back to a state of peace, and being able to continue its work of culture. Our great country needs it badly."

ON her way back from Siberia, when she was acclaimed by the soldiers, she urged them to fight bravely. At the great gathering held to welcome her on her arrival in Petrograd, she preached the importance of harmony. She said:

"If we seek to overcome such a bitter foe of Russia as Wilhelm, can we not overcome our little differences? . . . If we do not overcome the foe, it will bring our country to grief; he, our bloody foe, will come and will dictate to us his laws. I am sure no one wants that. We do not desire any annexations, we have no wish to ruin others, but to allow yourselves to be trampled upon, to lose your self-respect, that would be unworthy of great Russia!"

On June 13, 1917, she wrote:

"Young people without education and knowledge imagine that the war must be abandoned, since the people were not asked to begin it. Some ignorant and some bad individuals have inspired and enforced these ideas among the recruits. . . . We must teach the people the causes of the present war, and set before

them the consequences that must follow if the Russians do not behave properly toward their Allies.

"Thanks to Providence, our peasants, fathers and husbands are reasonable enough to wait, and to maintain order in their villages. But the young workers and young soldiers are too inexperienced and ignorant to be mindful and patient. They imagine that all the old wrongs can be undone in some days, and therefore they demand new conditions of life and welfare that cannot be created in a few months, and with a war on our shoulders."

AS I understand it, this was, in a nutshell, the issue between the Bolsheviks, or "Maximalists," who wanted to put the whole of the most extreme Socialist program into operation immediately, and the Socialist Revolutionary party, most of whom held with Madame Breshkovsky that this could not be done in war time without plunging Russia into civil strife, and thus opening the country to the invader.

Mme. Breshkovsky was a strong supporter of Kerensky. She believes Lenin to be a German emissary. In an article written in August and published in *The Outlook* of November 21, 1917, she wrote that Russia was overrun with German agents, and added:

"The people are so little cultured that they do not understand enough what disaster it would be for us to have the Germans as a strong and militarist neighbor; what disaster it would be to lose the friendship of all civilized nations. They are so ignorant that they do not know the position of Russia among other countries and international interests. That is our mischief.

"What is wonderful is that our peasants understand better than the workmen, and much better than the young soldiers, the seriousness of the position and the necessity to continue the war."

Mr. Sachs, of the Russian Information Bureau in New York, who is not a Socialist, but a Liberal of Prof. Miliukof's type, said in a public address recently that in Russia every workingman is a Socialist, and also every peasant, and that the peasants make up 140,000,000 of Russia's 170,000,000 population.

IT was therefore a foregone conclusion that the new régime would be a Socialist régime. The only question was whether the more practical or the less practical Socialists would have the upper hand. Mme. Breshkovsky travelled indefatigably over Russia, urging the election to the National Constituent Assembly of candidates belonging to the Socialist Revolutionary party. This party, which she had taken a leading part in organizing eighteen years ago, is especially strong among the peasants. The Constituent Assembly was elected by universal suffrage, and it contained a large majority of Socialist Revolutionists. Finding themselves outnumbered, the Bolsheviks forcibly dispersed the Assembly, and seized the government by a *coup de main*.

In December, a press cablegram reported that a former secretary of Mme. Breshkovsky's accused her of using in opposition to the Bolsheviks \$50,000 given her for educational pur-

poses by the American Red Cross, through Raymond Robins. Another press dispatch soon after reported Mme. Breshkovsky as replying that she had used the money for educational purposes only; that the Americans had always been the best friends of the Russian revolution; that she had been glad to accept their help, and should be glad to continue to receive it. Not long after, another cablegram reported that the Bolsheviks had put her in prison. This is disputed; and so many wild reports come from Russia that it is hard to know what to believe.

Two Russian Congresses have lately been held in New York, one by sympathizers with the Bolsheviks, the other by sympathizers with the Socialist Revolutionary party and the other revolutionary factions. The latter Congress passed a resolution protesting against the imprisonment of Mme. Breshkovsky and other old revolutionists, and demanding their release.

MISS LILLIAN D. WALD informs me that friends of Mme. Breshkovsky say she is in hiding, but has not been arrested. On the other hand, Count Tolstoy tells Mrs. Joseph Fels that both Mme. Breshkovsky and Peter Kropotkin have been imprisoned. We shall have to await more definite news.

Some opponents of the Federal Amendment are laying Russia's misfortunes, not to anti-suffrage Germany, but to the existence of equal suffrage in Russia. Speaking for myself alone, I should say a distinct point in favor of woman suffrage is scored by the fact that Russia's most famous woman revolutionist has shown better sense than a good many of the men.

A. S. B.

Picketing Lawful

PICKETING of the White House, as practiced by the National Woman's Party last summer, is not in itself unlawful, according to a decision handed down by Justice Van Orsdel of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, March 4. The verdict of not guilty of any offense has been rendered in the case of the pickets convicted in the police court on August 24 of unlawfully picketing the White House.

The eight pickets will press their suits for damages, amounting to \$400,000, which were instituted against District Commissioners, the superintendent of the District jail, and W. H. Whittaker, superintendent of the workhouse at Occoquan at the time the pickets served their sentence.

Women as Engineers

ENGINEERING has so far been the profession in which women have made least headway. But since the war they have gone ahead abroad, replacing men in this as well as the humbler pursuits; even in Italy, where two women recently won degrees as civil engineers in the Technical Institute at Rome.

The equal suffrage state of Kansas is preparing for a war shortage of engineers in the United States, and has enrolled no less than 150 women in the electrical engineering courses offered by the State Agricultural College.

A Cincinnati "Research Magnificent"

AN OUTSTANDING feature of the social unit plan now being worked out in Cincinnati, Ohio, by Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur Phillips, is its utilization of the socializing instincts of women. As an ideal of human interrelations this unit plan might have jumped out of the brain of Plato or of Robert Owen. But its adaptations of previous dreams of social perfection to present century efficiency is what catches the socially conscious person of to-day who has become restive about theories which do not function.

There are two counts on which the enlightened suffragist is going to take new heart of grace from the Phillips's social unit: its utilization of woman force and its enlightened democratization of Government. For no one knows better than the working suffragist that the democracy she demands must be a very enlightened and a highly trained democracy if it is worth the race she has run for it. It is this sort of democracy which the newly enfranchised women of New York state are holding their solidarity to gain.

FOR the construction of such a democracy Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt has made some clear cut definitions about what the ballot means to women.

"We want to purify politics," Mrs. Catt has said, "not by inaugurating a cut-and-dried legislative program or by sending suffrage leaders to high political positions, but by instilling in the average voter, especially in the average woman, the highest possible sense of political responsibility. We shall not aim to influence a single woman's vote. But we shall aim to make the vote of every woman the clearest and most conscientious expression of her own convictions that it can possibly be."

"We want every woman to look upon the ballot as a holy thing, a right, a duty and a responsibility. We want her to understand how harmful it is to her and to society when such a sacred privilege is bartered away or prostituted to any ignoble end."

This is possibly another way of coming to the conclusion reached by Mr. H. G. Wells in Benham's "Research Magnificent," the story of the man who followed the adventures of an idea. He had "an incurable persuasion that he had to live life nobly and thoroughly" and for want of a better name, he called this living "the aristocratic life." Nobility meant to him a certain splendor of individual existence, until he came to see that "one cannot be noble, so to speak, *in vacuo*," and set himself to discover a Noble Society.

THERE are many Benhams, and perhaps the Phillipses are of that company. What Benham found, after barking his shins on many experiments, was that "there are kings and tyrannies and imperialisms, simply because of the unkingliness of men" and that the nobility he sought is a spirit, "an Invisible King, who will one day take the sceptre and rule the world." Then said Benham, "This is the real root of aristocracy," believing he had found his ideal at last.

But when Benham told this to a young American whose adventure in life was for a real



MRS. WILBUR PHILLIPS



MR. WILBUR PHILLIPS

root of democracy, the American answered: "I have never heard the underlying spirit of democracy, the real true Thing in democracy, so thoroughly expressed."

The best of human thinking worked into every-day Utopias builds ideals like Benham's. But the Phillips's Utopia is a working model of such a democracy in action as Mrs. Catt has outlined. Its two fundamental features are geographical and occupational representation. That is, popular representation both of human units and of human interests. Every plan for political representation hitherto has been based upon geography and

arithmetic only. So many people, collected at random with disassorted interests are represented in bi-cameral assemblies, by one man in each who may or may not have specific knowledge of the affairs of any one group. No political system has yet been devised by which physicians are elected to represent health interests, or teachers educational interests or mothers and housewives for the needs of the home. How lumbering has been the political machine without this specialized representation, Mr. Phillips explains:

"IF a democracy is to function efficiently it must know definitely what its needs are. It is as foolish to go ahead and formulate laws without knowing exactly what needs these laws aim to satisfy as it would be for an engineer to build a bridge without knowing the exact strain to which it is to be subjected. Yet this is exactly what we, as Americans, are doing every day of our lives, and it explains the mass of half-baked, ill-conceived legislation which is forced upon us. The Unit plan proposes, in addition to geographical or population representation, representation on a group basis. The theory behind this part of the plan is that each group in the community, whether of doctors, lawyers, ministers, plumbers, or masons, is a mind of the public in its own particular field. When a man is sick he turns to a doctor and not to a railroad conductor. So, when a community wishes to build a hospital, it turns to the medical profession."

Then Mrs. Phillips explains the plan, and to hear her is to get at the palpitating fact of social idealism. As she talks her face, with its delicate, seashell coloring, grows lustrous with hope for human betterment. The National Social Unit Organization is an entity. It is nation-wide. It came to birth in its corporate form in 1917 at the home of Mrs. Willard Straight in New York city. Its membership includes Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Gifford Pinchot, the Mayo brothers of Rochester, Minnesota; Dr. Franklin H. Martin, Herbert Croly, Professor Felix Frankfurter and others. It is without dues and the unit is proud of what it calls its "thinking membership." The national head of its Citizen's Council is Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany of New York city, who is also Manhattan Borough chairman of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party.

THE Social Unit idea is now in action in the Mohawk-Brighton district of Cincinnati, Ohio, a section where 15,000 people live. The plan is in no sense a philanthropy; it is a scheme of city government and of social progress. Cincinnati, out of sixteen competing cities, was chosen for demonstration for several reasons. It has already well-developed habits of socialization, the University of Cincinnati being supported out of municipal funds, with its hospital system worked out municipally—the best example of such a hospital plan in the country, according to a Johns Hopkins survey. Fifty years ago Cincinnati started a municipally owned and run steam railway which is bringing in \$50,000 a year. The city also has a federated budget system in which twenty agencies co-operate.

(Continued on page 315)

Correspondence

Get This? Socks!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

ALLOW me to take issue with Amie Bigony Stewart on the knitting question. If men do not knit it is not because they cannot, but because they will not. I began to learn two months ago, and now I can knit faster than my wife can, and have knit more socks (Get that? Socks!) in that time than she has, because I have more leisure. I work eight hours and quit, but she works as long as there is work to do, and then knits.

It is an age-long custom for men to think that they are privileged to be idle except when they are earning money, and it is the principal evidence of the subjection of women that they are expected to occupy their leisure with a useful occupation. Men who love their country and who believe in sex equality should be ashamed to be idle when this leisure occupation is of the greatest practical use to the nation.

Hand-knit socks are much better for cold weather and rough work than the machine-knit kind, and all the socks that can be knit by hand this year will not be too many for next winter. Incidentally, the same avocation followed by both sexes will promote sociability, in the largest groups and the smallest, particularly the smallest. Stir the men up.

Jersey City, N. J. ARCHIBALD CRAIG.

Wash Tub and Pedestal

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IAM a Virginian and have always been proud of the fact, but I must say I feel ashamed when only one of our Congressmen voted favorably on the Suffrage Amendment. This vaunted Southern chivalry is a back number, so far as women are concerned, and it is time the Southern men were realizing that fact. In the first place they are so inconsistent in their attitude towards women as to be utterly ridiculous in the estimation of reasonable people. They think it is all right and entirely within a "woman's sphere" to stand over a wash tub or cook stove all day and do any other menial task that ministers to men's comfort or pleasure; but when it comes to her having a voice in the making of the laws to which she is subject they tenderly place her on this figurative pedestal and say she is too pure and refined to cast a vote.

The days of such maudlin sentiment are past and gone, thank God, and it no longer has a feather's weight with intelligent women.

Gala, Va. ELLA P. LESTER.

Vice Crusade

YOU see it mentioned in the papers often that the soldier in the military camps should be protected from the dissolute and diseased girls or women who infest these districts, but never a word do we see about any protection of these hapless women who are outraged, brutalized and despoiled by our "worse than barbarous civilization."

Will intelligence never learn that vice is an effect of economic causes that can never be

eradicated by prosecution, persecution or limitation? These broken hearted, calloused, neglected, delicate-fibered, abused and diseased women need our mercy, helpful consideration and protection as much as any man can, and until we know the causes of their misfortunes and remove them we are wasting our time in considering them at all.

True it may be ameliorated for a time by restrictions, but until causes are considered and removed it will break out again as bad as ever. If you, reader, were deficient in any thing would you prefer scientific treatment and kind consideration to persecution? It would be more reasonable and humane.

A pamphlet written by Mrs. Kate Richard O'Hare, 703 Pontiac Building, St. Louis, Mo., price twenty-five cents, I think, on *The White Slave Traffic*, is a splendid treatise dealing with the causes of this trouble that should be abolished. If you desire to be just, better get this pamphlet and read it before casting another stone at our unfortunate Magdalenes "bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh."

It is enough to make any one heart sick to see the broken and bruised in spirit and flesh, those who need kind, scientific consideration, mistreated, persecuted, prosecuted and driven "from pillar to post."

Greed and want of information crucified Christ and the Satanic causes still use the same methods.

Columbus, Texas.

J. B. GAY.

Tradition's Hoodoo

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

AM of the opinion that tradition of all kinds has hoodooed women.

Surely a world war need not hamper our wits from accepting the fact that we have 334 million acres just in the U. S. more than the population of the whole world. If the race is short on anything it would seem to be common sense—and if we need wheat, let the race plant wheat. Women will not be out of their element when they convince men that the out-of-door life for both is more acceptable to their "vision" than war.

A. B. FORD.

Indianapolis, Ind.

Erasmus Wasn't

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

On page 299 of the *Woman Citizen* (of March 9, 1918) you speak of Erasmus as "the first woman suffragist." You seem to have overlooked so minor a figure in the history of thought as Plato! Now that you have succeeded in getting the vote in New York state, you might well take time to glance into *The Republic*—the greatest work ever written on politics.

STERLING P. LAMPRECHT.

Union Theological Seminary, New York.

Sumner Couldn't

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I note under "Wheeling Into Line" in your Jan. 26th number, that you quote from London, O., *Enterprise*: "Charles Sumner, who strongly

objected to the introduction of the word male into the XIV amendment, declared: 'Undoubtedly women have a constitutional right to vote' and he urged the women to bring suit against the introduction of the word male into the Constitution." Now, Charles Sumner wrote the XIV amendment, and in writing to Susan B. Anthony in regard to it, he told her he had used nineteen pages of foolscap in trying to compose that amendment and leave out the word male, but had not succeeded. Miss Anthony states this in *Life of Susan B. Anthony*. You might mention this in your next issue.

LAURA HURD BAILY.

Dunlap, Iowa.

Woman's Plattsburg

"THE College Women's Plattsburg" is the name given by press and public to the Training Camp for Nurses which Vassar college will establish this summer. The camp will be open from June 24th to September 13th and will be under the auspices of the National Council of Defense and the Red Cross. The course is open to college graduates only and is designed to fit the young women to enter directly upon advanced hospital work looking to their R. N. degree. This relieves the hospitals of the burden of preparatory instruction and permits the students to cover much ground in the three months of the summer which might otherwise be lost to the service. Vassar College has arranged with a number of hospitals to admit the pupils at the close of the summer course and all the pupils will pledge themselves to go into hospital service upon the completion of the course. The fees for the summer course, covering all expenses, will be \$95.

"Vassar Camp is the first scientific attempt to fit educated women as quickly as possible to officer the nursing profession," says the *Barnard Bulletin*. "The Plattsburg system has officered our army in time to meet the emergency without lowering the standards. The Vassar idea is the equivalent in the nursing profession."

The faculty for the Vassar course includes the leading medical and nursing authorities in the country and presents a list of names such as no one training school or hospital can put forward. The Dean of the camp is Herbert E. Mills, professor of economics at Vassar.

The trustees of Vassar have not only turned over the use of the buildings, the infirmary, the laboratories and general equipment, but have made ample provision for the physical comfort and recreation of the students. The college farm will supply fresh fruits and vegetables, the athletic fields and tennis courts will be open to camp workers under the supervision of an experienced director and entertainments will be given in the college theater.

More than 300 women of New York and an equal number from other parts of the country have already applied for admission to the nurses' training camp, according to President MacCracken of Vassar, who was quoted recently as saying that 35,000 trained nurses will be drawn from the 90,000 in the United States by the first of January and that to fill this big gap in the ranks the college women must prepare themselves for the administrative and executive positions made vacant in the nursing profession by the present abnormal demands.

ANNUAL WEEK OF SPRING SALES

In Every Department

Regardless of the fact that prices are steadily advancing on all merchandise, we are adhering to our established custom, and for this annual event are offering, in every department, high-grade merchandise at prices

DECIDEDLY LOWER THAN USUAL

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5th Avenue

34th Street

A "Research Magnificent"

(Continued from page 313)

INCIDENTALLY it shows how this idea of getting down to basic human needs as a factor in governmental representation gets hold of women, when one adds that Miss Hicks, a branch librarian in the Mohawk-Brighton district, took the lead in asking for the Social Unit experiment in her section of the city.

The 15,000 people now working out the unit plan live in thirty-one contiguous blocks. They are mainly working folk and represent easily a cross section of city life. They are Americans, but with a mixture of American-born Germans, Rumanians, Italians, and Bohemians. The experiment will extend over a period of three years, at an expenditure of \$45,000 a year.

Its democratic features consist of a dual representative government for the district. Each block averaging 500 people, elects a block worker who represents her territory. It is *her* territory in this particular instance, as all of the block representatives happen to be women. The initial social work undertaken by the Cincinnati district is the care of babies, and women representatives were the natural choice of the sections represented. In each instance the worker is a resident of the block and it is her business to make herself personally acquainted with the conditions of every family.

IN ORDER to make this acquaintance with the neighborhood complete and natural instead of forced and superficial, no active social work was undertaken by the Unit for six months. In December, 1917, baby-work and

pre-natal care began. A complete birth registration has been achieved—a rarer task than the uninitiated may think, and it was found that 25 per cent of the babies of the district were being brought to the clinics for investigation, with 70 per cent under nursing supervision. This is good, but the Phillipses have a 100 per cent conscience and their object is to have all the babies in their 31 blocks under supervision.

In order that block workers shall not scamp their work because of their own necessitous home conditions they are paid 50 cents an hour for visiting. The visitor is thus able to devote her time to her work. Living under identical conditions with her constituents she knows what real grievances need to be redressed.

This much for the Block Council, the House of Representatives—of women only.

THE other house of the governing body is made up of both men and women and represents the occupational interests of the district. Out of 38 doctors a Council of Nine is chosen which is democratically represented by one Commissioner, on the Committee of Executives, who is paid on a professional basis for the time he gives to the work. The nurses, the teachers, the social workers, the business men and trades unions are all equally represented. They have their councils from which they send one member to the Central Committee. The block workers have elected Miss Hicks as their member; the schools have sent a school principal. By this system each individual is represented twice. He is represented as a dweller in a certain locality and he is represented as a worker.

But one hears the person who always wants a mathematical demonstration saying, "If this is not a philanthropy, of what use is it? Why take time to demonstrate a democratic theorem?"

IT is a laboratory method of analyzing a community social mind in which each group shares. It confines the experiment to an area and a population so small that individuals can find expression in it. It is the first real effort to work out such a complete democracy. It can confine losses and mistakes to a small scale.

"At the end," says Mr. Phillips, "you have a practicable working scheme for democracy applicable to a much larger basis. By establishing a close, sympathetic contact with each man, woman and child in these small areas, it is expected that their representatives will know to what extent each essential need is not being satisfied, exactly how many men are unemployed, how many houses are in poor sanitary condition, how many school children are underfed, how many babies die.

"The social unit plan may be likened to the human body. When one's stomach lacks food, this fact is immediately conveyed to the brain by a set of nerves and the whole body gets busy satisfying hunger. Our body politic has no nervous system and it will never be self-conscious without one.

"The crux of our experiment lies, of course, in the attempt to bind the groups and the people together in such a way that the people can tell their groups of workers what they need and the groups can help the people to get it."

A Red Letter Day

(Continued from page 311)

of Elections for the dignified and cordial way in which they met the new voters. I am sure that everywhere the women who voted feel that they have been welcomed into politics most courteously by their voting brothers.

Approximately two women voted to every three men, although four men were registered for every one woman.

TO put it more accurately, almost no men registered for this election. They did not need to, their registration from the last general election carrying over for this special election. Therefore, out of 131,000 women estimated by the New York press as eligible to vote in these special elections, 31,958 not only went to the polls and voted on March 5, but took the double trouble to register on February 22 and 23. Out of 136,866 men, most of whom did not need to make a special effort to register this spring, only 45,134 or 33.7 per cent bothered themselves over the question of who should represent them in Congress at this time of national stress.

As an additional handicap, some women had registered in good faith who were unaware of the fact that, if they were married to unnaturalized men they could not vote, even if their forefathers had settled the island of Manhattan and their ancestors had lived there ever since.

MANY of the women had been well-drilled in their suffrage educational schools, and took to voting as a duck takes to water. The very few newspapers still going about with a microscope to "get something on" the suffragists had to give it up. "As a rule women went about their politics in a workmanlike, almost professional manner," said the surprised *Times*. "It was an event out of the ordinary if a woman made a mistake in folding her ballot."

The staggering problem of who's to take care of the baby while mother goes to vote, was solved with the same brisk efficiency it is solved every day when mother goes to market and carries home her own purchases—at the Government's request. "Many of the polling places could be located at a distance by the squadron of baby buggies drawn up on the sidewalk. Often parties came to the polls, and pooled their children under the care of one of their number while the others went to vote." Something brand new in the collective political consciousness was worked out in Montague Street, Brooklyn, where children are numerous. A group of women spent the entire day doing nothing but watch the babies of women who voted.

A story is told of the chairman of the Borough of Manhattan, Mrs. Tiffany, who "kept store" on Lexington Avenue, while the proprietress cast her ballot. It was a candy store and its owner, Mrs. Hoffman, was sitting behind the counter with an anxious face when the Borough Chairman chanced in on her rounds of the city. Mrs. Hoffman said her husband was on jury duty and she was tied to her counter. The clock hands were at five minutes to five and no relief was in sight. At four minutes to five Mrs. Tiffany was the official guardian of "all-day-suckers" and Mrs.

Hoffman was disappearing inside the polling booth. In her interval as candy saleslady Mrs. Tiffany is reported as selling:

"One lolly pop,
"Six jelly beans,
"One stick of taffy."

Every district was proud of its elderly women voters. Women of sixty-eight, seventy, eighty, went out to cast their first ballots. But all glory paled before that of 102-year-old Mrs. Sally Gold, who finished her own housework before she went to the polls. Her only regret was she could not cast a vote for President Wilson, whom she greatly admires and to whom she recently wrote a letter of commendation for his humane policies in the world war. Mrs. Gold was born in Austria. Russian soldiers overran the section in which she lived at the time Gen. Louis Kossuth fought for the independence of Hungary.

There were numerous applicants for position of first voter as well as oldest voter. Mrs. Jerome Donovan, wife of the successful candidate in the Washington Heights District, seems to have qualified as first voter in her own district, but the camera men united in giving first place to Mrs. C. W. Rogers.

A THING that could never have been staged ahead of time was the completeness of the women's vindication. It was not at all spectacular; it was quiet, complete, orderly, like the march past of well-drilled regulars. After the day was over, there was not a single enemy position which had not been taken, in the course of the day.

The idea that women will not vote when they can was swept down and out.

There was a woman candidate, Mrs. Mamie Colvin, Prohibitionist, around whom they might have rallied in sex solidarity. They did nothing of the sort.

"The idea that women would vote as women, and not as Republicans, Democrats and Socialists receives no encouragement from this election," the *Times* acknowledged next day. This result is highly complimentary to the intelligence and good citizenship of the women voters."

Even the supremacy of the Democrats is no indication of a party sweep. There is evidence that the loyalty issue for a united war-Congress was a potent factor in deciding many votes. As one woman voter, ordinarily Republican, put it, "I know that Mr. Bolles (Republican) will support the President, when the roll call is taken on a bill, but Mr. Donovan (Democrat) will support him as soon as the bill is introduced."

Thus the final test of the woman voter—the test of her loyalty to war measures, was also passed on March 5, and New York women have made a pluperfect record.

THERE were equally good results in the Vermont municipal elections. In many cities the percentage of enrolled women voters was remarkably high. In Burlington between 80 per cent and 90 per cent of the enrolled women went to the polls.

Vermont has 246 towns and cities and in 235 communities a vote against the licensed sale of liquors was reported. Dry victories in St. Albans and Burlington were accorded to the women's vote. The big poll in Vermont as in New York was due to the educational efforts of suffrage associations.



OUT OF DATE

Contributions Received February 1st to 28th Inclusive

Reported by EMMA W. ROGERS,
Treasurer, N. A. W. S. A.

ANNUAL PLEDGES—1918

Carrie C. Catt.....	\$500.00
Woman Suffrage Society County of Philadelphia	81.25
Mary and Nannie Lee.....	100.00
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Mrs. Nathan P. Avery.....	35.00
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Mrs. Howard Richardson.....	25.00
Mrs. Earl Wilson.....	10.00
	\$3,714.25

GENERAL DONATIONS

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Carrie C. Catt.....	173.94
Miss Mary K. Gibson.....	200.00
Catharine Waugh McCulloch.....	25.00
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DUES

Iowa Equal Suffrage Association.....	\$150.00
North Dakota Votes for Women League.....	37.50
New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association.....	100.00
Equal Suffrage League of Virginia.....	250.00
Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association.....	150.00
	687.50

Total..... \$5,080.69

The Book Stall

Young France and New America

FRESHNESS and youth and an almost pathetic friendship mark the pages of Pierre de Lanux's *Young France and New America*. M. de Lanux is spokesman for L'Union Sacree, that new Franco-American brotherhood which is now the dream of young and ardent souls of both nations. This dream is now visualized in the magazine, *New France*, published for the first time in August, 1917, by Denys Amiel, Swinburne Hale and Deems Taylor. These young young souls have found out that the two nations have common ideals of liberty. French youths in the trenches have been reading Walt Whitman. The most modern of French and of Belgian poets derive from Whitman. All of the likenesses between the two republics have become arresting. By means of a sacred union of purpose youths of France and America believe that together they can build up a new civilization.

Youth is fighting the world's great battle, and youth is going to create a better world. It is pre-eminently the day of the Young. But it is not the day of young manhood only; it is manhood plus womanhood which will achieve salvation. M. de Lanux checks his flight into the vision of the twin future which is to be born of the union of great national ideals long enough to tell a breathless story of the contribution of women to the needs of France. Quoting from *Le Travail Invincible* of Pierre Hamp—one of the foremost writers on labor of Young France—this author shows the enormous debt the war owes to the skill of its women. "Woman has not suddenly become courageous with the war," says Hamp. "She merely continues to be so. It was formerly thought that woman's care could not be trusted when very exact measurements had to be made, but the eyes of an embroiderer are sharper than those of a man, and machines for making light artillery presented very few difficulties to her. In a shop where 844 women are employed, only three defective adjustments out of 80,000 fuses were noted by the inspectors and, after examination, only one fuse was discarded. This war has revealed the great adaptability of women to manual labor. She succeeds in all trades, both in the hardest and in the most delicate. Out of 4,473 women workers brought together in a shell factory in Lyons, . . . only five per cent. had had any previous experience with some minor form of metal work. In a few months, thanks to cleverly devised machinery, they have developed a strong and efficient working body. They have replaced 44.9 per cent. of the men in a total of 9,985 employees." *Young France and New America*. Pierre de Lanux. Macmillan & Co., New York. \$1.25.

New Basis for Social Progress

THE unit idea is the next educational as well as social and political move. It is set forth rather ponderously by William C. White and Louis J. Heath in *A New Basis for Social Progress* (Houghton Mifflin and Co., New York, \$1.25).

Just why these authors should have involved the scheme in intricacies of speech is not clear,

since, stripped of professional verbiage, it is the most simple and logical plan imaginable.

Women especially do not need to be reminded of the grinning farce of splendidly isolated institutions of learning to which they are not admitted, nor to the contrast of inadequately equipped and overcrowded centers where they are free to go.

By a process called, obscurely, "an analysis of ultimates," the authors of the present volume would find the ultimate educational aims of a given community and adapt to these ultimates the educational equipment of the community. They would correlate all agencies within certain geographical limits using the university as a center. This they maintain should be done upon a municipal rather than a federal foundation, every city having a certain cohesive ideal which differentiates it from every other city. Making the municipality self-conscious of its own needs and ultimates would be, in fact, an objective in itself as well as a factor for gaining results.

Departmentalization of courses of study instead of the present grading, a greater attention to vocational training and an elastic system by which individuality may be developed are among the expected results of this new basis for social progress.

French-English Manual

IN many particulars, Mme. E. E. Pattou's *French-English Manual* (Dodd, Mead & Co., Illustrated, \$1.50) is the best of its kind. There is not a waste paragraph in the book. It is made for the convenience of physicians, nurses, ambulance drivers, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., and civilian workers, and it adheres to its program.

Having been prepared at the special request of a unit on the point of sailing for France, it concentrates on the needs of such groups. Its pronunciation helps are simple and easily understood. Its preliminary definitions are lucid. The manual gets down to work on its first page and gives at once words and phrases needed by doctors and nurses on their arrival in France. It gives the French words for calling an ambulance for first aid, for writing out a registration card. Then it takes up operating room conversations, a visit from a head-surgeon, the names of surgical dressings, useful phrases for the wards, the dietitians, the convalescents. It even gives technical terms for taking temperatures. The same method is applied to the needs of workers in civilian relief. Model blanks for registration to be filled in by the succored are given in French and English.

Madame Pattou, who is the author of "*Causeries en France*," is well fitted for the preparation of these practical manuals. She is an American to whom France is as familiar as the United States. Her own vital interest in the French front has sharpened her textbook conversations so that they become little word pictures of actual conditions in hospital and ambulance. One is surprised that so much live literary expression can be conveyed through so meager a medium as that of dry technical phrases.

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and "The Heart of Blackstone"

The Best Investment

(Continued from page 309)

nothing in this country would be of value to the possessor. No stock or bond of any company would be worth anything. Not only are the bonds of the government the best investment for a woman, but they are the insurance for the protection of the nation and in that the burden borne by women can measure up in part to the standard of the soldier who is willing to give his all for his country.

Where Is Your State?

LAST week we made a promise. On another part of this page you will find its fulfillment.

To be quite frank we don't at all enjoy this process of weighing and measuring. Nor do we feel that figures at this early stage adequately represent the work that is being done. It takes time to appoint fifty to one hundred local chairmen, and still more time to get them all supplied with material and arguments and information and enthusiasm, which is the most essential of all supplies.

So when you look for your state and find her way down at the end of the list, don't conclude that she is permanently handicapped in the race for the premium. She may be laying a groundwork of organization that will bring in a tremendous crop of subscribers before the end of the year.

Think of the men of genius who took a long time to get started! Their boyhoods were far from brilliant. We're not very strong on this sort of thing but we think that Mark Twain was one of them, and Oliver Goldsmith and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Perhaps, after all, Mississippi or Nebraska or Ohio will be giants of accomplishment by January, 1919. Perhaps Minnesota is just an infant prodigy blooming early in the game—though we refuse to believe anything so gloomy. We expect great things of Minnesota.

We can remember singing, back in our well-intentioned infancy, a jocular ditty that dealt with "little drops of water," likewise with "little grains of sand," which, given the patience of Job and the longevity of a California Sequoia, one might live to see combined into pleasant lands and oceans of might. But try as we may we cannot recollect that any mention was made of forest-fires, tornadoes, avalanches or landslides. Yet these all have their beginnings, we are told, in infinitesimal things—little dried twigs, little pockets of air, little rolling stones.

There is an element of speed in a tornado and an irresistableness about a landslide that have a fascination for every good American. That's why we're not at all contented to have our circulation amble along by the sand-grain and water-drop route. We want a regular whizzbang landslide and we choose to consider that this first report represents the small beginnings of a great calamity.

A calamity of light let in upon darkness, of prejudice uprooted, of conservatism forever dislodged!

ALABAMA—The Birmingham Equal Suffrage Association has subscribed for one dozen copies of the magazine. These will be placed each week, in person, by Miss London, in Railroad and Department Store Waiting Rooms, Club Rooms and other public places.



In examining the following list of states it must be remembered that both Georgia and South Dakota have sent in a large number of gift subscriptions to state assemblymen and local editors, which has helped to swell their quota for the past weeks. Next month, or possibly before then, we shall republish this list with additions and corrections. Who will share first place with Georgia? Will Maryland and Michigan part company, or Alabama and Indiana?

State Circulation Chairmen

Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
 Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
 Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
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 South Carolina: Mrs. J. T. Gittman of Columbia
 Alabama: Miss Mary P. London of Birmingham
 Indiana: Mrs. Jessie Croan of Anderson



Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

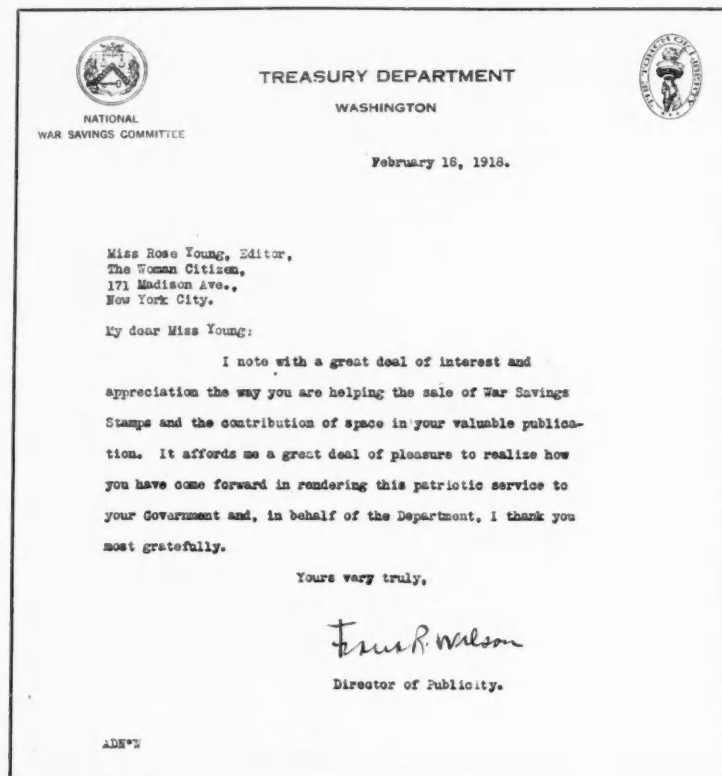
To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Co-operating Subscribers who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

KATHARINE GAY,
National Circulation Chairman.

THE WILLIAMS PRINTING COMPANY, NEW YORK



Relative Positions of State Leagues, March 1, in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Minnesota
4. Iowa
5. Wisconsin
6. New York
7. Virginia
8. Louisiana
9. Maryland and Michigan
10. New Jersey and New Hampshire
11. Pennsylvania
12. Alabama and Indiana
13. Massachusetts
14. Texas and Maine
15. Mississippi, Nebraska and Ohio

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Special Organdie Guimpe (as illustrated)—Tucked front, Crochet buttons, high-neck, Dutch collar, Black ribbon bow, \$3.50 each.

Fine Organdie Guimpe—Tucked front, with Lace-trimmed, Hand-Embroidered Tuxedo collar, \$5.95 each.

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"THE WOMEN DID IT"

—*The Telegram*

"Those who expected some flunk on the part of the women who yesterday voted have 'another guess coming' to them."

—*The Herald*

"The way the women turned out to vote proves they really wanted the ballot, and the way they voted is a reassurance that they know how to use it."

—*The Evening Sun*

WOMEN VOTERS IN GREATER NEW YORK

brought forth the above comments, and many more similar to them, from the press on the results of the Congressional election on the fifth of March.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

The Only Woman's National Political Weekly

publishes authoritative national suffrage news, helps on citizenship, the latest news about the Woman's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., reports from the Woman's Land Army of America, stories of women in industry, and discusses important political situations. Is there an intelligent woman who is not interested in every one of these subjects? For one dollar we will send 52 numbers of the Woman Citizen to any address in the United States. This year will be one of political importance to women. Let the Woman Citizen be your mentor.

Our Slogan for 1918

One Hundred Thousand New Subscribers

FOR FRANCE

Grand Military *and* Naval Meet

Madison Square Garden

New York

March 15 - 16 - 17

For the Benefit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A.



LL the doctors and all the surgeons in France have gone to the front. The women and the children are without medical and surgical attention. The first unit of a chain of hospitals to help them has been sent to France by patriotic American women. This unit and others like it must be maintained. The MEET is held to raise money for it. The U. S. Army and Navy are co-operating.

The Honorary Patrons are:

M. Gaston Liebert, Consul General of France; Sir Frederick W. Black, K. C. B., Vice-Chairman of the British War Mission; Brig-General Evan M. Johnson, U. S. Army, and Rear Admiral Nathaniel R. Usher, U. S. Navy.

Members of the Acting Committee are:

Miss Charlotte Delafield, Mrs. Elbert H. Gary, Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson, Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim; Mrs. William H. Hays, Mrs. Warner Leeds, Miss Luisita Leland, Mrs. V. Everit Macy, Mrs. Victor Morawetz, Mrs. Ogden Reid, Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip.

Mrs. E. R. Strange is the Chairman of Arrangements. Mrs. Howard W. Beal is the Vice-Chairman.

Preliminary Plans Cover

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Special Programs will be
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All Proceeds Go to Hospital

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Remember the Dates

SOCIOLOGY DEPT. 10 cents a copy
March 23, 1918
MAR 30

THE **W**oman **C**itizen

THE WOMAN'S

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**SUFFRAGISTS AND
SENATORS**

**SIXTEEN CHINESE AND
VOTES FOR WOMEN**

**BEHIND CANTEEN
COUNTERS IN FRANCE**

NOTICE TO READER: When you finish reading this magazine place a one-cent stamp on this notice, hand same to any mail employee and it will be placed in the hands of our solicitors and editors at the front. No stamping, no address. E. BURLERON, Postmaster General.



13

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue, New York

March 23, 1918
Vol. II (New style) No. 17

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870
By LUCY STONE and HENRY B.
BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910
By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
OF NEW YORK CITY
and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE
65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 7
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confering upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays

34. March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays

204. January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays

136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

March 23, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Suffragists and Senators

IN every state in the nation there is to-day a great body of people, men as well as women, for whom there has come to be a situation in the United States Senate that epitomizes one of the supreme tests of American democracy.

Within the Senate, on the knees of the gods, rests the question of woman suffrage, the question of whether or not the United States of America is to be a government of, for and by all the people or of, by and for half the people.

To those who watch and work and wait out over the country it grows daily more incomprehensible that there should be a moment's delay in answering such a question, daily more reprehensible that any gods should dare dandle it on their knees in the face of the country's impatience to have it settled and settled affirmatively.

Day by day senator after senator reads into the Congressional record the evidence of that impatience—resolutions from this organization and from that, urging the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Day by day the press of the nation keeps pounding for the passage of that amendment. Week by week petitions for the passage of the Federal Suffrage amendment from this, that and the other state reach the senators from those states.

More than ever before there is cause for national humiliation that there should be within the United States Senate any stumbling blocks in the way of getting this measure before the state Legislatures.

There is not a senator at Washington who does not know that woman suffrage is inevitable, that resistance is futile, that delay is but wretched subterfuge.

There is not one who does not know that the country, the world, has come to woman suffrage, that if this country is to stay in the vanguard of democracy the United States Senate must do its part in pushing on in the wake of Great Britain and our other allies to secure the enfranchisement of women.

How can anyone hold back in this day and hour?

That is what the country is turning over in its mind.

The old questions are all answered.

The old superstition that women are not people is dispelled.

The old reservations and limitations of democracy have gone down before the world's insistence on the right of the governed to take part in the government.

The Lower House of Congress of the United States has vindicated the faith of the country in the reality of its democracy.

Can the United States Senate do less?

Professing the Constitution

ONE of the amiable conceits that from time to time lay hold on the minds of people who think in circles is one that may be called "professing the Constitution of the United States of America."

But if you are coming back to the Constitution as the be-all and end-all of argument you must be consistent. You must not say "I am not for that because it is unconstitutional" of one proposition, and of another that is lifted bodily out of the Constitution, "I am not for that, because even if it is in the Constitution, it has no business to be there."

You must not,—to get down to cases—call the effort to secure suffrage by Federal action "another attack on the Federal Constitution" just because you don't believe in getting suffrage by federal action. The Constitution expressly provides for amending itself in exactly the manner in which the Federal Suffrage Amendment proposes to amend it. The Constitution expressly provides that when the Congress of the United States shall submit a measure to the state Legislatures and when 36 of those Legislatures shall have ratified that measure it shall become part of the Constitution itself.

If you are going to "profess" the Constitution, you must stand by its procedure for amending itself. You can't go against that procedure without going against the Constitution itself.

So when the editor of the Miami *Herald* objects, as he does in a recent issue, "to Florida endeavoring to secure a position by which, through its Legislature, it can force this action on any of the states that might object. It objects to any other state being placed in a position where it can dictate the internal policy of Florida on any matter to which the state has not given its assent," what he is really objecting to is the Constitution which he professes.

When Senator Tillman, admitting that the "women are going to get the vote in time," but attacks the unconstitutionality of the federal route for suffrage, it is the constitutionality of the Constitution that he is attacking.

If one is willing really to stand or fall with the Constitution one must be willing to have the Federal Suffrage Amendment submitted to the state Legislatures in accord with the Constitution.

Advertising Value of Chivalry

A LOUD-MOUTHED editorial from the Louisville *Courier-Journal* is copied in a recent number of the *National Herald*, a journal which has a meaning all its own. The quoted editorial is an attack upon suffragists and depends upon such witticisms as "he-woman and she-males" for its effect—a humor obsolete everywhere except in Germany and the "chivalrous" sections of the United States. Such rhetorical phrases as "we do not want red-nosed angels nor billygoat suffragettes" come on to the nostrils of the reader as from behind flapping barroom doors.

The writer takes a libidinous pleasure in sayings like these. He uses them as a contrast to what he calls "supreme womanhood," meaning by woman, of course, a baffled creature subject to his pleasure, who never offends by peering into his interests, political or amatory. He speaks of her in hushed tones as of the dying, and doubtless he knows, as every other American man must, that such womanhood, which shuts its eyes to civic wrongs, is now being carried to its last resting place, its only mourners those whose personal interests will suffer from her departure.

Anti-suffragists like the type of the writer of this editorial and of the stamp of the periodical that quotes it are among such mourners. That is why they speak with the vituperative hatred common to those deprived of a selfish prerogative. The psychology of this editorial attack on suffragists is simple. It follows the sex lines betrayed by the "free woman" and "billygoat suffragist" rhetoric, with a leering suggestiveness, a behind-your-hand innuendo. The kind of mind that thinks in such concepts attacks in just such concepts. By a transference of its own mental pictures it sees suffragists as free lovers, loose livers—any of the things in fact that are passing through its own channel. It is a symptom of the pathology of such obsessions to suspect other minds of being dominated by the same type of mental imagery. There is no doubt but that such acute frenzy of anti-suffrage bitterness is produced by a sex obsession or by a menaced selfish privilege, or by both run in double harness. If there were any doubt, to dispel it you have but to turn one page of the *National Herald* to find this scurrilous attack on womanhood backed by one liquor advertisement after another!

Letting the Vote Do the Work

WOMEN, and men as well, have found themselves much confused by press references to the "principle of proportional representation" and the principle of the "alternative vote" in the recent electoral reform struggle on the floors of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Great Britain defeated the principle of proportional representation, but compro-

mised on the alternative vote as an expedient for getting more work out of the vote. By means of this expedient a voter can indicate not only his first, but his second and his third choice, in the case of three or more candidates for one place. The purpose is to prevent any candidate, in a three-cornered contest, from being elected by a minority of all the votes cast.

The phrase "alternative vote" has been given this definition: "A vote given so as to indicate the voters' preference for candidates in order, and capable of being transferred to a subsequent choice in case no one candidate has a clear majority of the total number of votes given."

Proportional representation, which under the modern Hare system comprehends this same method of alternative voting, undertakes to apportion seats in a representative body, not by districts of people who happen to live together, but by groups of people who consciously think together. It throws the old arrangement of district confines to the winds and elects at large within certain expanded confines.

The American Proportional Representation League institutes the following comparison between the present election system by district majorities and the proposed new system:

"Consider one concrete case. We divide Indiana into thirteen districts for the election of Congressmen, because it seems reasonable and fair to let each of the state's thirteen Congressmen be elected by a thirteenth of the people of the state. And it is reasonable and fair. So far, good. But the thirteenth of the people that is marked off to select each member is the wrong kind of thirteenth. We have made it a thirteenth who live together. It ought to be a thirteenth who think together and will together."

Proportional representation under the Hare system insures representation to the thought of the community rather than to its geographical boundaries, eliminates the need of primaries and the chance for gerrymandering—which means, if you don't happen to know, making a rubber band out of the boundaries of a political district so that they can be stretched or contracted to take in or shut out sections that will vote right, or won't—insures the rule of the majority and lets the minority also get at least partly on the band-wagon through the exercise of its second and third choices. Also it gets a lot more work out of each vote by letting it go on record not only for its owner's first choice, but for his second and third, if his first is proved to have no chance.

Wadsworthian Arithmetic

ACCORDING to Wadsworthian arithmetic the total suffrage gain in 1917, over 1915, in the five boroughs of Greater New York, was 112,602; the total Socialist gain was 110,452. "So that the two are practically synonymous." And anybody who can't see from that synonymity that almost no Republicans, and almost no Democrats, and everyone of the Socialists voted for suffrage is simply no sort of an arithmeticker.

Having an astuteness of our own that compares happily with the anti's when it comes to arithmetic, we have discovered that by applying the Wadsworthian arithmetical process you can prove that there are virtually no Republican men, only Republican

women, in the 21st and the 7th Congressional Districts of New York, for the figures from the Congressional election of March 5th show that in the first of these districts 9,622 Republican votes were cast and 9,372 women voted; in the second of these districts 7,087 Republican votes were polled and 7,095 women voted.

Voila!

"Where Do We Go from Here"

THE HOUSE of Assembly in Cape Town, South Africa, has rejected a motion by a vote of 54 to 39 to incorporate a paragraph in the Electoral Reform bill giving the franchise to women. This was done a few weeks after the House of Lords in Great Britain ended a half-century's fight and gave women the parliamentary suffrage, and almost on the same day that Sir Robert Borden assured the women of Canada that complete enfranchisement should be theirs. Which way is the United States going? Is it to keep up with its ally over the northern border and its ally over the sea? Or is it headed down towards South Africa? The song of the women of the United States, just now, as of the soldiers, is "Where do we go from here?"

He Really Means It

EVEN in a world of war gloom, it is impossible to suppress the hilarity produced by those born entertainers, the anti-suffragists. Now it is Mr. Henry Wise Wood, none other, who has perpetrated a metaphor of such masterly mixture as to take its place by the side of the prize example used by text-book rheoricians: "All along the untrodden paths of the future, we see the footprints of an unknown hand."

Up to the present this melange has been thought to stand supreme. But Mr. Wood has beaten it. Mr. Wood says, with every appearance of meaning it:

"They have kindled a flame which will devour them, the wilful sisterhood who created this Frankenstein of woman suffrage, for they cannot sit upon the lid of Pandora's box of shame that they have made—no, when they stir the caldron the dregs arise and stifle liberty!"

On the Feminist Firing Line

THE Pennsylvania Railway lines since the war have taken on about 100 women who are serving as section hands and track walkers, according to an official of that road. Fifty-four crossings have been placed in charge of women.

AN "academy" for women is to be established in France on the lines of the French Academy, according to a Paris dispatch. It will be limited to ten members, the first list composed entirely of well-known women writers.

An institute of fine arts, composed of women artists, sculptors, decorators and modistes will be attached to the academy, the president of the institute being a dressmaker.

Regrettable

"IT is very regrettable that only 104 Democrats in the House could reconcile it with their duty to follow the President on this great and needed measure of justice and democracy, while 165 Republicans had no difficulty at all in casting their votes for it.

"We declare without hesitation that our own delegation does not represent Louisiana on this issue. The very first test will prove us right.

"Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that a graceful regard for the proprieties of the situation will silence further opposition to a great forward step toward the emancipation of our women on the part of a few misguided suffragists in the South who see federal action with eyes jaundiced by pride in a played-out personal theory."—New Orleans, La., *Item*.

It Is Time

THE apparent likelihood that the Federal suffrage amendment resolution will soon come to a vote in the Senate, is a good sign. It is time that this resolution, victorious in the House, should come to a test in the Senate, and the result of that test should be, and if the Senate reads the admonitions of the time aright, will be, an affirmative vote which will enroll the Senate with the House for the Federal elective franchise to women.

"To those in the Senate who have still permitted themselves to cling to a position adverse to suffrage, we say, that the only way to retrieve a blunder, is not to make it a second time. Senator Wadsworth puts himself in antagonism to a right, and altogether irresistible tidal wave of public opinion, by holding out against the Federal suffrage amendment. That amendment ought to be, and is bound to be, a part of the Constitution of the United States. The establishment of woman suffrage in the Constitution of the State of New York pointed the way for what the House did, and it now points the way for what the Senate should do."—*Buffalo Times*.

Epochal

MORE men and more women now have civic rights in English-speaking lands than in all the rest of the world put together. An epoch in human history has apparently begun in which women are to take a highly important part, perhaps not even second to that of man; and it began, as have so many other great modern movements, in the Anglo-Celtic race."—*Rochester Post-Express*.

THE State Women's Prison at Auburn, New York, has an organized working unit of the American Red Cross. As many of the women are expert sewers, some of the more difficult work—such as the making of bathrobes—is being done by this unit.

A. S. B's Page

Are Germans "More Virile?"

SOME astonishing arguments come out of the anti-suffrage camp. In a letter to the Boston *Herald* of March 12, urging the U. S. Senate not to pass the woman suffrage amendment, Mrs. Margaret C. Robinson, the editor of "Anti-Suffrage Notes," credits the Germans with being "more virile" than the men of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Russia and Serbia. All these countries, she tells us, are subjugated or on the point of being subjugated by Germany, because they have adopted woman suffrage! Three of them have not yet adopted woman suffrage (Serbia, Hungary and Sweden). Of those that have adopted it, none has been trampled under foot more ruthlessly than Belgium and Poland, where women do not vote. And how about Rumania and Montenegro and Northern Italy and Northern France? If woman suffrage is the cause of little Finland's inability to cope with big Germany, what was the cause of little Finland's inability to cope with big Russia in the years before Finnish women had a vote? But we will let Mrs. Robinson speak for herself. She says:

"Suffrage is going so fast in Europe that it is hard to keep track of it. Where is it going? Where woman-governed countries in the past have always gone—into the hands of a more virile power—in this case, into Germany's capacious maw. Serbia, long boasted as a suffrage state, went first. Hungary, a late addition to the suffrage map, is already a vassal of Germany, and a vassal she will remain unless the Allies gain a complete victory in this war. Hungary may enfranchise, not only her women, but her babies if it amuses her and them, but no one who knows Germany will suppose that their votes, even if they are allowed to cast them, will be anything but scraps of paper."

Is Hungary any more a vassal of Germany than anti-suffrage Austria is? And how can anyone familiar with history possibly imply that the Hungarians are not a virile race? It is monstrous, but thoroughly characteristic of anti-suffrage reasoning to charge cowardice against all the small nations that have fallen victims to Germany's superior numbers or to their own internal troubles—troubles which can nowhere be traced to women's votes. It might as well be said that the anti-suffrage Turks were able to massacre the Armenians because the Armenian Church had given women a vote in church affairs!

Mrs. Robinson says Russia "adopted woman suffrage, pacifism and socialism at one fell swoop, and is paying the penalty." As for pacifism, the immediate cause of the revolution was the discovery that the anti-suffrage Czar was about to make a separate peace with Germany; and that his grafting officials, bribed by the enemy, had intentionally left the Russian troops without guns or ammunition, and had in every way played into Germany's hands.

The two main causes of Russia's present misfortunes are the compulsory ignorance maintained among the mass of the people by the anti-suffrage Czar, and the criminal advantage taken of their ignorance by agents of the anti-suffrage Kaiser. Woman suffrage had nothing to do with it.

Mrs. Robinson continues:

"Germany is now turning her attention to woman suffrage Denmark, Norway and Sweden, with excellent prospects of success. She can then take the suffragists' map of Europe and with scarcely a correction show it as the map of her conquests!"

The descendants of the Vikings may not prove so much less virile than the Germans as Mrs. Robinson expects. And how about the English, Scotch and Irish? Are they less virile than the Germans? Are they too destined to be wiped out, since Great Britain has adopted woman suffrage? Mrs. Robinson clearly implies it. And how about the Canadians? How about the American soldiers from our Western States? Are they less virile? Does she expect all the New York regiments to run away? And how does she explain the fact that the Australian and New Zealand troops, who have grown up under equal suffrage, have especially distinguished themselves by their bravery?

According to Mrs. Robinson, woman suffrage spells defeat. If so, as woman suffrage now prevails not only in England and Canada, but throughout more than half the territory of the United States, the Allies, of course, must be slated for defeat. Apparently she is quite willing to give aid and comfort to the enemy by such prophecies, for the sake of giving a little aid and comfort to the anti-suffragists—who need comfort just now very much.

A Boomerang Argument

THE German-American Alliance has lately been the subject of considerable discussion and criticism. It is significant that one of its activities has been to fight woman suffrage. The opponents of equal rights are unable to deny this fact; but they claim that there has been a change. In the *New York Times* of March 16, Mrs. James W. Wadsworth says:

"It is true that before America entered the war the German-American Alliance was opposed to woman suffrage, but since then its efforts seem to have been turned in the opposite direction, notoriously in Nebraska."

But the incident that she cites to show this proves just the contrary. In the Nebraska Senate, she says, in April, 1917, after war had been declared, German Senators traded votes with six suffrage Senators, and helped to pass the presidential and municipal woman suffrage bill, to which they were opposed, in exchange for the help of these suffrage Senators in defeating a bill to abolish German in the public schools. But if those German Senators with the coming of the war had ceased to be opposed to woman suffrage, why did they need a "consideration" to make them vote for it? Obviously, if they were anti-American, and believed that woman suffrage in America would help the Kaiser, they would have needed no other inducement to support it.

Whether they had or had not changed their real attitude is not a matter of guess-work, however; for our Eastern anti-suffragists crowed loudly over the fact that, after thus helping to pass the suffrage bill, these German members of the Nebraska Legislature immediately turned around and worked for its repeal—an effort in which our American anti-suffragists

were quite willing to work shoulder to shoulder with them.

This affair is the only evidence Mrs. Wadsworth offers that the German-American Alliance in Nebraska or elsewhere has changed its views on suffrage, and presumably it is the only evidence she has.

She says the conduct of the two sets of Senators who traded votes was "equally disgraceful." Since half of them were anti-suffragists, and the other half suffragists, the reproach in that case would be equally divided. It may be noted, however, that Dr. P. P. Claxton, National Commissioner of Education, in a recently published letter says he thinks the war should make no difference as to the teaching of German in the schools. Dr. Claxton may be wrong; but it can hardly be treasonable to take the same view which is taken by our own government's highest educational officer. And then let the antis just think what a loss it would be for the rising generation to be unable to read the voluminous publications of the "German Men's League to Combat the Emancipation of Women!"

Highly Suspicious

IS it a coincidence that the man who gets up all the statistics for the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage bears the name of Eichelberger, and is of German blood?

The president of the antis has lately called attention to the dark and suspicious fact that Mrs. Catt (before the United States entered the war) once crossed the ocean on a steamer named the Kaiser Wilhelm! Nowadays the smallest clue may lead to a German plot. By all means let Mr. Eichelberger be investigated, to see whether he is not a German agent, employed by the Kaiser to try to make the United States look ridiculous by denying democracy at home while waging war for democracy abroad!

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Briefs for Suffrage

LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN CITY, Tennessee, will have a lively election this spring, two women having announced their intention to enter the race for election to city offices. The right of municipal suffrage was granted the women by amendment of the city charter.

THE women of Louisville, Kentucky, are preparing not only to take an active part in the school election in the Fall but expect to put a candidate in the field. The point was stressed throughout the meeting where this discussion was made that work in the interest of the school election is patriotic work and that the women who give their time to it are serving their country wisely and well.

THE Federation of Grade Teachers of St. Paul, Minn., endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment at their March meeting. The March bulletin of the Federation is a special suffrage number, and sets forth the part women teachers play in training the youth for citizenship and the fitness of women themselves for this same citizenship.

Suffrage at Washington

WOMAN suffrage was again before the Senate last week, brought up by Senator Calder, of New York, in a speech predicting the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment at this session and urging united Republican support for the measure. Senator Smoot took up the question to state that he had positive knowledge that at least three-fourths of the Republican side of the chamber would vote for the amendment, and if the Democrats would but do "well towards two-thirds" of their side, the amendment would pass.

Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, joined the discussion to call attention to the remarkable showing of the women voters in the recent New York congressional elections, when 93 per cent of the registered women went to the polls, as compared with 37 per cent of the registered men. Senator Shafroth, of Colorado, added testimony from Colorado to the effect that the women of that state regularly voted in about the same proportion as the men, and were responsible for improvement in the laws.

"From now on," said Senator Calder, "every woman must be directly affected by a vast majority of the activities of Government. Government in concerning itself with the activity of the individual, in whatever direction, must directly take account of, provide for, and satisfy women. If we are convinced that democracy is sound in principle, if we are determined to protect and extend and perpetuate the system, must we not concede to women the right and must we not ask them to assume the obligation of assisting to direct the course of the state and nation?"

"There are those who claim that this is no time to consider the question of woman suffrage; but the question of suffrage at this time is not only right to women, but it is also a question of war-time efficiency for a country struggling in the throes of this great world war."

Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City, and Mrs. Rosalie Loew Whitney, congressional chairman for the city, who were in the gallery during Senator Calder's speech, expressed great satisfaction that their junior Senator had so gallantly espoused the cause of woman suffrage by federal amendment. "After that speech I do not see how any Republican in the House can fail to vote for it," said Miss Hay. "I have made five trips to Washington this winter on account of the amendment," said Mrs. Whitney, "but I believe this one will be the last."

FROM the South comes a renewed demand today for the passage of the Federal Amendment, in the form of petitions to Senators Tillman and Smith from South Carolina, delivered by Mrs. Helen Gardener, vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in behalf of Mrs. Harriet P. Lynch, president of the South Carolina Equal Suffrage League. The South Carolina women call attention to the fact that when Senator Tillman recently announced that he proposed to stand for re-election, he enumerated among his public services his connection with Winthrop College, at Rock Hill, of which he is a director. One of the petitions delivered to him

and to Senator Smith today was signed by 845 out of the 1,000 students and teachers at that college. Coker, Anderson, and Converse colleges also sent petitions signed by hundreds of the students and faculty.

Senator Simmons and Overman, of North Carolina, have also been presented with a bundle of petitions from the men and women of their state, asking them to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. These documents have been pouring upon the Senators almost daily for the last few weeks as a result of the active suffrage campaign now being waged in North Carolina under the generalship of Miss Gertrude Weil, of Colorado, state congressional chairman, and her lieutenants.

Among the petitioners in the list delivered today are prominent men and women of Durham and of Boone, North Carolina, and special petitions from the student body of the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill; from Trinity College, at Durham, where both the Senators graduated, and from teachers and students of the Appalachian Training School, at Boone.

AT the weekly tea at Suffrage House, 1,626 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington, on Wednesday afternoon Mrs. Josephus Daniels, the guest of honor, gave an informal talk. Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, of Colorado, wife of the Tariff Commissioner, the hostess, was assisted by Mrs. Carl Vrooman, Mrs. Victor Murdock, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Mrs. Theodore Noyes, Mrs. William C. Gorgas, Mrs. V. Everit Macy and Mrs. Cordelia Powell Odenheimer, of the hostess committee.

At the tea table were Mrs. Duncan U. Fletcher, of Florida; Mrs. Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado; Mrs. John F. Shafroth, of Colorado; Mrs. Joseph I. France, of Maryland; Mrs. A. A. Jones, of New Mexico; Mrs. Wm. H. King, of Utah; Mrs. Howard Sutherland, of West Virginia; Mrs. Park Trammell, of Florida; Mrs. James R. Mann, of Illinois; Mrs. George R. Lunn, of New York, and Mrs. George B. Francis, of New York, assisted by Mrs. Louise Fletcher Kemp; Mrs. Kemper Cowing, Miss Ruth Hitchcock, of Nebraska; Miss Adrienne King, of Utah; Miss Virginia Sutherland, of West Virginia; Miss Mabel Dunn, of New York, of the younger Congressional set; also Mrs. L. S. Porter, of New York; Mrs. L. V. Shepherd, Mrs. Middleton Beaman, of New York; Miss Dorothy Potter, of Texas, and Miss Celeste Childs, of Ohio.

In her brief speech Mrs. Daniels declared her belief that suffrage for all the women of the United States is very near, and reminded her hearers that "the wonderful victory for suffrage gained by the New York women has made all of us restless to gain what we feel is rightfully ours also. The growth of suffrage has been like the growth of a sturdy tree—very slow, but always very sure. In the interim of waiting for it, women have made themselves ready, through the respect they have gained from men in all the states of the Union."

A NUMBER of women soldiers have been wounded in recent fighting in Finland, according to press dispatches.

In Memoriam

ON the evening of March 9th at 6:20 o'clock the last call was answered by Mrs. Annie Ellicott Kennedy Bidwell at her beautiful home in the Sacramento Valley, surrounded by the tall and graceful trees that furnish shade and music as the sun streams on their branches and the wind murmurs among their leaves, and where the sweet incense of almond and cherry blossoms pervades the soft spring air. It was a home endeared to her by half a century of human joys and sorrows and by a luxuriant extravagance of nature's gifts, nowhere surpassed.

Mrs. Bidwell was a daughter of Joseph C. G. Kennedy, of Washington, D. C., a man in his day of high social and literary standing, who had been Superintendent of the U. S. Census of 1850 and 1860.

She was also a descendant of Andrew Ellicott, the American astronomer and engineer, who surveyed and laid out the National Capital and the boundary between the U. S. and Spanish possessions in Florida.

In 1868 she was married to Gen. John Bidwell, who was the owner of a ranch of twenty-five thousand acres at Chico, California, and within whose boundaries was an Indian village.

Immediately upon her arrival Mrs. Bidwell began to feel an interest in the Indians and their evolution that soon ripened into a fascination. She developed plans for their elevation and education along both religious and industrial lines. She established an industrial school, through which they were taught to cut and make their own garments and to read and sing, and a chapel was erected for their religious meetings, at which it was Mrs. Bidwell's habit to preach each Sunday and superintend their Sunday school.

One of her bequests insures to each of the Indian families the title to the tract or lot of land upon which it resides.

In addition to her interest in the Indians, Mrs. Bidwell was fired with an unquenchable zeal for the cause of prohibition and of woman suffrage. In conjunction with her husband she distributed literature, called meetings, summoned and paid speakers, campaigned the county and state for years with ever-increasing energy and zeal.

GENERAL BIDWELL was the Prohibition candidate for President in 1892 and died in 1900. His death only added to the fervor of Mrs. Bidwell's zeal in bringing about the success of the causes for which her husband had so long and so faithfully devoted his time and means. Night and day her thoughts were absorbed in these, to her, Holy Crusades, and her financial contributions in aid thereof were counted by the tens of thousands.

Her civic pride and love for the home town which was laid out and fathered by Gen. Bidwell, led her to plan for its uplift and progress along various lines. By deed of gift she enlarged the already spacious grounds of the State Normal School. She gave to the city of Chico a beautiful park ten miles in length along both banks of a perennial mountain stream, clothed with superb forests of oak, alder and sycamore and culminating in the scenic beauties of rolling foot-hills and deep rocky canyons, through which the sparkling

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"The Terror by Night"

THIS is the spectre all working women see—the spectre of want and sickness, old age, bowed and helpless. These toiling women skirt the abyss of poverty so close that there is never any real margin between them and ghastly want. That is why they clutch at such shreds of protection as the law has made for them, minimum wage laws, health insurance, protection of hours of labor.

This is why women toilers have looked with longing towards woman suffrage states where women count. New York is now such a state and when its representative women moved on Albany March 19, it was as sovereign citizens with ballots behind them.

Chief among the bills they are determined to kill is Bill 115 proposed by Senator Elon R. Brown, which seeks to overthrow for the duration of the war all the laws for the protection of women and children which years of effort have built up. This bill runs counter to the expressed wishes of the President of the United States. It is out of accord with General Crozier's Ordnance provisions.

It is in direct opposition to the recent statements of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense which is on record as opposing all efforts to lower labor standards for women and children. It is contrary to the action taken by the National American Woman Suffrage Association in its offers of war service to the United States Government.

Is the war which is requiring so much of women to fasten this terror upon them?

Is the future to hold, for woman, abrogation of the labor laws—and this?

Her future is the country's future.

Imperil the motherhood, actual and potential of America, and you imperil America.

All womanhood, valiant, intrepid and now, in New York state, empowered with the citizen's weapon of the ballot, is forever committed to fight this spectre which is assailing its working members. Legislators have not always seen that an opposing womanhood is a force to be reckoned with. But Albany legislators saw something new last Tuesday. They saw the advance guard of a host united under the watchword of Verdun. And they know that in woman voting states like New York such legislation as Brown Bill 115 "shall not pass."





er Future—with the Labor Laws Abrogated

Behind Canteen Counters in France

AN intimate picture of canteen life is sketched in the letters received from Miss Elizabeth G. Bissell, now serving under the Red Cross in France. Miss Bissell was formerly corresponding secretary of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association and is one of the sixteen stars in the national suffrage flag.

"On January 1st, New Year's day, we left Paris at noon and came down to Chantilly, our next step towards the canteen, which is a short ride from here on the steam cars," writes Miss Bissell. "We go down on an early morning train every day and return at eight o'clock in the evening. At first sight the canteen looked from the outside like a lumber camp, or a new town in the Klondike. As soon as we arrived at our post of duty we put on our veils and went to work. I was set to cleaning la boucherie with disinfectant, soft soap, cold water, brush and cloth. With my sleeves rolled up and my veil spattered with water I was in the midst of removing sanguinary stains when in walked General Petain with an array of officers behind him,

A Message from a Star

and behind them all the Directrice, who was trying to impress upon them that it was supposed to be very clean.

"WHEN I had finished la boucherie the Directrice called me into the kitchen and gave me my next orders. I was to stand at the long table facing the stoves, along which the trays are moved from one end to the other, being furnished in the process with a piece of bread, a fork, plate of potatoes, meat with carrots and a bowl of bouillon. The last person turns with the tray complete in her hands and gives it to the poilu who is waiting for it on the other side of the counter behind us. I was kept so busy passing trays and lifting bowls from the shelf under the table to the top, as they gave them out for the bouillon, that I could not turn around without risking a catastrophe. But at last I was able to assist in passing the trays, and I had my first introduction to the poilu.



"HOW CAN WE REFUSE THE VOTE TO WOMEN OF THIS COUNTRY IN VIEW OF THEIR SACRIFICES AND THEIR INTELLIGENT SUPPORT OF OUR ARMY AND NAVY."

—ORSON LOWELL.

"ONE by one they pass behind the counter in their capotes and jaunty berets, with their knapsacks, bags and bidons slung across their shoulders by straps and their trench helmets hanging down behind. And you like them at once—the poilus. They are so patient—and cheerful! They are all going back to the trenches and they all know what that means. They are pleased to get their tray full of warm food, glad to be relieved of their guns, bags and knapsacks for a while, and they go off to the table under the long, cold shed with its earthen floor, like good children. It is freezing cold and not one of them has a pair of gloves—and you know they haven't much under their coats—but not a word of complaint. They accept all conditions, merely saying, 'c'est la guerre'. And these are the men, you realize, who have saved the day in the Great War. Whatever happens in the future, whatever successes fall to the lot of America, it will always be the poilu who gave the Huns the first big blow, and whose persistent courage and indomitable spirit are still keeping them back. He will not tell you this, for he is no boaster. But any one who has seen him and watched him go back to the trenches knows it.

"... Sleep is a delusion and a snare when you are on night duty. You come back in the morning on the eight o'clock train, eat your breakfast, and tumble into bed to get warmth and sleep—but it is as hard to get a wink of the latter as to catch a flea. You give up at last in despair, dress, and go out for a walk with your head bobbing like a thistle-down.

"BUT whichever way you turn the walks are lovely. One of these neat little rivers, with tidy banks and clear, shallow water running over pebbles—such as one sees often in Europe—marches primly through Chantilly, turning corners with the precision of a little soldier.

"In the afternoon we try to sleep; and at eight o'clock we are back at the canteen. Service does not begin until eleven-thirty, and we spend the time between weighing coffee and sugar and counting out condensed milk cans and bowls of cocoa. At eleven we eat a light lunch, and at eleven-thirty we are ready to serve coffee, chocolate, boiled eggs, cheese sandwiches and bread behind the counter. The phonograph is started at one end and 'Hello, Hello, Who's Your Lady Friend' announces that the service has begun.

"The men are attracted by the music and come up from the tables in the dining-room where they have been passing the evening in chilly discomfort to crowd about the machine. They are familiar with the opera airs and listen intently without conversing among themselves. You wouldn't think so many men could be so quiet. A young, dark-skinned, black-eyed boy was drinking his chocolate the other night when a very much worn-out 'O, Sole Mio' was being ground out. His face lighted up. 'I know that; it is Italian,' he said; 'I have been in Italy.'

"If any one happens to know a word of English he makes some excuse to approach. 'Mees, have you any rag-time?' he asks. Or

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ELIZABETH G. BISSELL

if he is bashful, one of his admiring comrades pushes him forward giving you the information that he is one who has been in England or the United States. And a lively conversation follows that ends in hand-shakes and wishes of 'Good Luck.'

"IT is very cold and damp, and nasty draughts creep through the canteen. Every one is glad to get a cup of something hot to drink and to have some diversion to help pass the dreary night hours before his train leaves. Each poilu is supposed to carry with him a tin cup—his 'quart'—but many have none, or say they have not, because they are packed away in their knapsacks, and it is difficult to get at them. The canteen therefore provides a few 'quarts' which are attached by strings to the counter. These strings get all tangled up and cause much amusement. There is no jostling or rudeness or impatience and 'les ficelles,' which would last about five minutes in America, remain attached to their nails in spite of the complications they bring about. Service is supposed to end at one-thirty, but often about that time a train comes in bringing a crowd of cold, hungry men and we wait until the last one has been fed.

"There are four of us on night duty. Three of us are there every night and every fourth night one is off. Our beds are couches and steamer-chairs. I use my sleeping bag, which is wonderful. I get into it with all my clothes on but my skirt and boots, and have two canteen blankets besides on top of me and one underneath me. I pull the hood of my bag up over my head and go to sleep.

"At six-fifteen one of us gets up and by the aid of a lantern, brought in by one of the 'personnel,' gets herself in readiness for the morning service. It is dark and the cold is penetrating. The wooden shutters are taken down and instantly the men, who have been in the dining-room all night, begin to stir about and in two seconds they are waiting, half-frozen, at the counter for a cup of chocolate or coffee.

"Two days on the way back to the front," said one man, 'two nights without sleeping.'

"We don't mind the Boches. It's the cold we are afraid of," says another.

"A thin, middle-aged, dark-haired, black-eyed man has a fever and we send him to the French infirmary. He drinks a strong cup of coffee before he goes, and feels better. They have nearly all been in the dining-hall all night clustered about the three little stoves.

"It begins to get a little lighter. The kitchen is gray and every one in it is gray. The only color is in the marine blue curtains. The signal for departure sounds; the crowd begins to lessen. At seventy-thirty the service is ended and we dash for the eight o'clock train.

"Certainly no one should go home from France without a keen appreciation of what work means to the man or woman who works from morning to night. And it is impossible to believe that any one could go home not advocating 'Votes for Women.'"

S. O. S. for Socks

THAT the American soldiers in France are in greater need of socks than of other woolen comforts is evidenced by a letter received by the Red Cross unit of the District

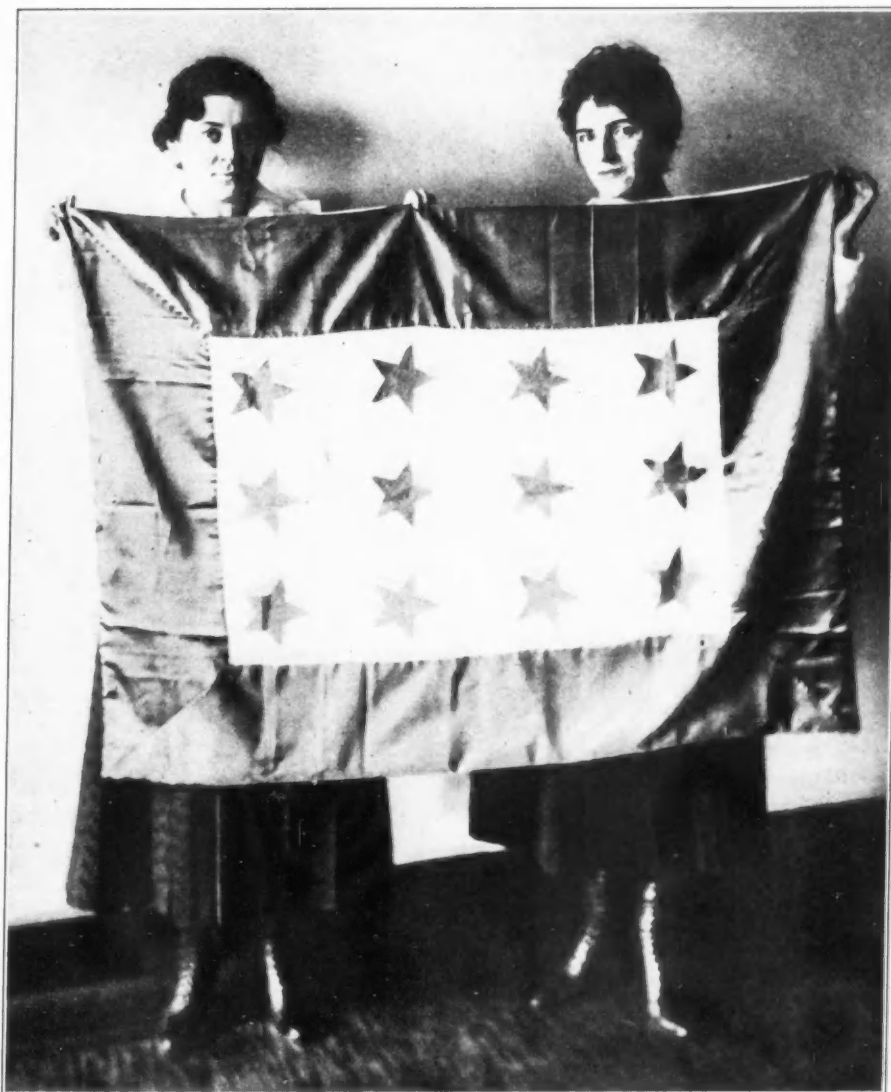
of Columbia Federation of Woman's Clubs from a U. S. Army Corps nurse in France.

"I want to mention that most of the men at this base have all the sweaters and scarfs they need," writes the nurse. "There is, however, a great demand for woolen socks. If you have some and want to send them I would love to give them to our boys.

"Our hospital here is wonderful, and we are quite comfortable," writes the nurse. "We have plenty to eat, except of sweet things, and those we miss. The home-made fudge you offer would be delicious in the way of variety."

Serving in the Mud

I RECKON if the folks back home Knew what these girls could do, They'd vote for Woman Suffrage The same as we will do. 'Cause when you find 'em with the nerve To come out in this mud and serve, They ought to vote and help the cause Of running things and making laws. —John J. Niles in *Plane News*—which is printed not far from the firing line.



SUFFRAGE SERVICE FLAG OF THE N. A. W. S. A. IT WAS MADE IN DECEMBER AND IS FOUR STARS SHORT. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF OFFICIALS OF THE N. A. W. S. A. AND ITS BRANCHES ABROAD ON WAR WORK IS NOW SIXTEEN INSTEAD OF TWELVE

Intensive Field Work

Primary Suffrage in Texas

TEXAS is on the verge of entering the suffrage column. By a vote of 84 to 34 the lower house of the Texas Legislature on March 15 passed a bill to give women the right to vote in primary elections and nominating conventions. The bill is now before the state Senate.

President Wilson favors the extension of the franchise to the women of Texas and has so stated in a letter to the Texas Equal Suffrage Association. The letter from the President, which was read in the Senate, follows:

"The Democratic Party is so closely committed to the principle of woman's suffrage that I feel it my duty as a leader of the party to urge this action by the Legislature. And it is also a privilege which I value to yield to my own personal convictions and urge such action on its merits. I sincerely hope the measure will become a law."

One of the Texas Representatives is Judge Barry Miller, a Dallas man, and one-time anti. Before the vote was taken he made this proposition to Mrs. Nonie Mahoney, a Dallas suffrage leader and one of the directors of the National American Woman Suffrage Association: "Bring me 5,000 names of Texas women who want suffrage and I will support it."

The modesty involved in requiring that it take the opinions of 5,000 Texas women to offset the opinion of one Texas man found its match in the celerity with which the 5,000 got into the balance.

Within ten days from the issuance of Judge Miller's challenge the Texas list had gone over the top with eight thousand names on it and more names pouring in hourly.

Among the 84 votes cast for the primary bill was Judge Miller's.

Michigan's Convention

INTENSIVE organization is to be the basis of the Michigan campaign for equal suffrage which will be opened by the state convention to be held in Hotel Statler, Detroit, March 25th to 28th.

Since the last referendum campaign in Michigan a complete change has taken place in the political field. Women have been granted presidential suffrage and the state has adopted a law which will make for bone-dryness after May 1st. With the gaining of such a strategically important trench and the removal of an influence which was considered the most formidable enemy of the last suffrage referendum, state suffragists feel that campaign methods can be entirely recast. The new system of intensive organization will be discussed and perfected during the convention.

A mass-meeting and a dinner for Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt have been arranged for the evening of March 25th. Mrs. Myron B. Vorse, formerly of Cleveland, will be toastmistress, and Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, corresponding secretary of the National Association, and Mrs. Augusta Hughston, Detroit campaign manager, will be among the speakers.

Tuesday sessions will be devoted to reports and discussion of women and war work. Mayor Oscar B. Marx will be present.

Reports and election of officers will occupy the Wednesday morning session and in the afternoon the campaign will be discussed by

Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Vorse and Mrs. Hughston.

Mrs. Wilber Brotherton, acting state president and general chairman, and Mrs. Arthur W. Cushman, local chairman, express themselves as greatly encouraged by the interest in the convention-campaign manifested by Detroit business and professional men.

Reminding Their Senator

SHORN of its gay camouflage of banners and signs, the erstwhile "Suffrage Special," which has been making a whirlwind tour of Hartford County, has become an every day automobile, and its crew of prominent suffrage workers have gone back to the routine work of preparing Connecticut for the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

"It only needs a Senate Suffrage Special to bring out the latent suffrage enthusiasm in any town," said Mrs. Nancy Schoonmaker, who was the principal speaker aboard; and Miss Mary Bulkeley, County Chairman, Miss Daphne Selden, state organizer, and Miss Marjery Haven, press chairman, echo the sentiment with enthusiasm. A paragraph from the diary kept en route gives some idea of the reception accorded the special:

"Although we were covered with snow when we reached New Britain, we still retained enough of our original physiognomy to be recognized by three small boys, who shouted with glee, 'We seen your picture in the paper this morning!'"

"We picked out the tallest smokestack and, steering straight toward it, drew up at one of the factories just as the men were pouring out to their mid-day meal. 'Come back early!' we shouted, and we gave out literature and shouted until our throats were dry and our hands empty.

"While waiting for the men to reach the bottom of their dinner pails, we danced on the curb, munched graham crackers and red apples, and rehearsed our speeches in between bites.

"The guard turned out to be an obliging soul when we told him we were suffragists, and he brought out an empty nail keg for a speaker's platform.

"Give us some more,' the men insisted, as Mrs. Schoonmaker paused for breath. The sidewalks were crowded and heads were sticking out of every window. Many of the men were at our meeting held in the evening, which, too, was a big success.

"We sent a telegram, at the close of the day, to Senator McLean as a gentle reminder that the suffragists of New Britain were looking to him to vote 'yes' on the Federal Amendment."

Getting Ready

WHEN the women of Lakewood, Ohio, secured municipal suffrage by a two to one vote last November, they knew that responsibility went with the new privilege. To meet the demands of the new citizenship classes have been formed for weekly lectures on Good Citizenship by Miss Florence E. Allen, attorney. Features of the lectures will be a practical demonstration of a municipal election and on another night both houses of Congress will be staged. Mrs. W. G. Waite, head of the suffrage party of that district, and Mrs. E. H. Fisherman, chairman of the Good Citizenship Committee, have the arrangements in charge.

Foreign Notes

ONE hears the on-march of the woman citizen in the suffrage news that is coming out of England today. Bulletins from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, instead of confining themselves, as of old, to the battle for woman's political freedom, are carrying nods of recognition to the woman in industry, the woman teacher, the woman tram driver, the woman in the newly-opened official post, and seeing in all women the woman voter.

"We have now grasped," says the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies—"the more astute of us—a general idea of what are our voting qualifications. We have still to make sure that we understand how we can get those qualifications recognized. The Powers that Be in this case are the local Registration Officers. It is expected—and indeed there is a shadowy Government promise to this effect somewhere in the background—that these Registration Officers will shortly instigate a house-to-house visitation with a view to ascertaining and registering the number of qualified voters in the locality. The next step will be the appearance of a notice in the press fixing the date of the publication of the list of names on the register; then the list itself will appear pinned up in the post office, the town hall and other prominent positions.

"At this point there is a direct outlet for the hitherto suppressed energy of the new voter. She must study the registration list and make sure that her name is there. If it is not she must apply to the Registration Officer for an appeal form, fill in her voting qualifications, and send it in. Then either the Registration Officer will recognize her claim, or if he does not she can further appeal to the revising barrister on whose decision ultimately depends her right to vote.

"Now there are two things to see to at once, or very soon.

"First find out who is your Registration Officer. He is generally your Town Clerk or Urban Council Clerk lurking under an alias.

"Second, if there is no sign of a house-to-house visitation looming in the near future, send in your qualifications without waiting to be asked, so that your name may not be missed from the first copy of the list.

Dutch Women and Suffrage

WISHING to celebrate the suffrage victories achieved on January 10 in the Parliaments of the two principal English-speaking states, the Dutch Woman Suffrage Association held a national meeting to call attention to the contrast between the complete, true democracy of nations, which—recognizing the needs and utilizing the political teachings of modern times—give full franchise to their women, and the semi-democracy of the Netherlands, whose new Constitution gives them eligibility without the vote.

The people of the residence had flocked to fill the hall; the front rows were occupied by some guests; a few English and Americans living in Holland, delegates from suffrage sections all over the country, and two or three of the State Ministers and M. P.'s who had all been invited.

(Continued on page 337)

James McCreery & Co.

5th Avenue

34th Street

ON MONDAY AND TUESDAY

Specially Prepared Pre-Easter Event

WOMEN'S \$35.00 SMART SPRING FROCKS AT \$23.50

An event of pronounced importance, offering at the beginning of the Spring Season, high-grade Dresses at a remarkably low price.

A representative assortment of choice Dresses, comprising newest style ideas, expressing individuality and distinctiveness. Superior in quality, designing and workmanship.

Fashioned of all the most desirable Materials including Satin, Taffeta, Crepe de Chine, Georgette Crepe, Foulard, Silkgingham, Serge, Wool Jersey, Challie; beaded, braided or embroidered; all the most wanted shades are represented.

NO C.O.D.'S - - NO APPROVALS - - NO RETURNS

War Service Record

A COUNTRY wide record for war service work has been established by the Equal Suffrage League of Boston. When the League's report for the year was compiled the amount of work accomplished, as shown by actual figures, surprised even the suffragists themselves.

Some of the activities of the League may be seen in this summary:

Opened war garden plots which were worked by women and girls.

Held food rally in every ward in Boston.

Turned in 66,420 pledge cards under Hoover registration, and cooperated with 66 organizations in taking census; 1,500 workers aided.

Opened community kitchens.

Established Red Cross auxiliary.

In coal crisis aided needy families to get coal.

Furnished workers for liberty bread shop.

Made net profit of \$4,039 from patriotic bazaar.

When the great disaster occurred at Halifax the League collected \$134 and later, on Halifax Day, supplied 63 workers and contributed more than \$2,000. The Liberty Loan work was also a feature of the war service aid, \$50 being given to the work of the woman's committee.

At the very beginning of the movement for war gardens, the League divided the estate of Miss Alice Stone Blackwell at Dorchester into garden plots which were worked by twenty-five women. Other gardens were opened at Jamaica Plains and the work carried on by twenty young women. At Chelsea ten acres were devoted to

gardens, practically all the gardeners being Polish women.

The food rallies, held in every school center, were well attended, 500 being turned away from one, and there were rallies in every ward. Later the community kitchen was established.

Extensive work has been done in the way of Americanization. The start was made when the Red Cross auxiliary was established. This committee has since been taken over and financed by a special committee of which Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw is the chairman. A patriotic rally for the Italian mothers and a baby week were features of the Americanization work. Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, chairman of the National Committee is to carry on the same work.

Aviation teas at the War Service Shop on Sunday afternoons, a navy canteen, tea dances, are other activities of the League. A new class in surgical dressings has been started, a unique feature of which is that the class is for men and women and no unescorted women are invited to attend.

IN pursuance of its war service program, the Equal Suffrage Association of Birmingham, Ala., has opened classes to fit women and girls to pass the civil service examinations for clerical positions. The instruction is free.

An evening class in bookkeeping has been opened, designed to meet the needs of young business women desiring this branch of office work. Classes in stenography have been held for some time.

The suffragists point with pride to one more advance in the appointment of women to important positions. This time it is Mrs. Alberta Boswell Taylor, appointed to the Huntsville Board of Education, being the first woman of that place to hold such a position. Mrs. Felix Baldrige was elected to the Madison County Board of Education over a year ago, and several women have received similar appointments in other Alabama cities since the last Legislature made it possible for women to serve in that capacity.

In Memoriam

(Continued from page 329)

waters of Chico creek furiously fight their way from mountain to valley. She deeded her home dwelling, with approximately a hundred thousand dollars' worth of surrounding land, to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church for the establishment and maintenance of a co-educational school.

She was distinguished for a wide and genial hospitality, a most kindly and loving disposition, a thoughtfulness and consideration for the feelings and wishes of others and the subserviency of her own personal needs to the necessities and enhancements of the great principles to which she dedicated her life work. She died in the very midst of her activities.

"And when the sun in all his state,
Illumed the western skies,
She passed through glory's evening gate
And walked in Paradise."

C. C. R.

Sixteen Chinese and Votes for Women

By James Arthur Muller,
Boone University, Wuchang, China

NO, there are only fifteen; one is a Japanese. They are students at Boone University, most of them freshmen.

Boone University is in the middle of the Middle Kingdom,—six hundred miles up the Yangtse River in the ancient walled city of Wuchang, once the seat of the most powerful viceroy in the Empire. The university is named for that good bishop, who while a theological student in Virginia determined to go to China. When his friends suggested that China was closed to foreigners he replied, "I'd give my life if I could but oil the hinges of the door."

He gave his life. The doors are wide open now. These sixteen students, to say nothing of three hundred and fifty more at Boone, and thousands at other schools are studying the same things we study in the West,—philosophy and history and literature and economics and mathematics and all the branches of science, and the English language as well as their own. They study American history with me.

In the course of our study we have come upon the fact that in some of the western states women vote. This at first rather amused the sixteen. They opened their eyes with amazement when I told them that a Miss Rankin sat in the Congress at Washington. We have not yet discussed the pros and cons of the question. We have merely had the facts, about as badly put as most history text books put them.

Day before yesterday I decided to get their reaction to these facts,—the reaction of citizens of a land where the suffrage is denied not only to women but to four-fifths of the men, and where any sort of suffrage is only twelve years old. Hence without warning I asked them all to write for fifteen minutes on what they thought of woman suffrage.

Here are some of the results of the experiment. The paragraphs I quote are just as they were written. Though the English is amusing, remember that it was written by boys to whom it is a foreign tongue, and written rapidly without the help of dictionary or grammar.

The paper I give first is perhaps the most typically oriental of them all, especially in its conclusion concerning the public appearance of men and women together.

"**G**OD created both man and woman and he made them help each other in their world's affairs. They are different in functions and this causes their natures different. The general nature of a man is to do outside business, while that of a woman is to do household business, especially to take care of their children. The man and the woman, therefore, in helping each other can make a good home, comfortable and cheerful.

"At present time a number of women rose up and asked for the permission to their governments to give them rights to vote or to represent themselves in Congress. This is really the hard question for the government to decide. To my opinion the women should not vote or to represent, for it is a trouble thing for both men and women to sit together and discuss some thing. If in case the woman has a good idea she better talks with her husband and asks her husband to bring out her

idea, in order to save much trouble made in public places of both men and women."

Another presents a view that is neither eastern nor western, but just human, and, as the suffragists would say, a trifle medieval:

"**I**T seems that if a woman has interest in the government then she will give up her household business and careness for her children. As every family contains men and women, if the household business does not be cared by the women the men must take up the work, and it will not only effects men's own business but also not fit for them."

This argument is certainly not without weight in a land where there are no spinsters, where every old lady is a greatgrandmother several times over, and where a bachelor like myself is regarded as a curio.

Another student makes this comment:

"If a woman holds any office in the government, altho she has the ability to administer the political affairs, yet she will bring great harm to the future generation. A woman is the mother of the generation. If the mother over uses her brain, or think too much then her life will not be happy. Thus the future generation will not be so good as it ought to be."

The most positive in his disapproval of woman's cause is the Japanese. He begins:

"According to me the woman suffrage is a greatest nonsense and entirely worthless."

He then goes pretty thoroughly into the arguments on each side of the question, revealing a surprisingly wide range of magazine reading, and concludes with this burst of rhetoric:

"While their children cry for hunger, and their dresses broken, and their houses full of dust, is it possible that women can be driven to the passionate struggles of the modern political competition and a political campaign?"

IN justice to the suffragists I must admit that of these sixteen students here in the center of China only six were adverse to woman suffrage, eight were in favor of it, and two gave it a limited approval. One of the latter writes:

"In some respects women and men do not seem born equal. In the Bible it is said that man was first made and from the man came the woman. Tho it is a story it is to some extent true. Woman possesses the duty of bearing baby and of home education, which is, of course, very important, and will hinder the woman in undertaking other business that man does,—politics. I do not mean that woman has not the ability to govern as man has, and has not the intelligence or knowledge, but I do mean that woman should do her own duty first. . . .

"If women are as much educated as men they should have only the right to vote, that is, to appoint men to govern, but should not have the entire right to hold office as men have, for man has a firmer will and less hindrance in his work than woman, as it is so by nature."

One of those who favor woman suffrage writes thus,—and note the excellence of his English. How many American students could write as well in extempore French or German?

"With regard to the women of the western nations, they have almost the same amount of education as the men have. Their knowledge of politics and their power of understanding and thinking are equal to the men's. I think there should be no objection to woman suffrage. To me, those who oppose woman suffrage are jealous of the women who are holding the same position as themselves. If the women should have better natural gifts in their wisdom why should they be prevented from using them?"

ANOTHER takes up a familiar argument with a new turn of phrase here and there; though the suffragists may not be complimented by the designation "those females":

"Woman as well as man is the creature of God and member of a country. She pays taxes and all duties to her country. There is hardly any difference between the different sexes in regard to the responsibility to one's country. But responsibility goes hand in hand with privileges. It is unjust to give no privilege to one person who has to respond the burden of all kinds relating to a member of a country. So all the suffrages which can be shared by any male person should also be applied to all those females."

A third supporter of suffrage hits upon what is perhaps the fundamental argument of the suffragists,—that women ought to be given the chance to contribute certain needful but hitherto little regarded elements to the political life of the nation:

"There are many countries in the world regarding women as servants of men. I think this a great sin against Heaven, because God gave them the right to use everything in the world and do works as men have done. Therefore for women to have right in Houses (i.e., Legislatures) is a very good way to use their wisdoms and make up what men have not thought or discovered."

Still another considers the present results of the movement and ends with a glorious prophesy:

"Since the granting of woman suffrage in the United States the very few who have entered upon duties in politics have proved really satisfactory to be called politicians, with no difference to men whatever. Why should woman suffrage be not justifiable so far? And as the day goes on I dare anticipate that Senators in America and Ministers in England will certainly have their women comrades with them!"

ONE of the more judicious puts his conclusions thus:

"It is said that thirteen states of United States have had the so-called woman suffrage, by which a woman may have a right to vote and also have the privilege to be elected as a legislaturer. In reality such a step is not very easy to be performed, as most women care very much about household affairs, as they are entitled to do so. If we want them to have a voice in the government we should first think whether their knowledge is fit so. Of course such a policy for equality is more fit to be carried in a more equality country."

A conclusion with which most of us who live in China are likely to agree.

Strictly Political

A POLITICAL appointment that meets with the widespread approval of New York state women is that of Mrs. Edwin S. Jenney, of Syracuse, who has been put on the Democratic State Committee of New York. More than that, she has been named a member of the Executive Committee of that body, and will therefore be an influential factor in formulating Democratic activities in the state.

Mrs. Jenney has for years been recognized as a woman leader in Western New York. Mainly to her initiative is due the record of the Syracuse women's club as a social and civic power, during the seventeen years that she has been at its head. Her suffrage interest and activity have always been vivid, and she has led the way in the advancement of the woman movement along many allied lines. She is the mother of two other women, both of whom have made records in careers of their own. One is Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe, formerly a Unitarian minister and prominent as a suffragist and woman leader. The other is Miss Julie Jenney, a well-known Syracuse attorney.

At the meeting of the Men's Republican Club of the County of New York, or the Borough of Manhattan, as it is usually called, a report on women's organization was made by Miss Helen Varick Boswell, chairman of the Woman's Division of the New York Republican County Committee. Miss Boswell reported district organizations in 19 of the 23 districts. For a number of years Miss Boswell has been an active factor in the women's political life of the City of New York, having founded the West End Woman's Republican Club about twenty-two years ago.

The Kings County Republican Committee of New York has voted to give women Republicans equal rights with the men and is urging them to form election district organizations. A club house for the women is under consideration.

Police Commissioner Enright was the honor guest at the Women's Republican Club luncheon this month at Delmonico's. This club is about seventeen years old and is under the presidency of Mrs. James Griswold Wentz.

The Democratic Committee of Bronx County, New York, has voted unanimously to give women the same representation in political affairs now enjoyed by men. This recognizes women as district leaders.

The New York Young Men's Democratic Club has extended a cordial invitation to women to join its membership.

In pursuance of the Tammany program to enlist women in all its political organizations, the Saqua Democratic Club of Washington Heights, a pioneer political organization, is enrolling women in its membership, fifty having already become members.

At the first village election held in Ossining since the franchise was granted women, more women voted than men. The bad weather conditions were no drawback to the women voting.

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Dutch Women

(Continued from page 334)

Dr. Jacobs, the President of the Dutch Woman Suffrage Association, gave the opening address, stating the nature of the victories achieved in England and America and hoped for in Hungary and Sweden. She trusted that Holland would not long remain content with a surrogate (Ersatz) for democracy, especially since the reigning Sovereign of our land is a woman. A burst of applause showed the sympathy of the audience and the enthusiasm rose higher still when an American and two English ladies addressed the meeting and a choir sang the Star Spangled Banner and God Save the King. A speech from one of the vice-presidents, calling upon the women to feel their dignity and demand their rights since they were one-half of humanity, and the unanimous adoption of a resolution and congratulations to the Woman Suffrage Associations of Great Britain and the United States of America, terminated the proceedings.

MARTINA G. KRAMERS.

The resolution follows:

RESOLVED: That the meeting called by the Dutch Woman Suffrage Association on January 28, 1918, at The Hague to celebrate the recent suffrage victories in the United States and in Great Britain, whilst further victories are expected in North America, Hungary and Sweden,

Congratulates the National Woman Suffrage Associations of these countries on the success of their work,

Expresses its gratitude to the Governments of these countries for showing a true insight into the demands of modern times, which constitutes an example for other nations,

Calls upon the people of the Netherlands to elect for itself a similar Government, which will grant women the right that is their due to participate in the conduct of national and social affairs,

And feels convinced that already in the first year of the session of the new States-General a bill will be introduced conferring full enfranchisement on the women of the Netherlands.

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Where Is Your State?

WE have with us this week—Michigan, the Wolverine State.

Michigan had a little hard luck in getting started. She was all prepared for her state convention back in the middle of January, and then blizzards tied up the traffic and all the calamities that have made January, 1918, notorious broke over her and Michigan didn't convene. Instead, she spent her time in intensive organizing for that belated convention which opens on the twenty-fifth of March.

To Mrs. John Waite of Ann Arbor we look to make the four days of that convention red letter days for the Woman Citizen. We expect that every delegate will come away so chuck full of enthusiasm for the magazine and belief in its glorious future that Indiana and Wisconsin and Minnesota and Iowa will have to step lively if they don't want to be outstripped by their good neighbor in our drive for 100,000 new subscribers.

We believe that the entrance of Michigan is going to bring into our campaign a new zest and an increased speed that will make our Subscription Department gasp and then grin.

Michigan will "double the output." We know this to be an honest-to-goodness fact. Doesn't our Business Manager come from Michigan? And whatever she says goes. And if we didn't agree with her—well, we don't want to go. Not just yet. Not until Adrian, Mich., is within striking distance of the Third Cash Premium. If you don't know Adrian, come to New York and you can find out all about it. One out of every five of the successful men or women in New York comes from Adrian. And our Business Manager is that one.

The other four are our three editors who claim New York, New Jersey and Iowa, and our Managing Editor who is still waiting to be shown. For she's from Missouri, and so far Missouri has failed to show up at all among our circulation contestants.

Indiana's subscription campaign is being financed by the Woman's Franchise League of Anderson. The league is offering two banners to the county association and local club, respectively, who shall bring in the largest number of new subscribers to the *Woman Citizen*.

VIRGINIA—Your delightful little receipt books, each with five of the blanks around it, and fitted so neatly into the efficient little envelopes, are now in the nearest post-office, and it is impossible to think the local circulation chairmen will fail to respond to so appetizing a bait. Mrs. Cowles and I find it difficult to resist the temptation to lay down office and school work and take to the road with such furnishing. We hope to be forwarding you new subscribers every few days now.—HELEN STOCKDELL.

The requisites for successful soliciting of subscriptions are three—belief in the *Woman Citizen*, enthusiasm for women and willingness to ask them to do things. We ask too little from most of them. There is no magic except the magic of faith and enthusiasm. As for our plans to push Iowa to the top in the present canvass, we are organizing a committee, with a Chairman in each of the eleven Congressional Districts who will in turn appoint County leaders with instructions to them to secure at least one woman in each town to seek out interested women and secure their subscriptions. Every time any sort of suffrage meeting is held an appeal is made and always some woman says, "I have been wanting to get hold of something of that sort." We are simply opening an opportunity to many who do not know where to look for the information they want, and that is a true sort of missionary work any time.

Long life and much power to the *Woman Citizen*. There are few things more delightful than to introduce it to new friends.—EFFIE MCCOLLUM JONES, Webster City, Iowa.

Relative Positions of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

March 1st

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Minnesota
4. Iowa
5. Wisconsin
6. New York
7. Virginia
8. Louisiana
9. Maryland and Michigan
10. New Jersey and New Hampshire
11. Pennsylvania
12. Alabama and Indiana
13. Massachusetts
14. Texas and Maine
15. Mississippi, Nebraska and Ohio

March 16th

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Minnesota
4. Iowa
5. New Jersey
6. Wisconsin
7. New York
8. Ohio
9. New Hampshire and Virginia
10. Massachusetts
11. Maryland and Pennsylvania
12. Maine and Michigan
13. Texas
14. Nebraska
15. Washington
16. South Carolina and Mississippi
17. North Dakota
18. Connecticut

State Circulation Chairmen

Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
 Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
 Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
 Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane of New Orleans
 Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York of Augusta
 New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin of East Orange
 New Hampshire: Mrs. Mary Post of Portsmouth
 Rhode Island: Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt of Bristol
 Kentucky: Mrs. Charles Firth of Covington
 West Virginia: Mrs. P. C. McBee of Morgantown
 Massachusetts: Mrs. R. L. DeNormandie of Boston
 Texas: Mrs. Helen Moore of Galveston
 South Carolina: Mrs. J. T. Gittman of Columbia
 Alabama: Miss Mary P. London of Birmingham
 Indiana: Mrs. Jessie Croan of Anderson
 Michigan: Mrs. John Waite of Ann Arbor

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2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

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Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 50 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

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—Century Dictionary



In the 4th Century, B. C., Plato said: "If women are to have the same employment as men, they must have the same education."

Suffragist:

One holding certain opinions concerning the right of suffrage; as a woman suffragist.

—Century Dictionary



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THE Woman Citizen

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(See page 358)



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Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the WOMAN'S JOURNAL

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and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confering upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays 136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.

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THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

March 30, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Move Up!

AS at no former crisis in the world cataclysm the grim horror of the German menace has swept on to America from the western front during the last week on the wings of the black bat of German victory. All week long the appalling story of killed and wounded, prisoners taken and positions lost, has knelled itself into the very heart of America.

With our men "over there," our eyes straining after them, wider open than ever before, understanding sharpened and feeling deepened as never before, we "get it" over here as never before—the war—the frightful devastation, the irretrievable waste, the ruin and the heart-break of it.

And having "got it" as never before, it is for the womanhood of America to move up nearer and nearer in thought and in succor to the trenches on the western front, determined as never before to stand under this new chrism of war agony—which is so old a chrism to the women of Europe—determined that the high endeavor of the spirit of democracy on the battlefield shall find its complement in the unfailing resolution of the women on the second line of defense.

The Lone Star Regnant

LAST week both houses of the Texas Legislature passed the Primary Suffrage Bill giving Texas women the right to vote in primary elections and nominating conventions. The House passed the bill on March 15. It was on March 21 that a telegram from Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, president of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, sent the full victory tocsin resounding through the country: "Glorious victory," wired Mrs. Cunningham, "Suffrage bill passed the Senate. Governor's signature certain."

And there you are!

There you are with 20 more electoral votes to talk for women.

There you are with two more U. S. Senators whom women will help choose.

There you are with eighteen more Congressmen who will see in women a direct, instead of an indirect, constituency.

It was a three to one victory according to the wired word of that good suffragist, Professor A. Caswell Ellis of the University

of Texas, who hopes "Texas Senators in Washington will sit up and take notice."

We join in that hope. We hope all the Senators from all the states will sit up and take notice that it is as true in Texas as it is in New York that the people want democracy applied at home while we fight for it abroad.

The Texas triumph carried the total number of women who have been enfranchised since January over the top of ten million; one million in Texas, over three million in New York state, six million in Great Britain.

The Pick-Ats

AS mere women we have had frequent occasion to marvel at the facility with which the average editor of the average woman's magazine can find, or make, opportunity to criticize, castigate, preach at, and pick at women. But then, we have ruminated, the average editor of the average woman's magazine is a man and a man editor of a woman's magazine would consider that he was not editing at all if he didn't devote his editorial space to the effort to lead women into the light by the refulgent sheen of his own mental concepts and subliminal uprushes. And thus ruminating we have been able to understand—and to laugh. It is when women editors of women's magazines make use of the same by-play in order to fill the editorial space that we lose the key. We admit that joyous sense of the superiority that separates the pulpit from the pew which sometimes inundates the editorial chair. But we wonder that the women editors take it out on the women. We feel that women editors have no business to be masculine. They ought to be different from men editors. They ought to take it out on the men once in a way.

IN the current number of the *Delineator*, for instance, a woman editor, casting about for a chance to castigate, lights on Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt, who had taken issue with her previous denunciations of American women for what she deemed their remissness in war work, denunciations that she hung upon the White House pickets but that showed a grievous lack of information as to what American women had done and were doing besides picketing. In defending her first position the *Delineator* editor represents that Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt were among

various and sundry who had written her to disagree violently with her because she had condemned the pickets—and then by quoting from their letter shows what they really did write her about. It wasn't about the pickets. It was about the pick-ats. It was to point out that in her zeal to find some rhyme or reason for belittling women she was overlooking, or not knowing, that every order for woman's work issued by any department of the Government has been carried out instantly by organized bodies of women. "In this work," they wrote, "the suffragists are far in the lead. In every committee organized by national and state governments, they are conspicuously at the front, and are devoting a vast amount of time, energy and organized effort to patriotic work. In asking for a voice in their Government they rest their case for loyalty and patriotism upon actual service rendered."

But when you are in the pick-at business you are not to be easily deflected. Witness the come-back of the *Delineator* editor: "The word organized means little or nothing in this connection. We American women may be organized to perfection. The fact remains that since the war began, England has placed one and one-half million of women at men's work, and at this writing there has been little shift of women's to men's work in this country. The fact remains that both French and English women have undergone and are undergoing sacrifices and privations to which American women are utter strangers."

THE fact remains that if American women even attempted to displace one and one-half million men at this writing, there would be vehement protest from the men, and from the Government, and from the wives and children of the men displaced, but remember that we are on a pick-ating junket and go on: "And when we women shall have given to our country all our male relatives who are fit for war duty; when we shall have gone hungry to put our earnings into war bonds; when we shall have seen our children grow thin and pale from lack of proper food, and when we shall have endured this patiently and willingly, then and then only shall we say that we love our country as do our allied sisters."

In a word, if there is nothing else to blame you for, prepare to be blamed because all your male relatives haven't been killed yet, and you haven't gone hungry yet and your children are still plump and rosy. The fact that you, millions of you, have moved up in a second line of defense, alert and ready-handed, doesn't count. "Organizations and offers to work are not working." Your men have got to be killed and you and the children have got to starve before you can hold yourselves blameless—the pick-ats have said it.

It may be that suffragists do not often read the *Delineator*. We can understand that, too. But to those who have read this month's number we wish to point out that we have received a letter from the editor which says: "I am very sorry indeed that I misinterpreted Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt in my editorial on picketing. I shall draw attention to the fact in as early an editorial as is possible."

Call to the Executive Council

THE most important meeting in the entire history of our movement" is what Mrs. Catt calls the meeting of the Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association scheduled for Indianapolis April 18 and 19. Whether by that date the United States Senate shall have passed the Federal Suffrage Amendment or not, the importance holds. If the Amendment shall have been passed before the meeting the attention of the Council will center on the ratification campaigns. If the Amendment situation is not satisfactory the spot light will shift to the congressional elections scheduled for this autumn. As everybody knows, the 65th Congress is through with the Amendment so far as the Lower House is concerned, but favorable action has not yet been secured in the Senate. One-third of the membership of the Senate of the next Congress is to be decided by the fall elections.

The call for the meeting of the Executive Council in setting the date as April 18 and 19 and the place as Indianapolis, names the Claypool Hotel as headquarters.

The Council is composed of the elected officers, the chairman of standing and special committees, the presidents of affiliated suffrage organizations and one member from each affiliated organization which pays dues on a membership of 1,500 or more.

All sessions of the Executive Council will be held in a room reserved for the purpose in the Claypool Hotel.

Indiana is holding her state convention at Indianapolis on April 16 and 17, just in advance of the meeting of the Executive Council.

What Will the Senate Do?

WHEN the question of enfranchising women by amendment to the Constitution of the United States came up in the House of Congress on January 10, the Mississippi delegation voted solidly against it. Their reason for so voting was that the question of qualification of voters is a state matter and that federal action would be an infringement of state rights. Thereupon the women of Mississippi carried their enfranchisement back to their own Legislature. They appealed from their so-called representatives in Washington to their so-called representatives in Jackson, reminding them that their own national party—the party of the President of the United States—had endorsed suffrage by state action and that Mississippi women were now demanding such action.

But they asked in vain. Neither in the House of Congress nor yet in the halls of Jackson was there any ear open to their appeal.

Consider now the impasse into which women are pushed. At Washington United States Senators point out that they love suffrage, but that unless it comes by state action the superstructure of the nation will totter and fall. "The people of the state must be allowed to decide"—thus the Senators at Washington.

Well, what are the United States Senators going to do about it when the legislators of a sovereign state refuse to let the people of the state have a chance to decide?

The High Cost of Not Reading in New York

INCOMPREHENSIBLE as it seems to some New Yorkers, there are Americans who prefer other parts of America to New York city as places to live in. They don't consider that they commit any crime in deed or in taste by their preference and they don't take kindly to being penalized for that preference. They will admit that New York has come to be a centre along certain lines but they want production and distribution to play out from it along those lines so that New York may serve the whole nation to the greatest possible extent without the whole nation having to move to New York to get the value of the service.

Now, one of the ways in which New York has come to serve the nation is as the national print-shop. There are approximately one hundred and fifty general monthly magazines published in the United States and eighty of them are published in New York. There are thirty-two weeklies of the same order published in America and eighteen are published in New York. If you will count off the Atlantic Monthly as Bostonia and the Curtis and Lippincott publications as Philadelphiana you can hardly think of a national magazine, your pet or your *bête noir*, that is not published in New York city. For this reason and for that, the printing trades have centered in New York, the paper stock mills have opened main offices here and the other immediate facilities that the publishing business requires have been lined up here.

THIS alignment is not even remotely consequent upon specifically developed reading proclivities in and around New York. You might think that of Boston or Madison, Wisconsin. How could you think it of New York? No, the reason must be sought along some channel of commercial convenience that has pocketed the publishing business in New York just as the steel business has been pocketed in Pittsburgh. For much evidence goes to show that while magazines are made in New York they are read more outside of it than inside of it. All that the country at large has asked of New York has been to print the magazines so that the country at large could read them. Under an ancient act of Congress the arrangement worked out very satisfactorily. No matter where you lived you had to pay no more for your reading privileges than if you lived in New York. Your magazine came on to you at a flat rate (one cent a pound) whether you were in California or Harlem.

Then, along with the war, came the need of war revenue and a zone system of postage was worked out as one way of raising revenue. It was not only worked out, it was passed, passed in haste for you to repent of at leisure. As long as it stands as the law of the land you will have to pay dearly for not living in New York when it comes to magazine reading. You may live in Louisiana or North Dakota. The magazines are here. The farther from here you are the more you pay.

What are you going to do about it? The magazines can't pay the increased zone rate for you. They are all wondering already

how they are to pay paper bills that show an increase of 150 per cent plus over pre-war prices. What they will have to do will be to increase magazine prices to a point where this new zone law cost will be covered. What you will have to do will be—four choices—pay the increased price, stop reading periodical literature, read only what is published in your own part of the country, or get the zone system measure reconsidered.

SO much for the involvement of your personal interest in the situation. Here is the way the country's interest is involved: when the government makes it too expensive for periodicals to issue as national organs, they begin to issue as local organs. This tends to divide America's life into separate group entities determined by geography, instead of keeping it whole, national. Never before in our history was it so necessary for us to have a national unity. Every channel of intercommunication between different parts of the country should be developed, not hindered, so that each part may know what the other part is thinking, get its side of a case, sympathize with it, think with it. We are facing vast world problems. We can't face them in little localized groups. We've got to face them as a nation. If we can't put up a united front we might as well not put up any. To take from the country any of its nationalizing channels is to clog the flow of its national thought and national action.

MOST of our readers are women and it is perhaps even more important to women than to men that the magazine link between New York and the rest of the country be kept intact. Probably all our readers are suffragists and as such have a trained acumen in the handling of a program that involves appeal or protest to Congress.

They will know that what they have to do, here and now, is sit down and write to their Congressman and their Senators to urge that Congress at once reconsider its action in the matter of the zone system of second-class postage.

A Long Step in Advance

THE Rural Nurses' bill, sponsored by the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, now pending before the New York Legislature marks a long step in advance along the line of practical, humanitarian legislation. Its need has been shown by first-hand information gathered by the State Party in the rural districts. Having as its principal object the physical care and upbuilding of the future citizens of the state, it may well be considered a war measure, since a physically fit nation is the greatest measure of preparedness.

The provisions of the bill are broad. They provide that the nurses may be assigned to the work of reducing infant mortality, examination or visitation of cases of tuberculosis or other diseases, care of sick persons unable to obtain adequate assistance and instruction of members of households in which there is sickness. The bill as introduced by the suffragists has the backing of the New York branch of the Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense and of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Vermont Women at the Polls

By Anna H. Putnam, Press Chairman, Vermont Equal Suffrage Association

THE women of Vermont made good at the polls last week and there is no doubt in the minds of most voters that the limited franchise given them last year has been used effectively and will be increased next year. In towns where there are active leagues, no doubt an accurate count of the number of women voting was obtained, but in other places the returns may not be as correct, and in some towns there is an appreciably large non-resident number of women whose names are on the tax list who are not in the towns at the time of the March meetings.

Our staunch friend, the *Burlington Free Press*, came out the day after election with an editorial, "Woman Suffrage Vindicated," and among other paragraphs the following:

"In Burlington, for instance, no less than 1,056 women had their names on the voting list and the result shows that fully 90 per cent voted.

"A glance at figures shows that the women did not all vote one way either on issues or candidates. If they had all voted like a flock of sheep, in any one direction, it might have been flattering to candidates or advocates of various issues or opponents of the same, but it would not have been a hopeful sign. That result would not have indicated independence of thought, but a new fad. As the situation stands, the women did not vote as a sex, but as citizens subject to the same conflicting opinions and sentiments as are men, and therefore as 'equals' of the latter in this respect.

"Moreover inquiry leads to the discovery of the significant fact that more men than women in Burlington needed help to use our ballot system in voting. There is no longer any question here regarding the capacity of the women to take their part at the polls. The same thing is true in a general way of other Vermont communities."

AN impartial opinion would indicate that the women voted about as the men do upon prohibition, that is, as they believed best for their immediate districts. The women of Burlington, the largest city in the state, made it a "dry" city for the next year; also the women of St. Albans, while Rutland and Bennington remain "wet," although the majority in the latter place was cut about one half. And it should be remembered that many men probably voted for no license this year as a war measure, who may not have done so formerly. In short, it only goes to prove that women's voting should not be measured by its probable reforms any more than men's; many of us do not expect to make the world over by our votes, but we do want the privilege of registering our political convictions.

IN Bennington the town issues were not provocative of any dissension, but in the village a lively and turbulent caucus was held in which the women were invited to participate. It was all the more interesting because quite unexpected to both men and women, although I believe the men really thought it was a put-up job on our part. We had met to study the town issues and the speaker urged us to go to the caucus in a body and return after it was over for our meeting, saying that it would

probably not last longer than half an hour or so. We went, and a more surprised body of men has not been seen recently in this historic village than were the local politicians. We entered a room reeking with smoke and resounding with animated discussion and elbowed our way toward the chairman, who promptly suggested that we be given seats. Then the fun began. We watched, we looked, we listened. A turbulent be-capped man shouted for the check list, others more or less continually interrupted the speaker or the chairman at will, until one man finally suggested that this was not proper, and that any man addressing the chair should have the grace to remove his hat. One of our doughty suffragists was appointed a teller and the balloting began, to decide who should become president of the village for the ensuing year, for a nomination is equivalent to an election. There were three candidates nominated. It was suggested by the chair that the women remain in their seats and the hat be passed to them, but some objected and we walked to the back of the crowded room and placed our ballots in the hat there, then returned to our seats. It gave us a near view of the men and we soon found out by looks and gesture who approved of us and who did not. Some were cordial, others covertly objected, and others decidedly disapproved.

THE first ballot was questioned and a heated discussion between the men ensued, as to whether the nomination should be decided by a plurality or majority vote, the majority vote was given the preference, as was right, but the candidate the women were voting for had not yet been nominated, and owing to the above decision another ballot was called for. The opposition was anxious to remove us and suggested to our teller that it might be well into the morning before any decision was reached. She smiled and reported the possibility to us, but we did not move. Later it was alarmingly suggested that the floor was wavering with the crowd, and goodness knows what might happen, but we "sot and sot," nothing daunted and again cast our ballots almost solidly for the one we thought to be the best man, and an anti, by the way. The third candidate withdrew and his votes went to the opposition; we waited in suspense for the ballots to be counted again, and at ten forty-five left the hall a victorious "bunch" of women, for our candidate had been nominated! May we always have as good success. As it was one of the largest caucuses held in this village in several years, we feel that our votes counted and were of benefit.

The attitude in most towns has been very favorable toward the women's voting, the polling places have been improved in many villages, smoking has been abolished, and unpleasant language discontinued. The women who want the ballot, however, take the consequences of the ballot, even though in some instances they have not been agreeable. But an intelligent vote has been cast throughout the state and it has not been found so difficult after all, nor so unsexing!

For It!

THE newly organized National Party which effected a permanent organization at an enthusiastic convention held in Chicago recently, in platform, war manifesto and by special resolution, urged the immediate submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and pledged the support of the Party to aid the ratification campaigns in the various states. The special resolution was addressed to the Senate and the President, and embodied in telegrams sent to President Wilson and to Senator Wesley Jones, chairman of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage. Senator Jones was requested to have the following resolution read into the record:

"Whereas, True democracy is based on the right of those who submit to authority to a voice in their own government, we hereby call upon the United States Senate to take immediate favorable action on the Susan B. Anthony amendment in order that the nations of the world may thereby receive further assurance of the integrity of our democracy.

"And, whereas, the President has the power to demand such action of the Senate, we call upon him to exercise this power immediately."

THE suffrage declaration in the manifesto adopted by the convention is as follows:

"The great extension of the field of governmental activity demands, and is bringing a corresponding extension of democracy in government. When the war depends upon the labor of women in every department of war work it is no longer possible to deny the right of suffrage to the feminine half of the human race. This fact has been recognized by the extension of suffrage to women in England and by the adoption of the suffrage amendment to the constitution of the United States by the House of Representatives. The National Party demands the submission of this amendment by the Senate and will everywhere give its support to secure the adoption of this amendment by the legislatures of the states."

The declaration for the enfranchisement of women is the first plank in the Party platform and reads as follows:

"The right of suffrage should not be denied or abridged on account of sex. We therefore demand the nation-wide enfranchisement of women on equal terms with men, and pledge ourselves to work for the realization of that ideal. In particular we pledge ourselves to work in the states for the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, whenever it shall be submitted."

THE National Party has declared its intention of recognizing women on equal terms with men in the management of Party affairs, and in accordance with this principle the constitution adopted provides that the National Committee shall consist of two members from each state, one man and one woman, and that the National Organization Committee shall be made up of an equal number of men and women. Miss Marie C. Brehm of California was elected as second vice chairman of the Party, being the first woman to hold such an office in any political party in this country. Miss Brehm has been an active worker and speaker for suffrage, prohibition and kindred reforms for a number of years.

Briefs for Suffrage

NEW HAMPSHIRE will hold a constitutional convention the first week in June. It is said that among the important revisions and additions to the constitution to be considered is suffrage for women.

BY a 50-50 vote Mississippi legislators have gone on record as unalterably opposed to any interference with their right to protect Mississippi women. Meantime the *Garment Worker* carelessly reports that at the Mississippi State Hospital for the Insane the pay of female attendants averages \$30 a month and board.

IN the event of a labor shortage the womanhood of Montana could be depended upon to come to the aid of the farmers of that state, declared Mrs. Maggie Smith Hathaway, in the course of an address to the Montana Legislature which the Montana press called "the most forceful, eloquent and effective talk of the entire session." Citing the part the women of Great Britain are playing in the work of winning the war, she pointed out that the women of America stand ready to do the same. One of the surest ways to win the war is the raising of enlarged crops, she said, and appealed to her colleagues not to hesitate to make this slight sacrifice, especially as it meant simply the advancing of the state's credit for a temporary period, and that the money would be repaid, the major portion at least, this fall.

THE Constitutional Convention question will be submitted to a referendum of the Illinois voters in November and in preparation for this event the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association is waging a big campaign of education. The association has recently published a pamphlet, "Illinois's Great Need—A New Constitution," by Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Lou M. McGraw, member of the board of directors, which points out the fact that Illinois is living under a constitution written in 1870, and that since that period there have been radical changes which demand a new constitution. The seven amendments to the constitution since its adoption deal with such questions as draining, veto power, issuance of bonds, and convict labor. Two defeated amendments to the constitution have been attempts to change the law so that more than one amendment could be submitted for a vote at one time. The pamphlet is a clear statement of many reasons why Illinois should hold a constitutional convention.

"The partial franchise which the women of Illinois have exercised during the past five years has been so wisely and so discriminatingly administered that there can be no successful opposition to the introduction of a full suffrage clause into the new constitution," says Miss Katherine Porter, a director of the Illinois Association, in her leaflet, "Suffrage a Patriotic Necessity."

The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association is also making preparations for the ratification of the Federal Amendment. The early passage of the Amendment and its ratification by the Legislature of that state, which convenes next January, are taken as equally certain by the Illinois suffragists.

THE women of Arkansas are paying their poll taxes in large numbers, according to reports from that state, and the outlook for a big showing at the primaries on May 28 is excellent. It was recently ruled by the attorney general of Arkansas that poll taxes paid this year entitle the women to vote in the coming primaries; heretofore it had been customary to require the poll tax to be paid a year in advance. Tremendous interest is felt in the coming elections and the Arkansas suffragists are making every preparation to get out a full vote.

A BILL seeking to enfranchise the women of Delaware by amending the constitution was introduced in the Legislature of that state by Senator John M. Walker, last week. The introduction of the bill came as a complete surprise to the senate. It followed the discussion of a concurrent resolution which provided that no bills should be considered by this legislature except those termed "war measures."

When asked by Senator Wharton if he considered the woman suffrage bill a war measure, Senator Walker replied, "I certainly do."

"I agree with you," returned Senator Wharton.

THE Eleventh Assembly District of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York city has opened its headquarters at 2764 Broadway, between 106th and 107th Streets, where special lectures will be given, classes in citizenship will be held and candidates of all political parties will make addresses. The rooms will be opened daily from 2 to 6 and 8 to 10.

THE EQUAL FRANCHISE LEAGUE of the District of Columbia, of which Mrs. Louis Brownlow is president, gave a bridge party on Saturday afternoon, March 23, from 2 to 4:30, at National American Woman Suffrage Association headquarters, 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, for the benefit of its Red Cross Auxiliary, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Wm. F. Kelley. The Auxiliary meets on Tuesdays and Thursdays every week and in the past six weeks has made thousands of surgical dressings and knitted articles. The proceeds of the bridge party will be used for the purchase of gauze and other needed materials.

The entertainment committee of the Equal Franchise League, which had charge of the bridge party, was composed of Mrs. E. P. Costigan, chairman; Mrs. George W. Eastment, vice-chairman; Mrs. Thomas C. Adams, Mrs. E. R. Harvey, Mrs. Louis Brownlow, Mrs. Harwood Read, and Mrs. L. A. Bradley.

Among the hostesses at the various tables were Mrs. F. H. Ellis, Mrs. Cato Sells, Mrs. Henry Lloyd Aspinwall, Mrs. Drury Ludlow, Mrs. Hugh Fred, Mrs. Edward Stevens, Mrs. George F. Bowerman, Mrs. M. T. Endicott, Miss Sarah Beale, Miss A. M. Fletcher, Mrs. E. C. Haines, Mrs. Frank Hiram Snell, and Mrs. Middleton Beaman.

QUEENS COUNTY (New York) Democrats are considering a plan which will give women voters equal representation on the county committee, 191 seats in all, and 18 on the Assembly committee.

A Handsome Capitulation

"WHEN approached on the subject of supporting equal primary suffrage, Representative Barry Miller, of Dallas, told a committee that he would do so if 5,000 women of his district should sign a petition to that effect.

"The committee accepted his challenge, and last Wednesday morning Mr. Miller presented a petition to the legislature which contained many more than the required number of names.

"Incidentally he took his medicine like a little man, declaring that he didn't think the thing could be done, but that it would give him pleasure to keep faith now that his bluff had been called."

The above quotation from the Houston, Texas, *Chronicle* is all right as far as it goes, but Texas suffragists go still farther in praise of Judge Miller's unequivocal support of the Texas primary bill once he was convinced on his own terms. One of the Texas suffrage leaders writes the *Woman Citizen* to say:

"Yes, Barry Miller capitulated, and he did it most gracefully too. In fact he was splendid. From the moment the petition was presented to him, it was his petition and his fight and he commenced right then and there to fight for us most valiantly. Of course Barry Miller is a superior man, not the kind one sometimes finds in state legislative halls, and I believe his influence in both the House and Senate was a very large contributing factor toward our success. He made a wonderful speech, telling the members that he was now convinced that women wanted to vote. He told them that he saw on those petitions the names of women whom he knew had been home-builders and he felt satisfied that if these women wanted suffrage, they should have it. He said he would support and vote for the measure, and he did!"

Returning to the *Chronicle's* lively advocacy of the bill:

"Neither did Mr. Miller make any easy proposition when he demanded a petition of 5,000 names, as can readily be testified to by anyone who has had experience in such matters, and the fact that he was given 10,000 speaks volumes in itself.

"For one thing, it knocks that 10 per cent proposition, which the anti-suffragists have prattled about so long, all into a cocked hat, and proves conclusively that the proportion of women who really want the ballot, in Dallas County at least, is not so small or inconspicuous as some of the camoufleurs would have us believe.

"In this connection it is interesting to recall that just before the New York elections the opponents of suffrage were very verbose in calling attention to the relatively small number of women who had registered.

"Since those elections they have been as silent as the proverbial clam, and there is a reason, reader, a reason which does not admit of argumentative annihilation. As a matter of record a greater proportion of registered women voted than of registered men.

"The point about the whole situation is this: Those who fail to perceive that the great majority of intelligent women want to vote, and that the great majority of intelligent men are perfectly willing for them to have the vote, are merely blind to the drift of events."

Food Scouts in Action

"GEE, it's chicken, ain't it?"
"Eat it, can't yer? This ain't no time to talk."

Properly rebuked by his hungry pal, the inquisitive member of the Food Scouts fell to with a relish, and like lightning the steaming vegetable soup disappeared from view.

It was luncheon hour at Public School No. 40, New York, and the Food Scouts, twenty-five in number, were giving a living picture of their appreciation of a balanced ration. There was soup with bits of savory meat in each bowl, corn bread—big squares of it—oatmeal pudding with apples in it, and then there were dates, the latter aptly termed "takeaways" because they could be carried away to be eaten *en route* to the school room. A happy combination of lusty, healthy appetite and pride at the thought of filling important places in an important experiment which promises to revolutionize the health and welfare of millions of school children contributed to the suddenness and completeness of the disappearance of the luncheon dishes.

The Food Scouts, boys ranging between the ages of nine and twelve, suffering from a very common complaint, not only in large cities but even in hamlets—malnutrition—volunteered to be the objects of an experiment to determine the effect of a properly balanced luncheon, hot and nourishing, upon undernourished children in the schools.

The whole idea of the persons who are carrying out this experiment is to prove to the satisfaction of the public and the state that a hot meal, properly balanced, served to school children will build up their health, add to their efficiency and safeguard the future interests of the nation by giving it better and stronger citizens. It is an idea which promises to spread with great rapidity, due to the awakened interest Americans are taking in matters relating to their physical welfare as the result of the war.

THE need of such a movement has been emphasized many times, but never more strikingly than in the report made by the New York City Board of Health following its investigation of the health of the school children. More than 216,000, or 21 per cent, of the school boys and girls, were found to be suffering from under-nourishment, while 611,000, or 61 per cent, were found to be below the normal standard of nourishment. Under-nourishment in a child opens the door for tuberculosis in later years and is now recognized as one of the greatest menaces to the welfare of the nation at large. Another feature which has contributed to the interest in the luncheon experiment is the amazing number of men who were found physically unfit for service in the army at the time of the first draft, a large percentage of these cases being traceable to the ills of malnutrition in childhood.

At the time the luncheon experiment was started at Public School No. 40 a call was issued for volunteers willing to subject themselves to the ministrations of the nutrition experts. The responses were few until the youngsters were told that Uncle Sam would require the services of strong and healthy boys to help protect the land in future years. Visions of being able to render patriotic service induced scores to volunteer, but of necessity the lucky ones were chosen from among those suffering to a marked degree from the

effects of malnutrition.

The slogan adopted by the Food Scouts was "Round and Rosy," and they quickly started in to do their part toward becoming living examples of their motto. It was hard at first, for many of the items offered on the daily menu were strange. One of the boys demurred. "I can't eat that; my mother never cooks anything like that." It was necessary to explain that this was food which would make boys grow into strong men, whereupon it was speedily devoured with unexpected enjoyment. Some of the scouts were so small in stature that they seemed scarcely more than seven or eight years old, though they gave their ages as eleven and twelve. The process of building up red corpuscles and then bone and muscle was undertaken with scientific accuracy.

"No. 24 goes over the top today," was the announcement made one day recently to the scouts seated about the long board tables in the little brick room of the school building. No. 24 was proud of the distinction and showed it plainly. There was a testing of muscles and throwing out of chests all down the line indicating that No. 24 would soon be crowded for first place. Two others had made great gains in weight, each coming within five pounds of what is considered the normal weight for children of their years and size.

THE work of nourishing the small boys up to 100 per cent health and efficiency has been conducted with careful attention to the modern rules of proper nourishment. Between 2,000 and 2,500 calories each day are a necessity for a normal, healthy boy, but realizing that home conditions may be such as to prevent this amount being reached in the other meals the luncheon menus are arranged to provide half this number of calories. The menus are worked out in complete harmony with the suggestions made by the Food Administration. Roughage, as the coarser vegetables are called, coarser breads and cereals all make up a proper diet for a growing child as well as an adult. The fact that these foodstuffs are produced in great abundance, and are



AN EXPERIMENT CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE NEW YORK POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL LUNCH COMMITTEE, THIS NATION-WIDE MOVEMENT IS TO GROW AND TO BRING OFFICIAL RESULTS INTO EVERY CITY AND TO THE PLAN OF ITS FOUNDERS AND THE AGENTS OF THE WELFARE THAT HAVE BEEN ATTRACTED AS THEY GIVE EVERY EVIDENCE OF LONG

cheaper than other foods, places them within the reach of small incomes. One aim of the school luncheons has been to encourage greater use of these beneficial foods in the daily menus.

Menus and recipes, accompanied by explanatory notes, have been supplied the children so that they might take them home to their mothers, and in this way the campaign for better balanced rations has reached into the homes of the school children. The menus show infinite

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variety of combinations. Each boy brings to the luncheon a blank which he has filled out showing the kinds of food he has eaten since the luncheon the day before. On many of these reports coffee is a principal item. The boys are being taught that tea and coffee are harmful to them and are encouraged to drink milk and cocoa. Within two months from the time the experiment was started these records showed a remarkable improvement, proof that

the children were carrying home the message of nourishing food for growing bodies.

The children represent many nationalities and in some homes wine is served with meals. But the scouts soon learn that alcohol stunts their growth and is not the thing for boys who would be well and strong.

"I don't touch it any more," said one small convert to temperance. "I take a little sip once in a great while at a party where I have to be polite, but I tell them I can't be expected to drink something that is going to hurt me."

With childish directness, some of the records present a pitiful and potent argument for just such work as is being demonstrated through the luncheons. In many of the homes food is served in sufficient quantities, but it is not food that nourishes and builds up growing bone and tissue. In other homes food insufficient in either quantity or quality shows the need for the child to have the added nourishment of the hot school luncheon selected with a view to its nutritive properties.

A thorough physical examination each Saturday is an important part of the Food Scout experiment. Each boy is weighed and his general condition noted. A dental clinic is also

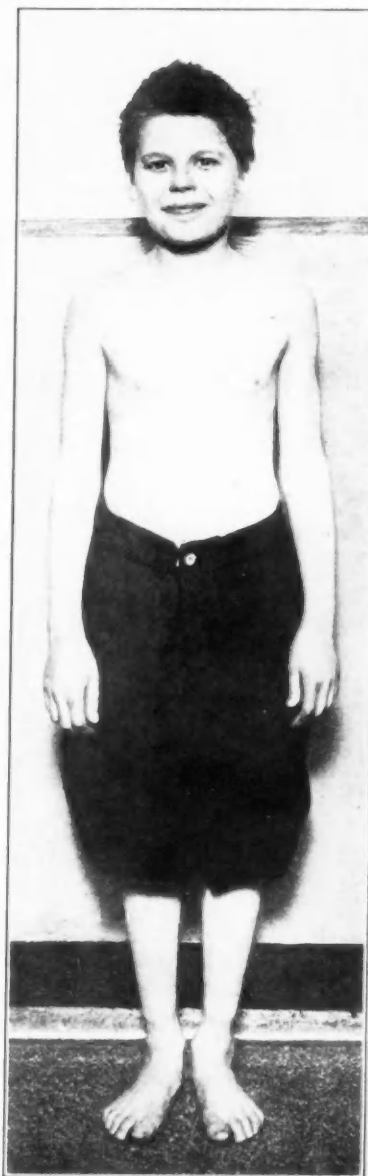
a very important feature and now light gymnastics have been added to the curriculum of development.

IT is said that during the few weeks the experiment was in operation twelve mothers have been able to leave their homes and find paying work to add to the slender income of the family, because they knew their children were safe at noon and having a warm luncheon. A penny—sometimes two or three pennies—in hundreds of cases represents the sum put into the child's hand as the mother goes out for the day's work. From this meager sum the day's luncheon must be purchased. The cafes and restaurants, obviously, are not opening their doors to the trade of such little patrons. As a result the corner grocery store, with its pickles and crackers, offers the only solution, unless it be a street vender of "hokey-pokey," for many a child's luncheon problem.

No Free Lunches

THE advocates of the school luncheon movement are not asking that free lunches be served the children but that the children be asked to pay a penny or two pennies for a portion. In extreme cases where even this is out of the question special provision could be made. The plan calls for the overhead expense to be borne by the city. A proposed ordinance is now before the Committee on General Welfare of the Board of Aldermen seeking the establishment of a bureau to furnish lunches in the public schools. Gustav Straubenmuller, Acting City Superintendent of Schools, said before the committee, "Under-nourishment is not altogether due to a lack of food or a lack of money. Wrong feeding must be corrected and right here is where the educational system comes in. There are underfed children in the brownstone houses as well as in the tenements."

(Continued on page 356)



MORIAN SPRENTOWICZ!

Why is he laffin'? Oh! he's just laffin'. He went over the top of the food problem recently. Maybe that's why.

Teaching Immigrant Mothers

THE war made many problems acute that before were only latent—latent, at least, so far as public appreciation of them went. Among these is the problem of Americanization. The public is waking up to the undesirability, and even danger, of leaving large masses of our population unable to speak English. Here is another point where women are showing that they can give really valuable help.

Hitherto, in efforts at Americanization, the immigrant mother has been the hardest person to reach. In most cases, little or no effort has been made to reach her—partly because it was thought to be impossible, and partly because it was considered much more important to Americanize the actual or prospective voters. The Americanization Department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association is proving that it is entirely possible to reach these women, when the question is approached with sympathy and understanding.

In the first place, immigrant schools have almost always been evening schools. The immigrant mother cannot attend an evening school. The evening is the only time when her husband can be at home; and he naturally wants her to be there. For her, the class must be held in the afternoon.

In the second place, she usually has a baby and several small children. If she is to come to the class, she must be allowed to bring the children, and to leave them in an adjoining room, where somebody will take care of them during the lesson hour.

In the third place, the lessons must be made interesting to her. Almost all the text-books for immigrants have been prepared for men, and the dialogue and phrases deal with men's work. The few that have been prepared for women do not take account of the immigrant woman's needs. They teach her to say, "I cook, I wash, I scrub," etc. But she does not need to speak English while doing her housework. What she needs is to be able to speak it when she goes outside of her home to deal with Americans. Mrs. Grace Bagley, who has charge of the Americanization work both for the Suffrage Association and for the Women's Committee of the National Council of Defense, is conducting in Boston a class for Italian women, which she aims to make a model for like classes elsewhere; and she attributes its success to the observance of these common-sense principles; afternoon classes, somebody to take care of the children and interesting teaching.

FOR instance, one day the teacher brought a large valise full of clothing. She personated a store-keeper, while the assistant teacher and the pupils represented the customers. The teacher held up a garment and the assistant teacher and the pupils asked in chorus, "How much is this shirtwaist?" The teacher answered, "This shirt-waist is a dollar and a half." Question and answer were repeated till all had learned it. Then the teacher held up a hat, and was asked, "How much is this hat?" "This hat is three dollars." By the end of the lesson the pupils had learned how to ask the cost of every kind of garment that they were likely to need to buy, either for themselves or for their children.

At the next lesson, the teacher personated the keeper of a grocery store, and the women learned how to ask the price of cornmeal, of soap, etc. Here the chance was also found to explain to them something about substitutes. They do not need to be urged to economy; they know more about that than their teachers; but they are eager to learn what substitutes they can use, when the prices of their customary food materials have soared out of reach.

The impossibility of getting Italian mothers to come to school has proved a myth. The women thoroughly enjoy the class. One has been forced to drop out, because (as she explained with tears in her eyes) her husband did not want her to learn English, for fear she would talk with American men! Some of the others are gaily as bluestockings, like the first girls who went to college; but they keep right on.

The country is full of human welfare problems, of one sort or another—problems, many of them involving women and children. These problems will not be met intelligently until women have a hand in their solution. The sooner women get the ballot, the sooner and the more fully will the authorities recognize the wisdom of letting women take hold and help with them. And the sooner the U. S. Senate passes the nation-wide suffrage amendment, the sooner the good work will go forward.

The Cost of Government

ALL the old exploded fallacies have been brought forward anew, in the effort to scare the U. S. Senators from submitting the Federal Suffrage Amendment. For instance, Mrs. Margaret C. Robinson of Massachusetts is again urging that equal suffrage would immensely increase the cost of government. If this were so the expenditures for government ought to be found higher in the suffrage states than elsewhere. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Robinson's own state of Massachusetts heads the list.

An official report was published last year by a committee of prominent men appointed by Governor McCall to investigate the causes of the high cost of living in Massachusetts. The committee was headed by that well-known anti-suffragist, the Hon. Robert Luce. It found various causes contributing to the high cost of living. Among other things, it said:

"The governmental expenditures of Massachusetts per capita are 25 per cent higher than those of any other state in the Union. The interest burden is a tremendous one. The state debt is more than 100 per cent higher than that of any other state, and 640 per cent higher than the average per capita debt of all the other states."

Equal suffrage Kansas has lately paid off the last dollar of its state debt. In answer to a letter inquiring whether women's voting had greatly increased the cost of government, the Hon. Earl Akers, the Kansas state treasurer, wrote (*Woman's Journal*, Dec. 4, 1915):

"Such a question is amusing. . . . The women with us are insisting upon still greater efficiency, as well as more rigid economy, in the state's business. If you are tired of debt

and waste in public business, give the women a chance."

Every time that the suffrage for men has been broadened—as for instance on the abolition of the old religious tests, and on the doing away of the property qualifications—it has involved a somewhat greater expense, for more ballots and more polling booths; but no one today would say that that was a sound argument for continuing those old injustices.

Two Republics

SOME of the anti-suffrage arguments offered for the consideration of the U. S. Senate must bring a smile to the face of all the Senators who know anything about European history. After repeatedly ascribing to woman suffrage the downfall of ancient Greece and Rome (neither of which ever had woman suffrage), the official organ of the opponents of equal rights now comes forward to tell us that the republic established by the French revolution has survived because it did not let women vote, while the Russian republic has collapsed because it did! This remarkable article says:

"The French revolution said 'No' to the women who wanted political power. Its leaders believed that government was man's job. Its influence survived, and France was reborn a republic."

The republic established by the French revolution soon became subject to an Emperor. Afterward for many years France was a monarchy; then for a short time a republic, and then an empire again. After the French were defeated in the Franco-Prussian War, the German Government (as historians have lately been reminding us) imposed a republican form of government upon France, because it believed that France would be less dangerous to Germany as a republic than as a monarchy.

It was about eighty years after the coming of the French revolution before the present French republic was "reborn." Long before eighty years more are over, the Russian republic will be "reborn"; and probably by that time Germany itself will be a republic, too.

Where Women Do Not Vote

THE New York Times has been editorially lamenting over the outcome of the recent primaries in Wisconsin. The Times thinks it shows an appallingly large number of "disloyal" voters. May we remind the Times that Wisconsin defeated the woman suffrage amendment? If the primaries in any suffrage state had made the same showing as those of Wisconsin, the Times would infallibly have laid it to the pacifist tendencies of the women voters.

Alice Stone Blackwell.

As Best She Can

THE negro woman is offering to do her bit in the war. An investigation in Chicago by M. R. Smith (*Life and Labor*), herself a negro, shows that comparatively few firms were hospitable and others which received negro women treated them with marked discrimination. But in spite of refusal here and discrimination there the negro woman of Chicago has made her way in the industries vacated by the draft. She is working in men's processes in tobacco factories and other manufactures, in theatres, in garages; much of the work is night work; often the wages are low and conditions bad.

The Suffrage Future in Great Britain

FOR the benefit of inquiring readers (?) of the *Woman Citizen* (who apparently haven't read it, after all, because it has been said before in these columns) let it be again said that the British suffrage victory which climaxed on February 6 gave full suffrage to 6,000,000 of the women, married, or single, or widows, of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales on exactly the same conditions. Those conditions are that the women who vote must be over thirty and be "householders" or "occupiers," or the wives of such householders or occupiers. This is what it means to be a householder or occupier in Great Britain as a franchise qualification: You must occupy a house, or business premises, or land, or unfurnished rooms as lodgings, or you must be a university graduate. If you are a university graduate the presumption seems to be either that you will have your university residence or that you know so much that you will make a good voter whether you are an occupier or not.

THE suffrage victory in Great Britain not being complete as yet, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies will go straight forward with its program toward its final goal. Anything short of complete political equality for men and women will be short of that goal.

The *Common Cause*, the official organ of the National Union, of which Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett is president, will continue its work, enlarging its field and championing legislation which tends to further the cause of women's political equality and increase their economic opportunity.

Concerning the future of the National Union, Eleanor Rathbone, an English suffragist the vision and intelligence of whose writing long since commended her to suffragists on this side of the Atlantic as well as the other, has this to say:

"We believe that the National Union has its own sphere clearly marked out for it by its whole previous experience and history—the sphere of feminism. I know that to many people this particular word is repugnant, because they are touched with a large and vague humanitarianism, and anything which suggests a limitation of purpose, even within limits which embrace half the human race, is distasteful. But surely this feeling of dislike is due to the old fallacy that selection and concentration of work implies somehow narrowness and selfishness, instead of being merely the best and only effective way of getting the world's work done. We of the National Union need not be ashamed of taking as our motto: 'I am a woman, and nothing that concerns the status of women is indifferent to me.'

"HENCE, we propose as our enlarged aims the attainment of 'a real equality of status, liberties, and opportunities as between men and women.' Here, again, the vague-minded person who dislikes precision and definition of aims is on our track with the question whether 'equality' is not too narrow a thing to aim at. Is not the position of men in many respects unsatisfactory? Why, therefore, try to assimilate that of

women to it? But to equalize is not necessarily to assimilate. 'Equality' is not a synonym for 'identity.' If we had meant identity we should have said identity. It should be possible to make the status and opportunities of women 'equal to' those of men, without making them in the least the same."

THE anti-suffragists of America have so long used that word feminism as a barrage of hot air behind which to make the most insidious and poisonous attacks upon womanhood that it has perhaps become even more repugnant to American suffragists than to British. It is, just the same, a pity to have to lose a perfectly good and effective word out of the vocabulary because of its misapplication in a perfectly bad and defective thought process. Therefore, people who resent the spoliation of the English language will welcome the intention of the British suffragists to make the word serve in its legitimate capacity in Great Britain, even if it can't in America. In its legitimate capacity feminism stands for the advocacy of a fully developed womanhood. It takes the full-fledged American anti to see that to develop womanhood is to develop license and sensuality.

Into the American anti camp, therefore, Miss Rathbone's public-spirited proposals must fall with the effect of shell-shock. As, for instance:

"A T present the administration of the law is almost wholly in the hands of men, while the mass of women, who need its protection most, are still unorganized and inarticulate. It is proposed to set up bureaux which will assist women to take the fullest advantage of the existing law by supplying them with expert assistance and legal advice, where necessary, by watching their interests in the law courts and elsewhere, and by helping them to voice their needs and their claims. . . . The Union should co-operate with other organizations also interested in the welfare of women, to educate the new voters and to make them more effective citizens. It can do this by assisting in the formation of Women Citizens' Associations, or even by undertaking the work single-handed, where other societies are not ready or fitted to share it.

"These new associations will be autonomous when formed, and will probably undertake a good deal of work that lies outside the sphere of pure feminism. For example, women, and especially married women, are at present keenly interested in the problems of food control, and although this cannot be described as a feminist issue, it is obviously one in which women may legitimately feel that they have a special concern and a special point of view. The Women Citizens' Association would be the natural medium for bringing the views of women on this subject before the municipal authorities. It is proposed that, where possible, the newly formed Associations should be kept in touch with feminism and gradually educated up to its higher levels by making them corresponding or associate societies of the Union. But it will be for them to say whether they choose to exercise this privilege or not."

Hail and Farewell

THERE has already been some change in the suffrage organization map in England following upon the British suffrage triumph. Some of the suffragists take the battle as ended and are dissolving their group formation accordingly. A notable example is that of the United Suffragists, who held a Jubilation Tea on March 16th at Claxton Hall, London, which was at once a Hail and Farewell—hail to the future, farewell to the past.

The discontinuance of the official organ, *Votes for Women*, has been announced. Editorially *Votes for Women* says:

"We do not know what the future will contain for the new men and women voters. Of one thing only we are certain, that peace must come some day. There is a whole civilization to be healed, a whole new world to be built up. Looking back over the years, seeing the magnificent sacrifices that have been offered up in the cause of women's freedom, we have no fears as to the use that will be made by women of their votes, working side by side with the men, whose citizenship they now share."

Some ten years ago the paper was founded, first as the organ of the Women's Social and Political Union, then as an independent suffrage paper, owned and edited by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and finally as the organ of the United Suffragists. A pioneer among women's papers, under the able editorship of the Lawrences, it has reflected the storm and stress of the struggle and the never failing hope of ultimate victory. It is a satisfaction to its friends everywhere that it took victory itself to extinguish it.

On the Feminist Firing Line

TURKEY, the land of the harem and the veiled women, has decided to admit women to its regular army. Following an order from the Turkish War Office, a battalion of women is being formed, not to participate in the actual fighting, but to do work behind the lines. The battalion will be officered by women.

According to a press report, the Osmanli Association for Women's Service is appealing to all Turkish women between the ages of 18 and 30 to enroll in the battalion, which is to be known as the "First Working Women's Battalion" and which will adhere to the eight-hour working day.

Turkey is now employing girl telephone operators, and they are said to be particularly efficient. The first Turkish Girls' Commercial College was opened at Constantinople last December.

THE women of Russia are protesting against the ratification of the German peace treaties. Declaring that ratification will mean the loss of their lands and their freedom, Maria Spiridinova, Bolshevik leader, is making an urgent appeal to the peasantry to protest against any such treaties.

The Chicago branch of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense is receiving from 40 to 50 calls a day from mature untrained women wanting work.

Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A.

The first "all women's hospital" unit to go to the front has arrived in France



Direct connection with the unit will be maintained by the WOMAN CITIZEN through letters, cablegrams and reports

Home Friends

will want to read the latest news from these women. Insure yourselves a full set of these human documents by subscribing now to the Woman Citizen. One dollar for 52 numbers

The WOMAN CITIZEN

171 Madison Avenue, New York

First Words from Hospital Unit

"LOCATION better and safer." These were the first cabled words signed "Sholly," and received by the *Woman Citizen* from the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A.

Just at this juncture the safer location means something to the friends of the unit on this side of the water.

For late reports from the French front show that the little town of Guiscard to which the unit was at first designated is one of the four objectives of the big German drive. When the sector in which the town lay was taken over by the British a new ruling forbade the entrance of women. Already the Smith unit is reported as removed from the danger zone.

The cablegram explains further: "French authorities co-operating entirely—large garden—two houses—need repairs—must pay rent and buy tents. Send housekeeper immediately. May cable next unit to sail April."

Within the week two long letters have been received from Dr. van Sholly. The first, written on board ship, speaks of terrific heat at sea during the last days of February. Immediately after landing Dr. van Sholly sent back to Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, Chairman of the Hospital Committee in this country, the following graphic account of their first intimate contact with the country where the unit is to serve the cause of the Allied armies.

"HERE we are safe and sound at the American Y. W. C. A. Hostess House where we arrived on Wednesday night.

"Unfortunately we did not reach the Gironde River early enough on Tuesday to dock that night, so we did not get into Bordeaux until the next morning at about six. You may be sure that our joy in landing was greatly increased when we looked out on the dock and saw the smiling faces of Dr. Finley and Miss Gregory, who had made the trip to meet us. They had looked out for our comfort as far as they could and so all we had to do was to pile into and on top of the waiting omnibus and

proceed to the Y. M. C. A. headquarters which was cheek-by-jowl with the Paris-Orleans R. R. station. You can imagine how we looked—a strange combination of humanity and baggage all mixed together, hanging inside and out of the bus, more like a traveling circus than 25 serious-minded professional women. The early morning grayness, the sun making its way slowly through the mist, the lovely, picturesque, quaint, whitish buildings with their red-tiled roofs; then the people, mostly peasant women, starting about their daily tasks, poilus, Canadian soldiers, French soldiers and, best of all, Ford trucks driven by our own boys, filled us all with a curious mixture of joy and sorrow. Nearly everyone waved to us or shouted some word of cheer as we passed.

"OUR first hand-to-mouth realization of the war came when some of us, having breakfasted at a very early hour, expressed the modest desire for a sandwich. We were told that such a thing was impossible to procure at any time. Bread is served with meals in limited quantities, but not a morsel can you get between times.

"The trip to Paris was long and a trifle tedious, but every one was good natured and happy. The country was beautiful and new to all of us. We reached here about nine in the evening and after a struggle with luggage (there are no men porters now and few women) we once more proceeded circus-wise through the darkened streets to the hotel.

"We are all staying together for several reasons: the more there are of us the better terms we can make, and also because it is necessary for us to meet at least once a day in case there is business to attend to. Of course the first thing yesterday was to register at the Commissaire de Police. You may be glad to know that they were so pleased with us they asked for five pictures of each member of the unit. Also some discriminating person remarked on the efficient appearance of our ensemble."

The Last Reserves

By Elizabeth Curtis Holman

"The women are our last reserves. If they cannot heal the world, we are lost, for they are the last we have—we cannot call the angels down."

—NELLIE L. McCLUNG, in "The Next of Kin"

AYE, the trumpets are calling, amid the din of conflict,

The last, wild, mortal conflict of a man-made, world-wide war,

The trumpets are calling, where the gallant lads are falling,

And the flame and hell-soot belches from the hate-born demon's maw.

They are calling up the women, the women, the women,

Whose place, they said, was in the home, the kitchen, and the kirk;

They are calling forth the women from the special sphere assigned them,

And those last reserves are coming, through the blood, and hell, and murk.

The healers, and the binders, the watchers, and the lovers,

The mothers, and the daughters, and the sisters, and the wives,

The lads they bore are calling them, with thirst-mad throats are calling them,

To come, with women's hearts and hands, and save their souls and lives.

The last reserves are coming! A cheer goes up to meet them!

A cheer that's half a choking sob, and half a stifled groan:

"We were waiting just the word, lads!" the women shout, a-running,

"Just the trumpet-call of freedom, to bring us to our own."

"We cannot call the angels down," so we must call the women,

Call them from the kitchen stove, the byre, and sheltered roof,

To wash and mend life's garments, that the wasteful boys have trampled,

And weave love's shining pattern in the soiled and tattered woof.

Liberty Kitchens

MISS CORNELIA ALDIS, according to the Information Service Division on Women's War Work, designs to reach the 21,000,000 housewives of America, and to have a chain of no less than 21,000,000 Liberty Kitchens. She is chairman of the District of Columbia Liberty Kitchens which, with the help of the Food Administration, plans to teach war economy in the home to the nation.

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Third Liberty Loan Drive

MRS. CATT has issued the following bulletin to the state suffrage associations comprising the N. A. W. S. A.:

"On April 6th, it is expected that the Third Liberty Loan Drive will begin. Although some millions of people contributed to the first two loans, it is claimed that the bulk of subscriptions came from wealthy people and the banks. An effort must be made this time to secure the sales of bonds to a still larger number of people and the drive must reach more remote corners of our country.

"Mrs. Janet A. Fairbank of Chicago, member of the Liberty Loan Committee, is chairman of the sub-committee which deals with organizations of women. She has asked me to beg our state presidents to do two things toward helping in this new drive.

"1. To circularize their local auxiliaries and beg them to organize squads of women who will canvass in town and country for the sale of bonds. That is the only way in which the sales can be made to reach into all the homes.

"2. To urge the chairman of each local auxiliary to enroll all the suffragists in the community who are gifted with the ability to get a message over to the public through speaking. Tell her to present this list, together with information as to whether the women are willing to go into the country or into other towns for the purpose of furthering the Liberty Loan, to the banks having the drive in her community in hand. These women speakers should

hold themselves in readiness to go upon call to noonday meetings at factories, workshops, to open air meetings on the streets, to moving pictures houses, etc., for brief speeches. It goes without saying that most people who speak will not be able, in the few minutes allowed at such times and places, to persuade those who come within hearing to go forthwith and buy bonds. The main object is not that. It is to create momentum for the drive and, by continual repetition of the demand to buy bonds, to impress the mind of every citizen with the duty to do so.

"We cannot win the war without money and we all want to win. We are not being asked to give our money, but merely to lend it to our country.

"The suffragists have helped so splendidly in every war service and in the other loan drives that I feel sure they will be at the fore in the Third Liberty Loan as they are in all good things. Will you kindly co-operate to the best of your ability and that of the Suffrage Association to make this big undertaking a smashing success?"

Loan Driving in Indiana

THE suffragists of Indiana are preparing to push the Third Liberty Loan Campaign with all the vigor that characterized their former Liberty Loan drives. "A-Penny-A-Member Liberty Bond" is the campaign slogan. Mrs. Walter Greenough of Indianapolis has

been appointed chairman of the Liberty Loan Committee for the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana and is urging every league and every member to buy a bond.

The Indiana Woman's Franchise League feels a particular interest in the Loan drive as Mrs. F. H. McCulloch, Chairman for Indiana of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, is a director of the state board and president of the Fort Wayne Suffrage League. Mrs. H. C. Stillwell of Anderson, who, as vice-chairman of Mrs. McCulloch's committee, is in charge of the northern part of the state is a director of the state suffrage board and a member of the board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The Loan Drive is not the only drive that is interesting the Franchise League members, the *Woman Citizen* subscription drive is forging ahead under the direction of Mrs. Jessie P. Croan of Anderson, assisted by Mrs. C. N. Smith and Mrs. J. M. Larmore.

If!

"IF the amendment is defeated in the Senate through lack of Democratic support it will be impossible for the Democratic party to escape responsibility for killing the measure. The Democratic leaders see this and they are exerting every effort to bring Southern senators into line. Party leaders do not wish to be compelled to shoulder the great load which must be assumed by the party if the national suffrage amendment shall fail because of Democratic opposition."--*Tribune*, Los Angeles.

When writing to advertisers please mention the WOMAN CITIZEN.

Mothers of Consolidation

From the Woman Citizen's Toronto Correspondent

"THE Canadian women count now, since our enfranchisement," writes Mrs. Ericson Brown of Toronto to the *Woman Citizen* concerning the recent Congress of Women called in Ottawa to consult with the War Cabinet. "I think this Congress was unique in the history of the world. The women did not ask to be consulted, nor did they offer advice until they were asked for it. The government consulted the women, who represented the whole of Canada."

Mrs. Brown saw the vast importance, both moral and political, attached to this Congress and quoted a statement made by Mrs. Nellie McClung which emphasized as the keynote of the meeting the fact that "the problems of Canada are the problems of Canada's women." These words were interpretative of the attitude of politicians towards the conference.

The opening session was held in the courtroom of the Railway Commission with Hon. N. W. Rowell, vice-chairman of the War Committee of the Cabinet, in the chair. The Chairman, Premier Robert Borden, had been called to Washington. Their Excellencies the Governor-General and the Duchess of Devonshire were present, also Lady Borden, and others.

The meeting was addressed in the frankest terms by Major-General Newburn, Minister of Militia; Hon. T. A. Crerar, Minister of Agriculture; Senator A. D. Robertson and Sir George Foster. The pressing problems of the country were bared for discussion and the freest expression from the women was sought.

These were not only the war problems of munition making, labor supply and food conservation. They were political problems of maintaining the present Union Government. "The very words, with all they imply, send a thrill to the heart of those who hate the hide-bound party system," writes Mrs. Brown.

AFTER the conditions had been spread before the women by men in authority the sessions were given over by Mr. Rowell to Mrs. H. P. Plumptre of the Board of Registration. Mrs. Plumptre defined this as a union of the women of Canada for national reconstruction. "We are looking forward," she said, "to a new solidarity and a new outlook. As those who fifty years ago gathered together on behalf of their country were known as 'Fathers of Confederation,' so these women might be known as 'Mothers of Consolidation.'"

The forceful contingent of Western women was alert and well informed on the subject of food production by women. Mrs. S. V. Haight, President of the Women's Section of the Grain Growers' Association of Saskatchewan, was of this group. Mrs. Haight can drive a three-horse binder and make repairs for her own machine. So can Mrs. Parlyb of Alix, President of the United Farm Women of Alberta. These women were a revelation to the women of the eastern provinces.

Such concrete results came from the three days' conference as pledges of support to any compulsory measure the Government might consider necessary, the advocacy of daylight-saving legislation, and various thrift and war saving measures. The Committee on Women in Industry defined where, in their opinion,

women could be successfully employed, made their stand for equal pay, for supervision of conditions which would tend to conserve potential motherhood, and advocated a minimum wage and the placing of women on wage boards. The representatives of child welfare appealed for a federal department of public health and for steps to be taken by the government to conserve infant life and deal with the problem of venereal disease. "Our soldiers going to the front," said Miss Helen Reid of Montreal, "have more chance to live than have their babies born in Canada under our present health conditions."

From every side it was conceded that the concrete results were of less importance than the actual achievement of getting together. "You have accomplished the primary object we had in view by meeting here and making recommendations," Mr. Rowell said. "We wanted your advice. It necessarily follows that this is but the initiation of a larger measure of co-operation in the future." Hon. Mr. Calder said that "had such a conference been held three years ago more would have been accomplished than has been. I feel that the effect of this meeting will go through the length and breadth of the country and set forces at work that we have never known before."

A Health Revolution

(Continued from page 351)

THE success of the luncheon experiment is due in the greatest measure to Dr. Morris Stark of the Post Graduate Hospital who is in charge of the Saturday morning clinic; Miss Sally Lucas Jean, health consultant of the People's Institute, and Executive Secretary of the Committee on War Time Problems of the Childhood Pediatric Section of the New York Academy of Medicine, who is directing the experiment; Dr. Henry Dwight Chapin of the New York Academy of Medicine, Child Specialist; Miss A. L. Gillett, representing the New York School Lunch Committee, who, in conference with Mrs. Mary Swartz Rose, one of the greatest food authorities in America and a member of the Hoover Food Advisory Board, planned the menus; Mrs. Laurette Hawkins Muns, a nurse who served the luncheons and visited the homes of the boys twice a week and who reported the keenest interest in the homes; Miss Fee, of the New York Committee; Mrs. Frederick Peterson, Lunch School, who aided in financing the experiment; Mr. John Collier, director of the People's Institute, and Mrs. Lucy Woods Collier of the People's Institute. W. K. Franklin, principal of Public School No. 40, not only co-operated but ate the lunches, and reported a steady gain in weight. Mrs. Eula McClarey is responsible for the publicity which has been given the experiment, a publicity that has extended from coast to coast.

THE luncheon movement has had no stauncher friend than Mrs. Frederick Peterson, an ardent suffragist, who is most enthusiastic over the reception which has been given the Food Scout experiment by the leading medical men of the country and those who have made children a study.

"It is a fact established beyond dispute by reliable investigators," says Mrs. Peterson, "that many thousands of American children are in the devitalized condition of health known as malnutrition. Miss Julia Lathrop of the Children's Bureau, Surgeon-General Blue of the United States Department of Health, and Dr. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, assured me in Washington, recently, that the facts in the case are as stated. Malnutrition has come to be recognized as one of the greatest foes of national health with which we have to contend. It is due as much to bad food habits as to poverty and is prevalent among the children of rural communities as well as in the cities."

"The state requires children to go to school. But has it the right to require an underfed child to go to school? Under-nourishment is as dangerous to the community as illiteracy."

LET it not be said that too much is required of the schools. True education will always be changing and adjusting itself to the needs of its own day. Here then is a great opportunity in bureaus of school feeding. There is no doubt but that the Federal Government would gladly coöperate in such work all over the country. To teach the foreign born to eat our foods in the right way would be a long step towards teaching them to speak our language and think our thoughts, in other words towards Americanizing them.

"The New York School Lunch Committee in its annual report states that the cost of the food in 35 schools last year was \$35,000, and the receipts from the sales to children was \$38,000. The cost of equipment and service was \$25,000. This would show that the cost of the food could be borne by the children."

"Our boys and girls are our greatest national asset and on them will devolve the great tasks of democracy in the future. Whatever weakens them weakens the state. Whatever is for their good an enlightened state will, in its own self-interest, seek to secure. If under modern social conditions great numbers of children are not being rightly fed at home, and cannot be rightly fed at home and when, as is often the case, the mother is obliged to be away from the home, then it devolves upon the state to see that proper food is available somewhere."

"One good hot meal a day will not cure all the malnutrition but it will go a long way toward it and save many a physical misfit later on. Give us school lunches with all speed."

THE New York experiment in which the Food Scouts have served so wholeheartedly has attracted so much attention throughout the country that hundreds of letters of inquiry and congratulation have poured in from factories, insurance companies and large employers of young people who are planning to adopt similar experiments for their employees. Within another year, it is hoped, luncheon work will be carried on in scores of the larger cities of the country with especial reference to the welfare of boys and girls.

The entire nation is awakening to the need of physical preparation for life's battles, and it is believed that the municipal, state and national governments will shortly be interested in promoting the work now emerging from its experimental stage in New York City.

The New York Academy of Medicine has given its hearty endorsement to the movement.

Correspondence

Three Million Plus

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

The question has been asked and will continue to be asked regarding the probable number of women voters in New York state.

Here is the answer as nearly as we can arrive at it:

Census 1916, total population.....10,273,375
Census 1910, total population..... 9,113,614

Increase in 6 years..... 1,159,761

Average increase per year..... 193,293

This gives us a total population in 1918 of 10,659,961.

The number of men and women is about equal, therefore, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the above total, or 5,329,980 equals total number of women at present time.

Now to arrive at the number of women of voting age, we must begin with some known basis; and, using that as a criterion, deduce our required result.

Therefore, if in 1910, there were 2,836,773 males over 21 (see *Woman Citizen*, Nov. 17, 1917, also Vol. III, Census) and the male population at that time was 4,556,807 ($\frac{1}{2}$ of above total, 9,113,614) there existed a voting strength of 62%.

Applying that principle to the woman population in 1918: we take 62% of 5,329,980 which gives us 3,304,587 women over 21 years of age in 1918.

New York.

GRATIA GOLLER.

No Room for Pride

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

It is with amazement, tempered with regret, that I read the letter from Rosalie Loew Whitney in the current number of your magazine with its astonishing caption—"The Glory of the Republicans." The writer seems fearful that the party which might have had the glory of forcing a suffrage amendment to a vote any time during the last fifty years may not now come in for its share of the credit for the passage of the Woman Suffrage Amendment, and goes to some pains to show that the Republican vote in the House was a kind of spontaneous uprising. I should have judged from the reports of the activities in Washington, which have been appearing in your magazine, that every congressman had been interviewed, many of them quite frequently.

However, the point is simply this. Those of us who have been long in the suffrage work, and are familiar with its history, do not feel that there is much occasion for pride in the fact that the United States seems finally about to admit women to a participation in political affairs, long after many other countries that do not boast of their democracy have enfranchised their women. Certainly no woman who has seen suffrage defeated in state after state, Republican as well as Democratic, should be very keen about trying to make political capital out of the present situation. When the amendment is submitted, it has still to run the gauntlet of the Legislatures, and there are Republican states as well as Democratic where it has by no means smooth sailing.

The New York women who cannot forego

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the pleasures of partisanship, even for a brief season, should restrain themselves, at least so far as public print is concerned, and journals which are devoted to suffrage will do well to avoid the pitfalls that lie in the pathway of the enthusiastic partisan.

Denver, Col.

HELEN L. GRENFELL.

Comfortable in Politics

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

A verification of the claim that women opposed or indifferent to women voting are first to appear at the polls and to accept nomination for office is demonstrated in Ellicottville, N. Y., where a woman, who with her mother and sister refused to enroll when called upon during the campaign, has accepted the nomination by the Republicans to the office of corporation tax collector, and is endorsed by the Democrats. With no other opponent in the field she is sure of the office. She is the only woman candidate on the ticket and was nominated and endorsed entirely by men, no women attending the caucus.

Ellicottville, N. Y.

L. A. NORTHRUP.

American Chivalry

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I read the *Woman Citizen* with much pleasure and profit, but I am entertained to observe that American women of intelligence still believe in the "chivalry" of their men. Nobody else believes in it. All the rest of the world knows better.

In support of this I submit an extract from a foreign paper entitled "The American: His Morals."—"All his so-called chivalry indeed is no more than evidence of one of his projecting defects: his inability, to wit, to think of women save as servitors to his uses. It is costing him great effort to acquire a more complex view of them; he is still somewhat scandalized whenever they show intelligence and individuality. He would much prefer them to remain his simple property—his cherished, coddled, well-defended property, perhaps, but still unmistakably his property. The things he asks of them in return for that jealous cherishing are services almost purely sexual: he wants them to be assiduous wives and willing mothers: it displeases him to picture them in any other role. This view, of course, reacts viciously upon the women themselves. There is no land in which



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the holding out of the sexual lure is less covered up by artificialities and disguises. The American girl is turned loose upon the reluctant male at seventeen, and she practices her frank magic until she is long past forty. Scarcely a single restraint is upon her; no crippling conventions hamper her display of goods; she is free to snare a man however she may."

This is the European view of the American's relation to his womankind, and that it is correct is but too evident.

Lake Placid, N. Y. ISABEL A. MACPHERSON.

Where Is Your State?

TWO cheery Canadian nurses in their serious-looking blue uniforms climbed to the top of a Fifth Avenue bus for their first and perhaps only glimpse of that living panorama which is New York. The next stop scheduled for them was a port in France, and thereafter life would become a thing of crowded hardships, horror and sacrificial beauty. They were very happy in a quiet, dignified way,—there was no mistaking it. Contentment shone in their faces. And we overheard the more matronly one saying to her slender little companion, "Did you see those girls looking at us? They looked as if they would just give anything to be going across. I think we're pretty lucky!"

Lucky? Is there an American woman living and well enough to read the news from the western front, who does not chafe against her seeming impotence and wish with all her heart that she might be stopping wounds, yes and perhaps even bullets, somewhere between Paris and the Hindenburg holocaust?

It's so easy to see the results of your work in a base hospital, and so hard to realize that you count at all in some little town on this side of the Atlantic. Yet there has to be a rear to every battle-front, and the stevedores and cooks and muleteers—they are very essential elements in the heroisms of the first-line trench and have their part, unglorified though it be, in the winning of every D. S. O. and croix de guerre.

And so it is with the workers for democracy at home, among whom we number our circulation chairmen in state, town and county. Their task is not an easy one. They are subject to criticism and misunderstanding. They are rebuked by the short-sighted because they have taken a part of their time from the more obvious forms of war service. Yet who will be willing to say that the historian of the future, looking back upon the net gains of the Great War, may not count among the most important of them all the full participation of women in the political life of the world?

It is because we believe that the political education of women is not only a war-service but a post-war service, and a service for all time, that we continue to ask in the face of Europe's agony, co-operation from the hundreds of thousands of stay-at-home patriots. The nurses, the canteen workers and ambulance drivers—they are the lucky ones. But they also serve who bring to bear upon jaded diplomatic tradition the minds of an awakened electorate of both men and women.

Every subscription sent to the *Woman Citizen* this year is a step forward in our drive toward this great goal. Make the support of the *Woman Citizen* a definite part of your war work. Build for the future as well as for the present by making woman's voice in politics intelligent and authoritative. See that your local club appoints a Circulation Chairman and help her secure a subscription from every one of your members.

ALABAMA—I am having multigraphed several hundred letters which I shall send around the state with the dodgers enclosed and a sample copy of the *Woman Citizen*. This appeal will, I hope, bring forth a response.—MARY PARKE LONDON.

IOWA—Immediately after Easter I hope to make a great drive for subscriptions, and we do not mean to let Minnesota or any other state get very far ahead of us.—EFFIE M. JONES.

INDIANA—I am sending you five new subscriptions for the *Woman Citizen*, credit to be given to Terre Haute Franchise League. We are hoping to win the County Premium.—EMMA M. MAY.

The requisites for successful soliciting of subscriptions are three—belief in the *Woman Citizen*, enthusiasm for women and willingness to ask them to do things. We ask too little from most of them. There is no magic except the magic of faith and enthusiasm.

Long life and much power to the *Woman Citizen*. There are few things more delightful than to introduce it to new friends.—EFFIE MCCOLLUM JONES, Webster City, Iowa.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

March 16th

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Minnesota
4. Iowa
5. New Jersey
6. Wisconsin
7. New York
8. Ohio
9. Alabama
10. New Hampshire and Virginia
11. Massachusetts
12. Louisiana and Indiana
13. Maryland and Pennsylvania
14. Maine and Michigan
15. Texas
16. Nebraska
17. Washington
18. South Carolina and Mississippi
19. North Dakota
20. Connecticut and Tennessee

March 23rd

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Minnesota
4. Iowa
5. New Jersey
6. New York
7. Ohio
8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts
10. Alabama, Virginia, New Hampshire
11. Maine
12. Pennsylvania
13. Indiana
14. Louisiana
15. Maryland
16. Michigan
17. Texas
18. Nebraska
19. Washington and Mississippi
20. Connecticut and South Carolina
21. North Dakota
22. Tennessee

State Circulation Chairmen

Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
 Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
 Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
 Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane of New Orleans
 Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York of Augusta
 New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin of East Orange
 New Hampshire: Mrs. Mary Post of Portsmouth
 Rhode Island: Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt of Bristol
 Kentucky: Mrs. Charles Firth of Covington
 West Virginia: Mrs. P. C. McBee of Morgantown
 Massachusetts: Mrs. R. L. DeNormandie of Boston
 Texas: Mrs. Helen Moore of Galveston
 South Carolina: Mrs. J. T. Gittman of Columbia
 Alabama: Miss Mary P. London of Birmingham
 Indiana: Mrs. Jessie Croan of Anderson
 Michigan: Mrs. John Waite of Ann Arbor

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Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
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Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

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"I receive the Woman Citizen in my office among exchanges, but I feel morally bound to subscribe, and it goes from me to a mountain farmer's wife in Tennessee, who passes it around among her neighbors and then sends it to a mountain boy in an army camp. She says it 'seems like a soldier needs to read such a paper.'"—*Maywood, New Jersey.*

"I read, then re-read the Woman Citizen, and then send it to a mother with eight children in Minnesota, who says she reads at night when too tired to sew for her little ones. So you see it twice blesses, and she passes her copies on."—*Florence, Massachusetts.*

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April 6, 1913

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL FOUNDED 1870



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THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

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Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

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171 Madison Avenue, New York

April 6, 1918
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THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
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Continuing the WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870
By LUCY STONE and HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910
By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
OF NEW YORK CITY
and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, *The Woman Citizen* becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE
65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confering upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE"

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays 136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

April 6, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The Time to Keep on Fighting

WOMEN, like men, have been hanging breathless on the news from the great battle of Armageddon going on in France. When the line of the Allies was bending, we pinned our hopes upon the reserves; and all hearts rejoiced when they came up to strengthen the defence.

The world is full of wars, visible and invisible, all going on at the same time. The tremendous war with German imperialism does not put a stop to the war against tuberculosis, or to the war against profiteering, or against political corruptions. These and a score of other perennial struggles keep right on. In all of them, the men who are fighting bravely for the right ought to be reinforced by their reserves, the women. And the men who are leading almost every good fight are demanding that the women shall be equipped with the most effective modern weapon, the ballot. Fancy the folly, if in France only the first line had been armed with guns, while the reserves had been provided merely with bows and arrows against the German artillery!

In view of the terrible events now going on in the world, women might well drop, for the time being, their fight for the ballot, if the right to vote were only an ornament, a decoration, a badge of dignity; but the middle of a great world war is no time to drop the fight for an effective weapon. It is the time to redouble every effort, because of the pressing need.

"Women never fight like this for themselves," said an acute observer, commenting upon the enormous outpouring at a suffrage meeting in England, years ago. Women are seeking the ballot not for their own pleasure, not even chiefly for their own self-respect, but above all because they want to help.

Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, a famous army nurse in her day, as well as a famous suffragist, told a story illustrating this. She said:

"During the Civil War, the Major of the 20th Indiana Regiment was brought to my house in Chicago, with seven partly-healed wounds, received at Gettysburg. He told me that in the beginning of the battle

his regiment was stationed on a hill among the reserves. The smoke hid the battlefield, and the screaming of the shells was terrible. After a while the smoke blew away, and they could see, on a hill opposite, other reserves, including the 18th Indiana. Presently the other reserves were ordered down, and the Major cried 'Boys, there goes the 18th Indiana into the fight!' Down they came like one man, till the masked battery opened fire on them. The grape and canister tore through them, mowing great swathes. On they went, keeping step and time, making their way around the great mounds of dead. And the 20th Indiana watched in agony the slaughter of their comrades and friends, and the Major cried, 'O God, why don't they call us reserves into action? We could charge down the hill and spike those guns!'"

Mrs. Livermore added: "I think of this as I read the papers; I think of it as I go among the slums. I say to myself, 'O God, why do not these beloved men, the halves of ourselves, call on us, their reserves?' The same lesson comes to us from our sick and wounded soldiers; it comes to us in all our work for the uplifting of society. Women are allowed to look after the defectives and unfortunates, but they want to get back behind the causes of pauperism and insanity, and in nine-tenths of the cases these result from bad laws. It is this very wish to help that makes us long for the ballot."

This is as true to-day as when Mrs. Livermore said it. All the forces of evil "go into politics." They go in with all their might. Every ounce of strength in the armies of righteousness is needed to defeat them; and eternal vigilance is the price of safety. "Do not forget me, sister. If you forget me, an enemy will think of me," says a half-delirious boy in "Thomas Wingfold."

It will go hard after the war with anyone who is proved to have hindered, through selfish greed, the proper equipment of our troops; and it will go hard in time to come with any political party that hinders the men who love their country from being reinforced with the votes of patriotic women.

A. S. B.

The Citizen and the Vote

FOR many years the suffragists have been going up and down the length and breadth of the land, protesting against a certain political custom that was sure to bring the country into trouble. By virtue of this custom, backed by law, fifteen states have, for many years, permitted the alien to vote on his first papers. One by one the time limitation has expired on these laws, or substitutes have been adopted making citizenship a qualification for the vote.

In the year 1918 seven states remain which continue this law. The nation has awaked at last to the falsity of this theory of government and the grave danger involved in extending such liberty to men who are not citizens.

The Texas Legislature in special session has amended the primary law so as to forbid any men or women from voting who are not citizens. Texas is one of the states where this law has been in operation for many years. One Congressman declared that he believed that the majority of the majority which elected him voted on their first papers only. Now these men will be barred from the primary wherein all nominations are made. As Texas is practically a one-party state, the nomination is as good as an election and the power to vote in the primary is at least 100 per cent. more influential than the power to vote in the election.

Michigan was one of the first-paper states for many years, but the law expired a good many years ago. However, it now develops that men who had secured a place on the voters' list on account of their first papers were continued there and that a very large number of men are still voting in Michigan who have never become naturalized citizens. Many hundreds are even voting on their fathers' first papers. A discussion is under way in that state as to the best solution of the problem which all recognize as important. Some of the lawyers claim that the law which compels all voters to be citizens was not retroactive and that it could not take the vote away from the men who secured voters' rights under their first papers.

WHETHER this condition exists in other states which have rescinded the first-papers laws is unknown. There is little question but that many thousands of votes are cast every year by men who are not citizens.

Nothing in the experience of the suffrage movement has done so much to incense the women of the nation as this law. A nation which permits men to vote who are not citizens and denies that privilege to women who are citizens is undeniably inconsistent, unjust and tyrannical.

South Dakota, another of the first-papers states, is making a valiant effort, and one certain to be successful, to correct the two injustices with one vote. In that state a woman suffrage amendment was submitted by the Legislature last winter and will come to vote in November. A special session of the Legislature has just been held which amended the pending suffrage amendment so as to require full citizenship as a basis of all suffrage, whether exercised by men or women. By virtue of this amended amendment, South Dakota will emerge upon the plane of citizenship on which the soundly democratic state is entitled to function.

IT is infinitely to the credit of South Dakota's growing spirit of democracy that her men, under Governor Norbeck's initiative, should have taken this step without any importuning from South Dakota suffragists. Governor Norbeck, in urging the citizenship amendment at the opening of the session, said: "Under our present constitution those who have declared their intention to become citizens have enjoyed practically all the rights of citizens for a great many years, yet now claim exemption from military service on the ground they are aliens. I recommend that the equal suffrage amendment now pending be amended so as to require full citizenship as a basis for all suffrage."

The attaching of the citizenship amendment to the Equal Suffrage amendment was not all that South Dakota's Legislature accomplished of prime interest to women at this special session. It passed a resolution calling on the United States Senate to pass at once the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

C. C. C.

A War Measure in Canada

IN March the Women's Franchise bill conferring full parliamentary suffrage on the women of Canada, which had reached the committee stage, was the subject of earnest debate in the Ottawa House of Commons. Not one member arose to say that women should not have the vote, and only the Quebec contingent in any way opposed the bill. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who stood upon a state's rights point, thought it might be better if parliamentary suffrage were granted only to such provinces as have already given women the provincial vote. And Mr. Ernest La Pointe brought out the age-old argument—always pronounced without the consent of the persons most interested—that the women of Quebec do not want to vote. Even at that, "Mr. La Pointe did not oppose the bill. No one did," says the *Toronto Star*. "Woman suffrage had no fighting opponent in the Parliament of Canada."

"What is more, the bill now before the House gives women the franchise where men would not get it. It actually grants a wider suffrage to women than is now enjoyed by men, and this the Premier, Sir Robert Borden, excuses on the ground that they have had to wait a long time to get it."

In urging the second reading of the bill Sir Robert explained why it should be passed at this time. "I do not even base it on the wonderful and conspicuous service which women have rendered to the national cause in this war," he said. "Apart from all these, I can see that women are entitled to the franchise on their merits, and it is upon that basis that this bill is presented to Parliament for its consideration."

"It is our belief that the influence of women exercised in this way will be a good influence in public life. We believe that beneficial results have ensued wherever the franchise has been granted to them; indeed, the principle of granting the franchise to women generally was practically affirmed in the last Parliament."

Several questions, such as women's eligibility for Parliament and the problems arising from the present nationalization laws as applied to married women, still remain unsettled.

The women found a hearty supporter in Sir Sam Hughes.

And so surcharged with the spirit of democracy was the whole discussion that it excited no hostility when Joseph Read of Prince Edward Island pointed out that the Micmac Indian women of his section ought to have a vote, too, as over eleven per cent. of the tribe had been recruited for the front. A surprising response to woman suffrage as a policy not only for war time, but for all time was demonstrated.

"Five years ago," said the *Toronto Star*, "no one would have dreamed that a bill conferring the franchise upon women throughout the length and breadth of Canada would go through the House of Commons without a single member protesting against the principle of the thing. Yet that is what is happening."

One Full Table

THERE seems to be one table left in this Hooverized land which is allowed to groan under its contents. It is the table in the United States Senate on which resolutions praying for the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment are ordered to lie. Day by day senators from every state in the Union are sending to the desk petitions from "sundry citizens," and from state and national organizations, concurrent resolutions and joint memorials from Legislatures, praying the U. S. Senate to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment to the Legislatures of the several states. It is of special interest to suffragists that so many of the petitions come on to the table by way of anti-suffrage senators like Senator McLean of Connecticut and Senator Knox of Pennsylvania and Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, all of whom seem to pass them along with the feeling that they are handling hot potatoes.

Now the Married Teacher

FASHIONS in teachers change, if one waits long enough, like fashions in hats. Only three years ago the idea of marriage in connection with a woman school teacher so revolted the taste of the masculine school boards of New York state that the married woman teacher was either driven into hiding the guilt of matrimony or was hounded out of her position. The distaste against her ran so high that public consciousness had some difficulty in determining whether it was the married state, maternity itself or their mere conjunction in the person of a woman teacher which was so scandalous. The situation was the more anomalous in a state which chanted the duty of maternity and the beauty of wifehood as reasons for not giving women the vote.

But war has upset most traditional concepts about women, and none more completely than its old idea of matrimony as a detriment to the woman teacher. Commissioner of Education, Philander Claxton, has within the past month authorized a public appeal for married women teachers. He cites the fact that from all over the country teachers are leaving the school system for military service or to take places at larger salaries than school service affords. Reports from normal schools indicate a lessened number of graduates. "There are, however," says the Commissioner, "scores of thousands of persons, mostly women of good scholarship and training, who have had successful experience as

teachers but who have retired from active service. Many of these might render valuable service again in schools, as a means of relief in the present crisis. I recommend that they be called again into active service and that laws, ordinances and regulations of school boards prohibiting married women from teaching in public schools be suspended or repealed."

Thus another disabling condition which has long laid its fretting, needless clutch upon a group of professional women, is struck loose by war—one of the world's forces most hated of womanhood.

Our Biggest Star

THE more the suffrage victory in Texas is studied the bigger it grows.

Texas is the largest state in the Union. It covers 265,896 square miles and has nearly four million people. It is an empire in itself. Now that it has been made white on the suffrage map, the great new expanse of whiteness changes the whole aspect of the map.

Texas is not only the largest state, but one of the farthest south. The tradition of the South being solidly opposed to women's voting had already been brilliantly broken by Arkansas, and now it has been completely smashed by Texas.

The victory is also a fresh proof of the rapid change of sentiment that is taking place on this question. At the last National Democratic Convention the Texas delegation was vehement in its opposition to the suffrage plank; and Governor Ferguson declared that woman's subordinate status had been settled once for all by the very method of her creation: she was made from a rib! Since then Governor Ferguson has been impeached for misconduct in office, and the new Governor signed the suffrage bill with cheerful promptitude. It recalls Mrs. Nellie McClung's memorable words in regard to a Canadian Premier who said that he could never change his mind about woman suffrage: "If we cannot change the Premier's mind, we can change the Premier." A great deal of water has run under the bridges within the last two years; and the flow is all one way. Now all over the country the suffragists are crying, "Three cheers for the Lone Star State!"

A. S. B.

Use 'Em!

THE country never needed its women so much as now, and they need and should receive national direction and instruction in the service that will help most and which they can do best. Perhaps we shall come to training cantonments for women, where they can be taught and drilled by the tens of thousands in things that will count directly for moral, physical and material reconstruction, conservation, healing and strengthening during the war and which will make them regenerating forces after it is over. In that way no sane and wholesome effort would be wasted."—*Baltimore Sun*.

That's right! Work them, drill them, train them, use them. But give them political recognition? The *Baltimore Sun* would rather pi all its type in one grand calamity yowl than admit the justice of woman's claim to suffrage.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Jury!

By Emma Harriman

IT is a long way from Los Angeles to Boston even on the fastest car but longer still by way of the climate and longest of all by way of the rights and privileges given woman. The latest new thing to be tried is women on the juries. The lower courts had them first and the last week in January the Superior Courts followed suit.

The writer was not on those in the lower courts, so cannot speak from observation, but they must have been satisfactory or the higher courts would have hesitated to call them. One thing is certain, if the jurors were all like, or in any way similar to one, not only known by, but a personal friend of the writer, they could not have been lacking in intelligence, or experience. She is a university graduate, the widow of a civil war major, former assistant pastor of one of the large churches in this city and has had other lines of work and usefulness.

Women were first called in the superior courts the last week in January, a Mrs. Roth being the first to serve in Judge McCormick's court. The judge expressed himself as much pleased with the alertness and attentiveness of the women.

Through the month of February the writer served as a juror in the Superior Court, having been called to Judge Monroe's department. When other departments needed jurors those not serving at the time were sent from one department to another. The old court house has been outgrown and a fine, new annex added, called The Hall of Records. In the new part signs were posted conspicuously, "No smoking in this room at any time, or in the chambers," the judge's chambers opening out of the court room. But in the rooms where there were no signs there was no smoking except once for a few moments during recess. When once in the jury room the youngest man among them took out his cigarette case, a gray-haired man near by immediately said something that caused it to disappear and it never reappeared.

COURT is very much like a school. A juror must be on time, tardiness or absence is no more allowed in one than the other. If absence is unavoidable an excuse must be given and the judge is as strict as the teacher in demanding that it be a reasonable one. Promptly on the minute the gavel raps to call the court to order, and after the jurors take their places in the jury box they cannot leave without asking permission—as one juror did, asking the judge to be allowed to pass to the back of the room to arrange with a friend as to his home-going at night. The roll is called and if any faint voices leave things uncertain their owners are warned to speak up.

There are generally short recesses at the middle of the session, both forenoon and afternoon, and a long one at noon. Any whispering, talking or laughing, or moving about brings the prompt command, "Order in court."

This is indeed very much like a school and those of us who were fortunate enough to attend coeducational institutions could not help feeling very much at home, for,

"Men are only boys grown tall,

Hearts don't change much, after all."

One of the direst pictures that has occurred to anti-suffrage pornographers is the picture of the mixed jury. Men and women serve together on a jury! The idea has served to introduce the basest suggestion and the most astounding innuendo into the suffrage struggle. In earlier days many a woman's faith in suffrage was literally frightened out of her by this appalling bogie of jury duty that was danced up and down by the antis. Curiously, this same woman was not at all frightened at having to sit in a church pew side by side with men. She was not frightened at having to work side by side with men in office and factory and store, she was not frightened at being cooped up in a Pullman car with men passengers. But the jury box! the pernicious atmosphere of the court room! the awful dissoluteness of judges! Imagination faltered and side-stepped, facing the picture. Meantime, the fact has superseded the picture out in California and through the sprightly recital given below one may watch the mixed jury bogie dissolve into thin air.—Ed.

As to all the old bugaboos and lions in the path they simply did not exist. From beginning to end there was absolutely nothing to offend, quite the reverse. Any little courtesy that the ordinary, decent citizen would show to the women of his household, or his guests, was shown to the women jurors. The men were from various callings—salesman, rancher, contractor, engineer, real estate dealer, shoe merchant, lumber dealer, electrical fixture dealer, were some of them. The women were many of them club women, several from the Friday Morning Club, founded by Madame Severance, a Boston woman. One, Mrs. Barr, was wife of the city editor of one of our papers. Another, Mrs. Florence Collins Porter, had been superintendent of schools, owner and editor of a paper and is still active in good works.

AT the beginning of the session the men who asked to be excused formed a line that extended the entire width of the spacious court room, but when the women who wished to be excused were called only a half dozen went forward. One had just moved and was excused till later. Another had three little children, very small and young, and was three miles from a street car. She was very promptly excused, as was another who had five and no help. A woman who was a manager of a ranch was told she was exempt, and another who had charge of the war work on a certain day was excused on that day each week. A woman who served was a ranch manager and was excused one week, when necessary, to serve that week at a later time. The judge very promptly and courteously thanked the women for not asking to be excused when they could serve and said he had expected a long line with many excuses.

The cases were mostly damage suits for injuries by autos or street cars, arson, or things of that sort, not criminal cases.

Sometimes the juries were equally divided as to sex and once the judge asked if the women thought they would line up and hold out against the men on any question. He was promptly answered in the negative.

Women were the plaintiffs in several cases and it seemed no worse that a woman should sit in a court room as a juror than for her to sit there to be quizzed by lawyers trying her case.

ONCE a lawyer in summing up a case forgot and began in the old way, "Gentlemen of the jury." The judge interrupted, "What about the rest of them?" The lawyer corrected himself and proceeded.

One young lawyer asked the writer how she liked being on a jury, and when she answered that it had been a very pleasant experience he informed her that he liked the women jurors; they paid such good attention. Why not? They have been trained to look after details all their lives.

Another lawyer had for a client an old man who had testified to one thing at one time and to another at another time. When the lawyer began to present his plea to the jury he acknowledged this but pleaded his age and feebleness and gesturing dramatically he began very airily, "But what if he has contradicted himself, an oath is a mere form and—"

Down came the judge's hand smartly on his desk. "Here," he called peremptorily, "none of that, you are not allowed to talk like that in this court, an oath is a sacred thing."

At the end, Judge Munro, whose keen eyes and active mind took in everything, said that in the beginning it had been uncertain as to how a mixed jury would serve, and he thought some attorneys had feared the men on the jury would object to women jurors. But he had watched—and it would be necessary to sit in his court room to know what that means, how he remembered faces and names and who was to be excused and why, when a question had been asked before, etc.,—he had watched, and the men and women jurors had shown perfect courtesy to each other, there had been no friction, it had been a success. It had also been a very pleasant month for him, and he should always remember his first month with a mixed jury.

Probably there was no one who would say it had been anything but pleasant.



KEEPING UP WITH THE SENATE

Spring Styles

South Dakota to the Fore

AT the special session of the South Dakota Legislature just ended, called by Governor Norbeck for the purpose of enacting emergency legislation made necessary by present war conditions, the men of South Dakota placed that state in the lead in ideal citizenship.

In his recommendations to the Legislature, Governor Norbeck said that citizens, only, should vote:

"Under our present constitution those who have declared their intention to become citizens have enjoyed practically all the rights of citizens, including holding offices of public trust. In some places they have held such positions for a great many years, yet now claim exemption from military service on the grounds that they are aliens. I recommend that the Equal Suffrage Amendment now pending, be amended so as to require full citizenship as a basis for all suffrage."

In response to such recommendation Senator Marvick of Roberts County introduced a resolution relating to the question of citizenship. This amends the present law which permits aliens to vote after having declared their intentions to become citizens and receiving their first papers. South Dakota is one of seven states in the union which permit such action. The law bearing upon this question is Section 1 of Article VII of the state constitution, being the one affected also by the woman suffrage amendment passed by the Legislature in its 1917 session and before the voters for ratification at the coming election in November. Some discussion arose as to the advisability of amending the woman suffrage amendment in this manner; but after due deliberation the members of the Legislature decided that at this critical time the qualifications for citizenship should be the same for both men and women, and the measure passed both houses by a large majority. By this action it has been made possible for the men and women of South Dakota to engage in an active campaign for true American citizenship regardless of sex. South Dakota suffragists welcome the amendment as strengthening the woman suffrage case. They say that only the alien will vote against the amended amendment. Headed by Mrs. John L. Pyle, of Huron, a number of leading South Dakota women watched the amendment spin through its victorious course in the Pierre Legislature and all are united in praise of the Governor and the legislators who initiated and carried through this measure for truer citizenship.

Get-Together Convention

MARCH went out like a lamb in Tennessee with the two suffrage organizations of the state lying down together inside of the new Tennessee Woman Suffrage Association, headed by one of the most effective and popular women in the state, Mrs. Leslie Warner, of Nashville. Well in advance of the event it was a foregone conclusion among suffragists throughout the state that Mrs. Warner was the woman *par excellence* under whom all the suffrage forces could re-assemble.



MRS. LESLIE WARNER

MRS. GUILFORD DUDLEY, who had served so ably and efficiently as president of the Tennessee Suffrage Association, Incorporated, had been elected one of the vice-presidents of the national organization, and so was not able to serve as the head of the state organization another term. Miss Margaret Irwin, of Chattanooga, president of the Tennessee Association, had married and moved to another state.

Mrs. Warner held the confidence and friendship of both organizations and as the great need of concerted action had been felt for a long time, there had been rejoicing ever since it was announced at a meeting of the Nashville League that she had consented to accede to the demands made upon her by leaders in both state organizations and unaffiliated leagues to head a unified suffrage body.

In the past three years innumerable efforts have been made, in the utmost good faith, to accomplish such an end. Every one wanted a unified body. It now remains for Mrs. Warner to meet this need and this desire.

MRS. WARNER has promised that, given an amalgamation of the suffrage ranks, Tennessee will have one of the most powerful state bodies in the country.

For several years past the greater part of her energies has been given to the suffrage cause. She not only is an ardent believer in the cause, but has been one of the most active and popular exponents of it in Tennessee. Her wide experience, knowledge of public affairs and extensive acquaintance quickly placed her as a leader in suffrage.

The other officers elected were: Mrs. A. S. Buchanan, Memphis, honorary president; Miss Hannah J. Price, Morristown, vice-president at large; Mrs. Robert Beattie, Memphis, vice-president West Tennessee; Miss Annie Lee Myer, Carthage, vice-president Middle Tennessee; Mrs. Lucy D. Winslow, Harriman, vice-president East Tennessee; Miss Addie Lawrence, Nashville, corresponding secretary; Miss Cornelia Barksdale, Nashville, recording secretary; Miss Mabel Chumley, Chattanooga, treasurer; Mrs. William Conner, Memphis, auditor. Mrs. E. G. Willingham, Memphis, was elected congressional chairman.

In State Work

War Will Help Them Win

THE Michigan suffrage campaign was launched with a will at the thirty-second annual convention of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association held at the Hotel Statler, Detroit, March 25-27. Something of the temper of this campaign may be gained from a statement made by Mrs. Percy J. Farrell, of Detroit, who was elected to lead the suffragists through their campaign year:

"Suffrage will win in Michigan next autumn. The war will help us win. If European nations in this war have seen that women should vote, then the United States, the main democracy of the world, must see it soon, or its democracy will be open to question."

Michigan will make organization the keystone of the campaign. Already plans are well under way for the complete organization of all districts. In the midst of intensive campaigning the suffragists will not neglect the war work which they have been carrying on.

Board meetings, a suffrage supper, a "woman's war service" program and a mass meeting were each of outstanding interest in the three-day convention. Among those who made special contributions to the program were Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, Mrs. Myron B. Vorce, vice-president of the Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County; Mrs. R. H. Ashbaugh, Chairman of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee; Mrs. G. Edgar Allen, Chairman Detroit Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense; Mrs. Orton H. Clark, the retiring president of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. C. R. Wilson, president of the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs; Hon. William C. Manchester, Hon. James Schermerhorn, and Rev. Dr. Gaius Glenn Atkins of the First Congregational Church; Hon. Charles Flowers, Judge Alfred J. Murphy, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, president of the Ohio State Suffrage Association.

A feature of the convention was the lively interest manifested by Michigan women's organizations other than suffrage. Among those who promised the assistance and cooperation of their associations were Miss Sadie Alley, president Detroit Teachers' Association; Mrs. A. E. Bulson, president Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs; Miss Bina M. West, supreme commander Woman's Benefit Association, Ladies of the Maccabees; Dr. Emma A. Bauer, Ladies of the Maccabees; Miss Jennie Buell, Michigan State Grange; Mrs. E. L. Calkins, president Michigan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Dr. Mary Stevens, president of the College Equal Suffrage League.

The officers elected to guide the Michigan organization through its campaign are: President, Mrs. Percy J. Farrell, Detroit; first vice-president, Mrs. Myron B. Vorce, Detroit; second vice-president, Mrs. G. W. Patterson, Ann Arbor; third vice-president, Mrs. Huntley Russell, Grand Rapids; recording secretary, Mrs. A. H. Cote, Port Huron; treasurer, Mrs. William F. Blake, Grand Rapids; first auditor, Mrs. Daniel Quirk, Ypsilanti; second auditor, Miss Irene Kleinstuck, Kalamazoo; Michigan member, national executive council, Dr. Blanche M. Haines, St. Joseph.

The Lone Star



THE LONE STAR IN THE LONE STAR STATE.

On March 26 Governor Hobby signed the bill enfranchising Texas women.

On that day Texas went from coal black to snow white with a single star, to match Arkansas.

The single star stands for full primary suffrage for women, amounting almost to complete enfranchisement, since primaries determine elections in these two southern states.

The victory means an addition of 999,166 women of voting age to the number previously enfranchised.

There are now 11,121,097 women over 21 in states having complete or presidential suffrage. (This includes Indiana.)

Texas adds 20 more electoral votes, making 198 in whose choice women may participate; 213 if you include Indiana's 15.

In Texas and Arkansas women can vote at the primaries for Congressmen and Senators, making 14 states in all where the election of federal representatives is participated in by women.

Women may now vote for 28 Senators and 108 Congressmen.

In winning Texas woman suffrage has reached its majority.

There are now 21 states, counting municipal suffrage Vermont, where women may vote.

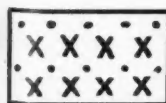
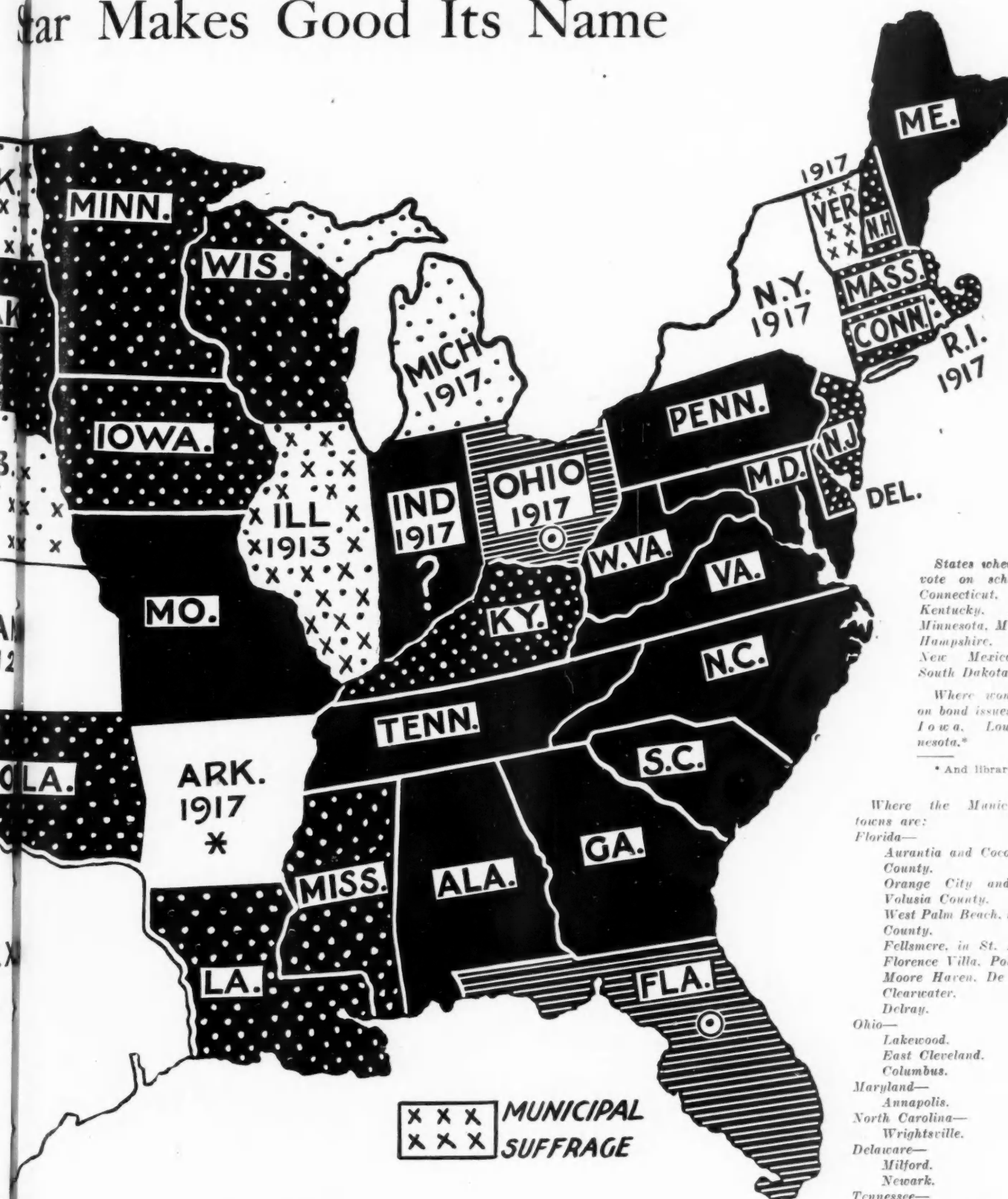
An area equal in size to Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, New Jersey, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Delaware, with a few hundred square miles for margin, has been added to

suffrage territory. That is an area bigger than the German Empire in Europe or than Continental France.

Of the 3,616,484 square miles of territory in Continental United States, 1,827,267 have whitened with real democracy.

Fifty and five-tenths per cent of Continental United States is now under the suffrage flag, 57 per cent counting Alaska Territory.

Star Makes Good Its Name



**PRESIDENTIAL
& MUNICIPAL
SUFFRAGE**



**MUNICIPAL
SUFFRAGE IN
CHARTER CITIES**



**NO
SUFFRAGE**

Women and Parties

BY a two to one vote the City Committee of the New York Suffrage Party this week went on record with a resolution to the effect that the Party's officers, assembly district leaders and election district captains be permitted to take any office in any political party without having thereby to sever their official connection with the Suffrage Party.

Last November this question was discussed as part of the whole question of non-partisanship and at that time the consensus of opinion was against it. In reversing the earlier decision the City Party recognizes the changes that the suffrage is working out in the suffrage organization's power to function. To the surprise of many, the ideal of non-partisanship proved to have several vulnerable heels which public-spirited men promptly filled full of darts.

For one thing, it was pointed out that women had not adequately considered their obligation to enroll in the primaries. "You are always talking about choosing, high-grade candidates," said the men, "yet here you are inclined to belittle enrolling in the primaries as being of political rather than of civic interest. Just remember, please, that if you don't select your party and go enroll in it for the primary you forfeit your right to help choose a candidate in any party. If it is important to pick able and upright citizens as candidates, it is important for you to help do the picking."

Still another point of attack developed. "If you are so afraid to be Democrats and Republicans and Socialists and Prohibitionists along with the men, what do you want to be? A woman party by yourselves? Thought there had been enough segregation in politics."

And again: "The representative women of the city happen to be identified, district by district, with the Suffrage Party in an official capacity. If you keep them tied exclusively to the Suffrage Party's apron strings, don't you see that the men have to choose the less representative women for active work in the party machinery? Do you want that to happen? Will it be creditable to the woman's cause for it to happen?"

On the other hand, the supporters of the old policy within the City Committee's ranks put up an urgent argument. "It was all right, they said, 'for individuals from the ranks of the

Party to make political alignments, but for a woman to try to serve the Party in an official capacity while serving a political party machine in some similar capacity would work about as happily as it usually did when one tried to serve two masters. The value of the woman to the Party in official capacity lay in her being non-partisan, so that the women of all parties responded alike to her influence and instructions with no thought of her politics.

"When it comes time to get out the vote in November, how is the suffrage leader of an assembly district who is also the Republican machine leader for that district, going to escape the accusation that she got out the Republican vote and let the Democratic sleep? Or vice versa?"

It was just here that the non-partisan advocates met the full force of woman's faith in her new political role. "We don't admit the point of application between the two masters," said the non-partisans, "because *we are never going to be mastered by any political party*. If we can't be Democrats and Republicans and still be fair and square suffrage leaders, we haven't much of a contribution to bring to the ballot box."

In the result, the City Party remains a non-partisan organization, but members or officials can now engage as individuals in direct activity along the political lines of their own choice. The resolutions setting forth the general policy which the party will pursue in the immediate future read as follows:

Resolved, That the New York City Woman Suffrage Party continue under its present form of organization along borough, assembly district, and election district lines until after the ratification of the Federal Amendment in New York state and until the completion of its plan for the education of the woman voters; and that the party as an organization continue its non-partisan policy, so that it may retain the confidence of and serve impartially the women of all political parties.

Resolved, That it is the policy of the New York Woman Suffrage Party to advise each woman voter to enroll in the political party of her choice, in order that women may vote at the primaries, help to select suitable candidates for office, and efficient members to serve on the committees of the various political parties; and that the officers, leaders, and captains of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City be permitted to take any office in any political party.

In, Not At

Keeping in mind that nowadays when you speak of women and parties you mean women in the parties not at them, it is pertinent to mention that:

MRS. RUTH LITT of East Patchogue, well known as a suffrage worker, is now woman Republican leader of her county, having been chosen chairman of the woman's auxiliary of the county committee. Henry P. Tuthill, chairman of the Suffolk County Republican Committee, made the appointment.

MRS. JOHN SHERWIN CROSBY of New York City, who has been chosen to represent New York state on the Women's Advisory Committee of the National Democratic Committee, became prominently identified with Democratic politics long before New York women were granted the suffrage. She was one of the organizers of the Women's Democratic Club of New York city and has repeatedly been elected its president. She is president of the more recently organized Woman's National Democratic League as well.

THE East Side Protective Association, canvassing the lower east side to ascertain how the 200,000 new voters in that district were planning to use their vote, gathered some interesting data. Some of the things the canvassers reported were:

"The women were resolved to use their ballot to gain more playgrounds and cleaner streets.

"Every effort will be made to get the men to take out citizenship papers.

"The men being too busy at their labors during the day and often too tired at night to gather political information for themselves, may depend upon their wives to keep them informed.

Magna cum Laude

THE TEXAS EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, affiliated to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, has good cause to be jubilant over the success of its campaign for primary suffrage. It took just two weeks from the time the bill was reported out of the house committee for it to receive the signature of Governor W. R. Hobby and become a law. Early in July Texas women will be privileged to exercise their right of primary suffrage. The primary campaign had as leaders Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, president of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. Nonie B. Mahoney, prominent state suffragist and a member of the executive board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. I. Jalonick, president of the Dallas Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. E. B. Reppert, of Dallas, state press chairman; Mrs. O. F. Ellington, Dallas, who was president of Arkansas at the time the primary suffrage bill passed in that state, and Mrs. Elizabeth H. Potter, of Tyler, congressional chairman.

One of the strong allies of the Texas Suffrage Association was President Wilson, who wrote, expressing the hope that the primary measure would become a law. The letter was read in the Texas Senate.

It was back in January, 1917, that a primary suffrage bill was first reported out of committee by the Texas Legislature, with a favorable majority, but it afterwards died on the Senate calendar. The following month a primary bill was introduced in the Arkansas Legislature and on March 6, by signature of the governor, it became Arkansas law. The Texas Equal Suffrage Association, undaunted by the unfavorable result of the measure in the Texas Legislature, and encouraged by the success of the similar measure in Arkansas, renewed the campaign at the special session this year—to be rewarded with the victory that was so well deserved.



GET OFF THE MAP!

Foreign Notes

The New Woman in Mexico

HERMILA GALINDO, the woman who ran last year for the Mexican Congress, thus tells the history and purposes of her paper, *La Mujer Moderna*, the only Mexican periodical edited and published by a woman:

"Identified with the movement of liberation initiated by constitutionalism in my country in 1913," says Senorita Galindo, "I have taken advantage of the brilliant historical opportunity that this epoch has presented by advocating in my review two very prominent tendencies: The Feminist Ideal, now of great interest all over the world, and which I have for the first time initiated in my country, and the Ideal of Revolutionary Reform, which has very deeply affected Mexican nationality.

"I feel assured that my newspaper campaign in behalf of feminism has been productive by opening a deep furrow in the spirit of my countrywomen, who at this actual historical moment are hastening with ardent enthusiasm to organize associations, to collaborate with the press by demonstrating their ideals of redemption and of betterment in intellectual, economical, political and moral respects, and who will soon have a share in the electoral campaign in the State of Guanajuato for the designation of officials for public positions.

"That state is the first federal entity in my country where the vote has been granted in favor of Mexican women. Feminism is gaining impetus in Yucatan, where already there have been held two Congresses that have had great prominence, and there is awaited, in divers states of the Mexican Confederation, some transcendental events that shall indicate the unmistakable triumph in behalf of the privileges of Mexican women, who in the future will have legislation that will protect them from the great injustices that they have had to bear during a long period of infamous and painful tyranny."

Getting Out the Vote

GETTING out the vote in Great Britain seems to present the same elements of concern on the other side of the water as on this.

The provision of polling stations in such numbers, and so distributed as to enable everyone on the register to vote without walking a long distance, is one of the minor questions to which the attention of the new women voters is turning.

Party agents in former elections were familiar with two forms of the difficulty of getting voters to the polls. In thickly populated areas the polling station was sure to be the center of a dense crowd at certain times of the day, while in country districts it was often difficult, even with the aid of every conveyance which could be pressed into the service, to get men from outlying farms and hamlets to record their votes.

These difficulties will be greater still at the next election unless provision is made for a number of new polling stations. The great addition to the electorate will increase the congestion in the towns, and in the country motors will be unprocurable and horse-conveyance scarce.

Clause 31 of the Representation of the People Act puts on the County Councils and Town Councils the duty of providing polling stations in such manner as to give to all electors in the constituency reasonable facilities for voting, and the British suffragists are urged to keep their eye on this point as an election approaches, "and to remember that the enthusiasm which would lead them to walk five miles, if necessary, to vote is not shared by every woman who was enfranchised under the Representation of the People Act."

Already British women are reaping the first fruits of victory in the attention which is being paid to them by the political parties. Whatever their attitude may have been in former days—hostility, indifference, support—all parties are accepting the *fait accompli* with philosophy, and even in some cases, with enthusiasm.

Speaking to a gathering of Liberal Party agents, Mr. Asquith expressed himself thus hopefully as to the future: "Whatever our views may have been in days gone by as to the expediency or in expediency of this particular measure of enfranchisement, we are all now as good citizens prepared, not only to acquiesce in it, but to acquiesce in it heartily and hopefully, and with good will. And we, as Liberals, I am sure, are looking—and we shall not look in vain—for the active cooperation of the new women voters with those of our own sex in carrying on the great work of Liberal reform."

Woman's Sphere in France

THE indomitable spirit of the French women who are fighting tremendous battles in the field of industry, that men may be spared for the front line battles, has aroused the admiration and the wonder of the world. "Next to our soldiers it is to the French woman that we owe victory," says Millerand in the *Revue Bleue*. "Her efforts permit France to live behind the lines while men are battling at the front."

At first the women of France were chiefly engaged in those industries directly concerned in the manufacture of war material, but now they have gone out into the larger industrial life until they are to be found in practically every trade. In the metal, the stone and leather trades, in the glass industries, in the sawmills, in the food industries where they conduct dairies and manufacture conserves, biscuits and prepared foods, in the sugar industries, in wine-making, in lead pencil-making, in gas works, and in the manufacture of drugs, chemicals and asphyxiating gas women are to be found in considerable numbers. The industries requiring greater precision, such as the making of files and compasses, have also attracted women.

Statistics show that the number entering the metal trades is increasing rapidly. In certain French cities 14 to 30 per cent of all employees in these trades are women. In the manufacture of porcelain products in 33 establishments nearly half are women. Despite the fact that France points with great pride to Mme. Curie and to other notable professional women, as a nation she has been slow to welcome women in the professional fields.

His Old-Fashioned Wife

SHE'S a dear little mother; I'm sure there's no other

Quite so old-fashioned as she.

She's 'gainst most the fads, the tattlers and gads;

She's a little home body, you see.

Low necks she taboos, also boots for shoes,

And the skirt that goes with them, you know.

She always keeps Sunday, leaves work for blue Monday;

Abhors the sensational show.

You should just see her shrug, when you say "Bunny Hug,"

Or mention the fox trot or glide.

She blushes with shame when she meets a fair dame

A-riding on horseback astride.

She studies a lot, keeps up to a dot

With all the real news of the day,

Her Bible she reads, believes in its creeds,

And strives to its precepts obey.

Now Dad doesn't read (he can't see the need)

Except sports and markets and such.

You know he's a man, and therefore he can

Vote without knowing things, much.

He came one day, fair carried away

With a lot of anti-suffragette stuff.

He quite lost his poise, and made such a noise

(To me it all sounded like bluff.)

No woman, he thought, who'd been rightly taught

The polls would ever go near.

"You can wager your life that my little wife

Wouldn't go. Now, would you, my dear?"

A bright roguish smile on her lips played the while.

As she brushed a speck from his coat.

Then she lifted her head and quite firmly said:

"Yes, love: I think I should vote."

Poor Dad was dumfounded, his arguments grounded!

He's getting new visions of life.

When he straightens the tangle, sees from the right angle,

He'll be proud of his old-fashioned wife.

SUSIE FORT CLARY.

Mrs. Mine Kato, a woman of 68 years, has; according to the *Japanese American Commercial Weekly*, enrolled herself in a Tokio school as student of "European music, English and various women's arts."



MARJORIE TRUE GREGG

Putting Pockets on the Eternal Feminine

HERE is a college girl who has been putting her Radcliffe-trained brains for a whole year into the evolution of trousers for women. And has finally invented, patented and put on the market a garment she claims to be fitted for all the needs of woman, from housecleaning to business.

Miss Marjorie True Gregg, inventor of "putnees," came from Colorado, where she did not vote, having left before she was twenty-one to get her Boston and Radcliffe education. She began her bifurcated meditations when the war brought to an acute issue woman's long grievance against her man-designed feminine toggery.

"Even women's riding trousers," sighed Miss Gregg, "have been designed to accentuate the

THE CLOTHES AND THE WORK

bigness of her hips and the smallness of her ankles. They have left no possible reserves for her knock-knees, if she has them."

That women's clothes are a big modern issue, Miss Gregg is sure. And these clothes must have "good lines when in action," she asserts. "It's all very well to dress woman up like a paper doll, as the man costumier does, but he has made no provision for her stooping over, when the masculine trouser is distinctly unbecoming because the fullness is all in the wrong place, and no provision for her lifting her arms without having to come apart at the waistband. Then think how her usefulness is hampered by her lack of pockets?"

"It's a genuine ethical contribution to the world's progress to give woman the right kind of clothes in which to carry on her part of the world's work."

Women on the Farm

WOMEN are urged by the Department of Agriculture to become farm specialists by taking courses in agricultural schools. The division of Agricultural Instruction has planned courses intended to fit women to become experts in certain lines of farm work and its officials say there are few farm specialties in which properly trained women cannot do as well as men. Many women applying to organizations to "do farm work" indicate by their appeals that they do not realize that skilled labor is needed. Department officials say that the woman who is convinced that her duty to her country demands that she become an agriculturist should fit herself by thorough training. The "woman farm hand," they say, is not a natural development in this country where the tendency of the farm laborer is to become a farm owner, and where there is no peasant class. The emphasis of the Department is laid on those studies which will make the girl a specialist; and in the South, where the Government is urging the farmer to diversify his crops and plant more food-stuffs in place of cotton, emphasis is laid on the poultry-keeping and dairying work for women and girls, those industries being largely in the hands of women in that section.

An increased number of women and girls are taking agricultural courses.

"Food in War and Peace"

THE United States Food Administration, in co-operation with the Department of Agriculture and the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, has issued a pamphlet containing a series of lessons for the special use of clubs and neighborhood groups, showing what the nation is asked to do about the food supply, and why. The lessons have been prepared in response to many

requests for a simple and brief statement of the kind and quantity of food needed for health, and ways in which changes may safely be made so that the requests of the Food Administration for saving, substituting, and using the various foods may be intelligently, rather than arbitrarily obeyed.

Each lesson has been prepared by a specialist whose authority is unquestioned. United States Food Administrator Hoover has explained the present situation in his discussion of "Food and the War"; Dr. Graham Lusk of the Advisory Committee on Food Utilizations of the Food Administration, has told us what food we should use for a day, and has explained "calories" and other puzzling terms; Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor, who is associated with the Food Administration and with the War Trade Board, and who has spent much time abroad since the war began, has told us about wheat, why we should save it and how to use it. Other lessons have been written by Dr. C. F. Langworthy and Miss Caroline Hunt of the Office of Home Economics, and Dr. Charles J. Brand of the United States Office of Markets, Department of Agriculture; by Dr. E. V. McCollum, of Johns Hopkins; Dr. Lafayette B. Mendel, of Yale, and Dr. Ruth Wheeler of the University of Illinois. Miss Ida M. Tarbell has written the introduction to the lessons.

A number of practical suggestions and some recipes have been added by the editors to each of these papers, as well as a few references, and a list of lantern slides.

The lessons may be obtained in each state from the Federal Food Administrator. A limited free edition has been issued. Arrangements may also be made with the Federal Food Administrator for the use of the lantern slides.

Northern Garden Bulletin Ready

THE United States Department of Agriculture has issued for free distribution Farmers' Bulletin 937, "The Farm Garden in the North," designed particularly for use in the northern and western states.

Need for increased food production has directed unusual attention to the importance of home gardening. The new bulletin is designed to help new gardeners as well as experienced ones. Among the topics treated are:

Location, plan and arrangement of the garden, preparation of the soil, manures and fertilizers, seeds and plants, amount of seed for a family of four, hot beds and cold frames, the seed bed, seed sowing, depth of planting and distance apart, transplanting, hardening off, setting plants in the open, time of planting, succession and rotation of crops, cultivation of garden crops, irrigation of garden crops, fall and winter care, insects and diseases affecting garden crops, storage of surplus vegetables, cultural hints for the various garden crops.

In What States

THE Department of Agriculture is immediately to ascertain, through its 2,000 agents, in what states the farmers want women, and the kind of farm work for which there is a demand for woman labor, and will furnish, through its extensive service, the lists of trained women who might be available as leaders if training camps for women farm helpers were established.

James McCreery & Co.

5th Avenue

34th Street

Modern Facilities

Storage of Furs

Absolute Protection at Nominal Cost

Furs are thoroughly cleaned, without charge, by skilled workmen who remove all dust and moth eggs before placing them in the DRY COLD STORAGE VAULT on the premises, which is fire, damp and moth proof.

Correspondence

Democracy in Kansas

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

Aside from my many years' interest in W. C. T. U. and suffrage, my thoughts fly back to my old Chautauqua County birthplace, though most of my long life has been spent in the West. Kansas isn't so attractive to those who "live on scenery" but to those who seek deeper, Kansas is very attractive. Ever since Susan B. Anthony and Rev. Olympia Brown went over the ground—some of the time in an ox-cart—sowing seed, there has been a steady growth of interest in genuine democracy. We don't forget the noble men who had already prepared the soil with their own lives.

Here is a city of about 70,000 made up of Americans—largely young people, when they came from every state in the Union "to better themselves." A city of fine schools and churches, beautiful homes—progressive—for we have women on our school boards and always on our election boards.

In the old days crowds of men, many of them redolent of tobacco and whiskey, crowded around the polls and discussed politics in strong language. Nothing of that now. The finest car with its load must stop when within 100 feet of the polls—no soliciting within that zone, and the man in overalls is just as courteous to the crowds awaiting their turn to a booth as the officials. Suffrage is so fixed in our minds that when a man is up for office it doesn't seem to occur to us whether he believes in

suffrage. When he announces himself as a candidate he gets that in early. Years ago a prominent gifted man said to the state secretary of the Y. W. C. T. U., who is an ardent suffragist also—"You needn't send me any suffrage literature. I want none of it. Save your postage." That was years ago and last year he was up for the Legislature and at the very head of his list was his belief in equal suffrage.

M. F. LADD.

Wichita, Kansas.

Government Ownership

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE best kind of regulation of public utilities is that obtained through government ownership. When regulation is sought by any means short of ownership the results are unsatisfactory. Such a régime is not wholly unlike the boasted regulation of the liquor traffic through license or local option. The mistake always stares us in the face and stands a constant reminder of the better way. It has been urged that there is less enterprise and activity in public than in private ownership—that there will be less incentive to discovery and invention when competition is removed by the elimination of the private character of the most important of the common utilities.

A very trite yet a very truthful saying is this: "Corporations have no souls," and the two sides in most of the modern day strikes are in evidence. Now a good way to meet such soul-

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lessness is through government ownership—taking the great lines of activity out of private hands or, what is better still, out of the hands of those who in corporations will do what in a private capacity they will not dare to do. To be sure the non-enforcement of law will be encountered in every aspect of the case but the probabilities are that government ownership will afford the masses a prompter and more effective redress than is at present obtained.

While it has been discovered that the masses move slowly, yet they move with a sure and certain tread when they do move, and many a professional, wily politician has had to meet a stern and a relentless judgment because of his neglect or indifference. "The greatest good to the greatest number" or "Charity to all with malice toward none," should be the slogan in all commercial and industrial relations, and government ownership affords the largest opportunity for the operation of such principles to obtain. And the trend of affairs in both government and church points to the coming of such a happy era. Monarchy, plutocracy, classocracy and party-ocracy must give way to democracy.

E. H. PARKINSON, D.D.

Los Angeles, Cal.

How I Improved My Memory In One Evening

The Amazing Experience of Victor Jones

"Of course I place you! Mr. Addison Sims of Seattle.

"If I remember correctly—and I do remember correctly—Mr. Burroughs, the lumberman, introduced me to you at the luncheon of the Seattle Rotary Club three years ago in May. This is a pleasure indeed! I haven't laid eyes on you since that day. How is the grain business? And how did that amalgamation work out?"

The assurance of this speaker—in the crowded corridor of the Hotel McAlpin—compelled me to turn and look at him, though I must say it is not my usual habit to "listen in" even in a hotel lobby.

"He is David M. Roth, the most famous memory expert in the United States," said my friend Kennedy, answering my question before I could get it out. "He will show you a lot more wonderful things than that, before the evening is over." And he did.

As we went into the banquet room the toastmaster was introducing a long line of the guests to Mr. Roth. I got in line and when it came my turn, Mr. Roth asked, "What are your initials, Mr. Jones, and your business connection and telephone number?" Why he asked this, I learned later, when he picked out from the crowd the 60 men he had met two hours before and called each by name without a mistake. What is more, he named each man's business and telephone number, for good measure.

I won't tell you all the other amazing things this man did except to tell how he called back, without a minute's hesitation, long lists of numbers, bank clearings, prices, lot numbers, parcel post rates and anything else the guests gave him in rapid order.

When I met Mr. Roth again—which you may be sure I did the first chance I got—he rather bowled me over by saying, in his quiet, modest way:

"There is nothing miraculous about my remembering anything I want to remember, whether it be names, faces, figures, facts or something I have read in a magazine.

"You can do this just as easily as I do. Anyone with an average mind can learn quickly to do exactly the same things which seem so miraculous when I do them.

"My own memory," continued Mr. Roth "was originally very faulty. Yes it was—a really poor memory. On meeting a man I would lose his name in thirty seconds, while now there are probably 10,000 men and women in the United States, many of whom I have met but once, whose names I can call instantly on meeting them."

"That is all right for you, Mr. Roth," I interrupted, "you have given years to it. But how about me?"

"Mr. Jones," he replied, "I can teach you the secret of a good memory in one evening. This is not a guess, because I have done it with thousands of pupils. In the first of seven simple lessons which I have prepared for home study, I show you the basic principle of my whole system and you will find it—not hard work as you might fear—but just like playing a fascinating game. I will prove it to you."

He didn't have to prove it. His Course did; I got it the very next day from his publishers, the Independent Corporation.

When I tackled the first lesson, I suppose I was the most surprised man in forty-eight states to find that I had learned in about one hour—how to remember a list of one hundred words so that I could call them off forward and back without a single mistake.

That first lesson stuck. And so did the other six. Read this letter from C. Louis Allen, who at 32 years is president of a million dollar corporation, the Pyrene Manufacturing Company of New York, makers of the famous fire extinguisher:

"Now that the Roth Memory Course is finished, I want to tell you how much I have enjoyed the study of this most fascinating subject. Usually these courses involve a great deal of drudgery, but this has been nothing but pure

pleasure all the way through. I have derived much benefit from taking the course of instruction and feel that I shall continue to strengthen my memory. That is the best part of it. I shall be glad of an opportunity to recommend your work to my friends."

Mr. Allen didn't put it a bit too strong.

The Roth Course is priceless! I can absolutely count on my memory now. I can call the name of most any man I have met before—and I am getting better all the time. I can remember any figures I wish to remember. Telephone numbers come to mind instantly, once I have filed them by Mr. Roth's easy method. Street addresses are just as easy.

The old fear of forgetting (you know what that is) has vanished. I used to be "scared stiff" on my feet—because I wasn't sure. I couldn't remember what I wanted to say.

Now I am sure of myself, and confident, and "easy as an old shoe" when I get on my feet at the club, or at a banquet, or in a business meeting, or in any social gathering.

Perhaps the most enjoyable part of it all is that I have become a good conversationalist—and I used to be as silent as a sphinx when I got into a crowd of people who knew things.

Now I can call up like a flash of lightning most any fact I want right at the instant I need it most. I used to think a "hair trigger" memory belonged only to the prodigy and genius. Now I see that every man of us has that kind of a memory if he only knows how to make it work right.

I tell you it is a wonderful thing, after groping around in the dark for so many years, to be able to switch the big searchlight on your mind and see instantly everything you want to remember.

This Roth Course will do wonders in your office.

Since we took it up you never hear anyone in our office say "I guess" or "I think it was about so much" or "I forget that right now" or "I can't remember" or "I must look up his name." Now they are right there with the answer—like a shot.

Have you ever heard of "Multigraph" Smith? Real Name, H. Q. Smith, Division Manager of the Multigraph Sales Company, Ltd., in Montreal. Here is just a bit from a letter of his that I saw last week:

"Here is the whole thing in a nutshell: Mr. Roth has a most remarkable Memory Course. It is simple and easy as falling off a log. Yet with one hour a day of practice, anyone—I don't care who he is—can improve his Memory 100% in a week and 1,000% in six months."

My advice to you is don't wait another minute. Send to Independent Corporation for Mr. Roth's amazing course and see what a wonderful memory you have got. Your dividends in increased earning power will be enormous.

VICTOR JONES

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So confident is the Independent Corporation, the publishers of the Roth Memory Course, that once you have an opportunity to see in your own home how easy it is to double, yes, triple your memory power in a few short hours, that they are willing to send the course on free examination.

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Woman C. 408

The Book Stall

TO understand May Sinclair's novel, "The Tree of Heaven," it is necessary to know her recent book on philosophy, "A Defence of Idealism." Hints of the same study of personal identity gleam through every page of her story. Miss Sinclair's stories are less romances than investigations into psychological reactions. The whole plot of this latest book is the effect the war has upon one British family. But it is also a study of the resistance of the individual to the crowd mind. It is no more a copy of "Mr. Britling Sees It Through" because it shows an entire family tested by the war, than it is a copy of Hugh Walpole's "Dark Forest" because it dwells on the psychic phenomenon of telepathy. It is deeply philosophical, a better defence of idealism than the writer's scientific treatise. It is frankly religious in an orthodox, almost bourgeois, fashion which would have been howled down by literary cults before 1914. All the little gods of that time have hidden their faces and some apocalyptic wonder has come in their stead. This has revealed itself to such writers as H. G. Wells, Hugh Walpole and May Sinclair. An austerity of prophetic symbolism, a real presence seems evident to them all, and whatever it is, it is born of the war. The white light of it beats upon their pages. Miss Sinclair had won her way to the forefront of English writers, if not by the appearance of her first widely known novel, "The Divine Fire," certainly by the ruthless analysis in "The Three Sisters."

Between "The Belfry," her first story of the war, and her present novel there lie two years of deepening understanding. The "Tree of Heaven" is more tender, more poignant, more interpretative than any English novel the war has yet produced. Some volumes of French personal letters are in the same vein.

The Macmillan Co., N. Y., \$1.60.

THOSE who have been eagerly awaiting the detailed story of the proceedings of the National Suffragists' Forty-ninth Annual Convention at Washington in December will be glad to know that *The 1917 Hand Book of the National American Woman Suffrage Association* is now on sale at the New York headquarters, 171 Madison Avenue (price 50 cents per copy or 30 cents in quantities of 25 or more). This hand book, edited by Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, corresponding secretary for the National, contains in addition to a complete record of the Convention's proceedings, the full text of the speech by the president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, and of those of the other officers. It gives an intimate picture of the Leslie Woman Suffrage Bureau of Education at work in its official headquarters in New York City, and of the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.'s yearly output. It shows the National Association actively waging its campaign at Washington, D. C., its presidential suffrage campaigns, and its state campaigns, including, of course, victorious New York.

THE attention of suffragist lecturers and speakers is called to the Memory Course advertised in the two preceding columns. It will be reviewed at length in the Book Stall in a forthcoming issue by a member of the *Woman Citizen* staff who is making a practical test of it.

In the National's Mail Bag

"Queen Anne a woman?" queried a Massachusetts man thoughtfully the other day. "Why, I always thought it was a kind of a house." He was just as proud of his discovery as the National American Woman Suffrage Association is of the one it has just made. This is the National's discovery: Files have no inherent, heaven-endowed right of sole ownership over all the wit and humor, the heartaches and triumphs which come in the National's mail bag. There are books of letters purporting to reveal the secrets of foreign courts that haven't half the punch of Harriet Taylor Upton's on our own domestic brand of suffrage secrets out in Ohio. The letters published by a self-made son display far less ingenuity than those from suffrage campaigners. If Abelard and Heloise were to try it again they could learn much about the art of chronicling real self-sacrificing devotion from the correspondents of the National Suffrage Association. So the files are to be opened. And hereafter letters to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and the rest of the National Board may be read in this column of the *Woman Citizen*—another good reason for getting into that subscription contest. No other magazine offers you these privileges. Step right up, ladies and gentlemen. We are starting with this from the program of the Michigan state suffrage convention.

Bonnets and Votes

Everything has not been said after all. A Texas man has advanced a brand new one—that because of their interest in Easter bonnets women ought not to be permitted to vote. Here is the reply of the *Dallas Journal*: "It might be urged that men are more interested in food than in the Federal Constitution, which although true in a sense, is not an argument against male suffrage."

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Clear in Nebraska

It was very clear, oh, very clear indeed, the newspaper clipping which the triumphant Nebraska women send about the district court decision on their Presidential suffrage case. That was what was said by a famous, oh, a very famous lawyer and a member of the national committee of the—perhaps it would be best not to say which party. "But," added the lawyer, "I will submit a brief on it—later." Meantime, here is the translation of the youngest-looking of the office stenographers: "The court says the women have the right to enjoin the secretary of state from printing the suffrage referendum on the ballots. So now the women can bring into the court the petition which was circulated to get the suffrage referendum on the ballots. The women say they have enough evidence of fraud to have the petition thrown out. If the petition is thrown out, the way is cleared back to the presidential suffrage given the women by their last state Legislature."

YOUR VOTE AND HOW TO USE IT

By MRS. RAYMOND BROWN

With a Foreword by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

This book, officially adopted by the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, makes its appearance simultaneously with the need for it. It answers all the questions which women who are to use the vote for the first time are asking, and is filled with information for those who desire to learn the essentials of good citizenship. The author, one of the principal woman suffrage leaders, is Chairman of Organization of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party. 12mo, Cloth, 75 cents.

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What we want to know is, why didn't the reporter write it that way? Being merely a voter and therefore not obliged like the women of Nebraska to pretend to super-intelligence we say if the women of Nebraska read things like that clipping every day and understand them, they ought to be given the vote and the food department and railroad control and the management of the shipyards. They could manage 'em all.

Farthest North

Once a year the Dawson members of the Canadian Northwestern Mounted Police take mail to the far northern settlement, Fort McPherson. On their last trip they took with them a suffrage petition from Mrs. C. J. Perkins of Dawson and brought back the signature of every man in the community. The use of crutches did not prevent Mrs. Perkins from taking an active part in organizing New Mexico for suffrage, and she served as its state president from 1895-1897. The formation of cataracts on both eyes has not prevented her now from seeing the need and opportunity for further service. Mrs. Perkins writes: "My object in sending these papers is to show how even the helpless and unfortunate can do their bit."

THE MAIL CARRIER.

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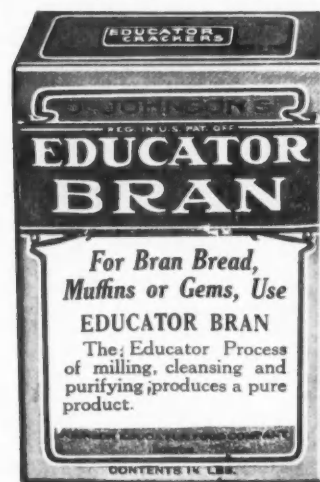
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Where Is Your State?

THE photograph in the center of this page should convince any doubters there may be that Indiana is out to win. There's nothing slow about Indiana once she makes up her mind!

It was not until the end of February that Indiana really did make up her mind to run off a regular thorough-going, state-wide campaign for new *Woman Citizen* subscribers. She chose Mrs. Croan of Anderson as her chairman and things began to happen. In the first place the Circulation Department's usual cautious, Hooverized allotment of circulars and working material wouldn't do for Indiana at all. She wanted to show her leagues that she meant business, and she ordered, accordingly, just exactly twice as much equipment as any one other state had used up to that time.

In the second place, Indiana wanted to have some fun out of all this work. And so the Anderson League, which is financing the campaign, went to the Ward Stilson Company of Anderson, and through their courtesy is now offering these two very stunning banners to the county league and local club who shall bring in the largest number of subscribers. These trophies will be awarded, we are told, at the Indiana State Convention on the 17th of April.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: I am trying to speed up the work in our state to the best of my ability, but at least half of us are still frozen up or else hopelessly in the grip of the spring thaw which is even worse. You have very many leagues back of this work in spirit and the fruits will be forthcoming before long. I feel sure. I want to catch up with New Jersey!—*Mary Post.*

ARKANSAS: I believe, if we could put the *Citizen* all over Arkansas, it would aid us very materially in winning full suffrage.—*Florence B. Cotnam.*

INDIANA: Enclosed please find subscriptions from the Indiana Campaign for the *Woman Citizen*. We are hoping this is the beginning of the deluge, and are making every effort to increase the circulation of your magazine in Indiana.—*Mrs. E. Gordon Smith.*

We note that New Hampshire is troubled with spring thaw. Can it be that Illinois and Missouri have been thawing since January?

We sign this column not because we consider it literature, but in the fond hope that some hundreds of local clubs will be inspired to write to us for contest instructions. Are you there?

KATHARINE GAY,
National Circulation Chairman.

State Circulation Chairmen

Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane of New Orleans
Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York of Augusta
New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin of East Orange
New Hampshire: Mrs. Mary Post of Portsmouth
Rhode Island: Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt of Bristol
Kentucky: Mrs. Charles Firth of Covington
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Texas: Mrs. Helen Moore of Galveston
South Carolina: Mrs. J. T. Gittman of Columbia
Alabama: Miss Mary P. London of Birmingham
Indiana: Mrs. Jessie Croan of Anderson
Michigan: Mrs. John Waite of Ann Arbor

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.



Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest: March 23rd

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Georgia | 1. Georgia |
| 2. South Dakota | 2. South Dakota |
| 3. Minnesota | 3. Minnesota |
| 4. Iowa | 4. Iowa |
| 5. New Jersey | 5. New Jersey |
| 6. New York | 6. Ohio |
| 7. Ohio | 7. New York |
| 8. Wisconsin | 8. New Hampshire and Wisconsin |
| 9. Massachusetts | 9. Indiana |
| 10. Alabama, Virginia, New Hampshire | 10. Massachusetts |
| 11. Maine | 11. Alabama |
| 12. Pennsylvania | 12. Virginia |
| 13. Indiana | 13. Maine |
| 14. Louisiana | 14. Louisiana |
| 15. Maryland | 15. Pennsylvania |
| 16. Michigan | 16. Maryland |
| 17. Texas | 17. Michigan |
| 18. Nebraska | 18. Texas |
| 19. Washington and Mississippi | 19. Rhode Island |
| 20. Connecticut and South Carolina | 20. Nebraska |
| 21. North Dakota | 21. Mississippi, Kentucky, Washington |
| 22. Tennessee | 22. South Carolina, Connecticut |
| | 23. North Dakota |
| | 24. Vermont and Tennessee |

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YOUR factory, your store, your home, represent years of labor, thought, saving and struggle. If they are threatened, you spring to their defense with all your strength, all your ingenuity and resourcefulness. They are the fruits of a lifetime of effort, and must be protected and preserved at all cost.

Your country represents the toil, the sacrifice, the struggle of past generations of Americans. They won it by their valor; they freely gave their lives, when called upon, to preserve its integrity and its freedom; they have handed it down to you as a priceless heritage and a sacred trust.

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"In these stirring times I prize the magazine even more than I have done before. With its aid I am doing missionary work in my limited way in this small community near a great city. More power and glory to the Woman Citizen!"—*Fannington, Michigan.*

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"I mean to take it all my life."—*Springfield, Missouri.*

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War French— <i>Colonel C. D. Willcox</i>	.75	1.50

We shall change the list of titles from time to time, keeping it up to date and always bearing in mind that the readers of the WOMAN CITIZEN will wish to read authoritative writers.

NOTE:—If you are already a subscriber to the WOMAN CITIZEN and desire to own a copy of one of the books named, we suggest that you subscribe to the magazine for a friend and have the book sent to your address. This offer applies to new subscriptions only.

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April 13, 1918

THE Woman Citizen

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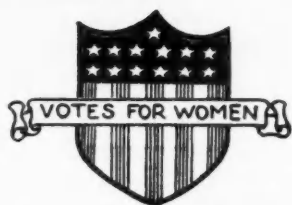
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THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

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171 Madison Avenue, New York

April 13, 1918
Vol. II (New style) No. 20

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE and HENRY B.
BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
OF NEW YORK CITY
and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confer-
ring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT "

First introduced in the Senate,
January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A.
Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays

34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays

204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays

136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of
Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote
not fixed.

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—Excerpts from a letter sent out by Mrs. Croan of Indiana to suffrage leagues throughout the state.

What is your state doing?

(See page 398)

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

April 13, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

An Open Letter to Women in War Time

THIS is the time of all times when American women must move forward with American men in a compact body, mind and heart sustained by the one ideal, the ideal of democracy.

Even yet we do not know in America as we shall later know what is required of us in oneness of production, in oneness of sacrifice, in oneness of life itself. We do not yet know the strain, the tension that is coming. We do not yet know how utterly essential it is that we go forward by millions as one person, that as one person we stand and deliver.

We must not lag. We must not cavil. We must not sneer. We must not talk about "the government" and wash our hands of it with a great air.

We must not forget that "the government" even in peace times is just ourselves, in communal function, that we can't be quit of concern in it if we would; can't reach out a hand without being entangled in it; can't think, or move, or have our being apart from it.

It is in war time that solidarity counts as it cannot count in peace time, as nothing else can count at any time—solidarity of purpose as of action.

Whatever deflects us from the purpose and action of war is felt as a wrong today. Everything else is side-tracked. Competition is going out of business. Trade and transportation are under governmental control. The arts are voiceless. The writers and painters and sculptors have thrown down their tools—to pick them up again in specialized war service. We eat, sleep and drink the purposes of this war.

No more than the men can we women keep the subject from our lips. Our hands are sentient with it as we knit and knit. We strive and strain toward those bloody battlefields of Europe. We begrudge every thought, word, deed, that takes our time and attention from the war. We want to roll bandages endlessly, we want to knit socks, tie up packages—these are the concrete things of the war.

Doing them puts us into the war.

They are the concrete things and they have to be done, but woe betide us if in the doing we lose sight of the abstract things of the war. We are not just fighting. We are fighting for something. Our thought cannot be allowed to lie in the bloody welter of the trenches. Our thought must lift itself as a banner on which stands out in letters of fire the thing we are fighting for—democracy.

Not democracy for one country at the expense of another. Not democracy for one-half of a people at the expense of the other half, but democracy for all the people in all the world, the whole thing.

Perhaps you think that you are sufficiently in this fight if you roll bandages and knit socks, if you sell Liberty Bonds and grow a war garden. You are not.

Perhaps you think woman suffrage can wait. It can't. Don't fool yourself. You can't hold up one end of this fight and let the other end sag. It doesn't matter if your hands *are* full of knitting needles, it doesn't matter if your mind *is* full of other details of war work, you've got to hold up the woman suffrage end of the war work, too. Nobody else is going to do your share of it for you. Everybody else's knitting needles are clicking just as hard and fast as yours.

Is democracy to come limping in on one foot because you fail in your full duty to womanhood, to your country, to the world? Is it really democracy we are fighting for? Or is it the old autocracy of sex? It is for you to say, you women. The majority of men are for woman suffrage, but we cannot leave this sector of the battle front to the men. It belongs by right to the women. If women forget, if they fall down, if they decide that woman suffrage is not part of the fight for democracy, is not war work, on their heads alone be the failure, the shame and the ignominy.

If they stand true, if they keep to their suffrage task, while in no whit slighting their other war work, this year will see the fight for democracy ended at home, an earnest of its end abroad.

New York Republicans to Their Senators

IF Senator James W. Wadsworth does not realize that his constituents want him to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment it is for no lack of reminder from the units of his own Republican machine.

The Republican County Committee of New York County, for instance, has resolved:

"That this Committee respectfully urges Hon. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., and Hon. William M. Calder, United States Senators from the State of New York, to support the adoption of the aforesaid joint-resolution; and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, duly attested, be forwarded to the United States Senators from the State of New York."

All eight of the Erie County Assembly District leaders have sent Senator Wadsworth copies of a resolution endorsing the Amendment and urging him to vote for it.

Through Seymour Lowman, chairman, the Chemung County Committee has gone on record as being "thoroughly committed in favor of suffrage for women. . . . We feel it ought to be nation-wide. . . . We therefore ask you to support in the Senate the bill providing for Woman Suffrage."

Otsego and Rockland County Committees have passed resolutions favoring the amendment. Willett E. Hoysratt of Dutchess reports that he has "written to Senator Wadsworth asking him to support the Suffrage Amendment. I believe that our Republican State Committee and the Chairmen of all of the county committees have made similar requests of him, and if he does not comply it will be through no fault of the Republican organization of his own State."

Nassau, Columbia, Chautauqua, Franklin, Saratoga, Tioga, Canajoharie, Onondaga, Tompkins, Oswego, Delaware, all have passed resolutions urging Senator Wadsworth to vote for the Amendment, or have such resolutions pending, or have communicated the County Committee's sentiments to the Senator by personal letters from the leaders.

Recognition on the Way

FOLLOWING upon the heels of the announcement that the Red Cross will accept women physicians for dispensary work in France comes the announcement by Dr. Franklin Martin, chairman of the General Medical Board, that woman doctors are to be included in the volunteer medical reserve corps now being formed.

There are in the United States, according to the directory of Medical Women, some 5,539 women physicians. Of these, 33⅓ per cent have registered for volunteer service through the American Women's Hospitals. Of the 144,869 men physicians in the United States less than 15 per cent have registered for volunteer service.

Our recognition of woman physicians as a war asset is following very closely the course of the same recognition on the other

side. Although every one of the Entente countries refused to recognize women in war service to begin with, every one reached the point where those services were gladly accepted. Under the showing of the women of the Scottish Women's Hospitals—sent out and maintained by the suffragists of Great Britain—Serbia, France, Belgium, Great Britain all learned the value of the woman physician and surgeon.

Dr. Martin has given it as his personal view that medical women in war service abroad should be given military rank, to put them on a par with the men physicians doing the same work. He believes, too, that they should be given the same pay as men members of the medical officers' reserve corps.

Members of the Women's Oversea Hospitals corps, sent out by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, report that they are in the war zone, working directly back of the battle line, under the French government.

Meanwhile, individual women, through the American Women's Hospitals, are volunteering for war duty in France under the American government.

In view of the experience of our allies, it would be strange indeed for the American government to withhold recognition from American doctors because they happen to be women.

The Bell Peal in Great Britain

WHEN that idol of British suffragists, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, rose to make her presidential address before the annual council meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, she was greeted with the ovation due her after her fifty years of triumphant service in the suffrage cause. The last two years, she said, had been wonderful years. At the 1916 Council Meeting some of her friends thought her too sanguine in her estimate of the effects of the industrial emancipation of women, but war had brought freedom to women, as the Black Death brought it to the serfs of the fourteenth century. She quoted numerous expressions of change of view by well-known anti-suffragists. One had said that the women were wonderful in their adaptability, unselfishness, freshness of mind, organizing skill. Men were making too great a mess of the world. They needed helpers who were without their prejudice, idleness and self-indulgence. Before the war she had often felt that the position of suffragists was like that of a person pulling a bell-rope with no bell at the end,—now there was a bell, a whole peal of them, and they were going to ring throughout the world. It had been said that the granting of the suffrage to women would make no difference. "Already we have begun to reap the benefit. It is enormously encouraging and exhilarating to us to feel the power of the vote behind us." She did not want any one to pity her. Her fifty years of work had been joyful years. She had enjoyed almost every minute of them, but the last two years had been exhilarating beyond words, and full of encouragement. One heard much about the ignorance of the woman voter. She did not believe in that ignorance. Many of the women enfranchised were mothers of families and housewives, and the special knowledge gained by them would be brought to bear as voters. She

was full of hope and confidence that women would use their vote in an earnest and intelligent way.

Mrs. Fawcett then moved the following resolution, which was carried with acclamation:

"That this Council records its profound satisfaction on the passage into law of the Representation of the People Bill, and its confident belief that the enfranchisement of women will contribute to the true and permanent welfare of the country."

Women Unafraid

AMONG those working in the Erie machine shops when the explosion occurred on March 26, which blew up a warehouse and burned down several buildings, were several of Uncle Sam's nieces. Dressed in overalls, they were pursuing one of those light feminine tasks in which thousands of women on both sides of the sea are proving that women's work is whatever comes to them to be done. They were doing electric welding.

At the first detonation most of the workers were knocked down. Many of the fifty men working in the room with the girls were hit by falling timbers, some being knocked senseless, although no one was fatally hurt. Not one of the nine girls lost her head, or had hysterics, or went off in a faint. They began at once to render aid to the more seriously injured men.

One girl of eighteen, Miss Katherine Nelson, carried out three people, one after the other. With torn overalls and slight wounds on her much-begrimed face, she told a reporter that she thought the "world had come to an end" when the first shock came. "It seemed as if the whole building was about to collapse. Things flew in every direction, fire breaking out almost instantly." She first carried out an unconscious woman worker, then a man, who was taken away senseless to a nearby hospital. Again she entered the burning building and rescued another man.

It almost seems as if courage has forgotten that it is a masculine quality, and comes welling up sexless from subliminal depths whenever it is called upon. Perhaps it is a habit of self-forgetfulness.

From the National's Mail Bag

WOULD Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham find as much in any other state, we wonder? Or is it Texas only that is chock-a-block full of humor? We haven't heard that the Texas women had any trials at all in putting through their primary suffrage amendment. It was all like laughing over a page of *Life*, according to Mrs. Cunningham's letters. The latest bit of spice she has passed on is the statement made by an anti-suffrage leader when the suffragists thought their campaign was won—"Like the sweet girl graduate, not finished, but just begun," declared the anti-lady. Mrs. Cunningham adds simply, "She told the truth because later an amendment to another bill was introduced, making it a requisite, in voting in the primaries, that you sign a pledge to vote the Democratic ticket in November, and that you had voted it last time. Of course that meant us. But we were able to take care of it."—*The Mail Carrier*.

What Was In Their Knitting Bags?

SOMETHING like two hundred knitting bags descended upon the Capital City of New York State a short time ago. Their owners were there to protest against unjust labor laws and to seek support for higher labor standards for women and minors. Behind the knitting bags were knitters, and behind the knitters were ballots. And this is why the legislators saw these women for the first time as real people. Every massed attack of women on Albany before this has been a siege attack. The women who went to Albany to watch the labor laws were modern followers of Madame Lafarge, and were knitting their impressions of Albany and their intentions as to the vote next fall into their socks and sweaters. They represented thousands back home with innocent little knitting bags just like theirs.

Among the bills these women heard discussed there was, for example, the Lockwood bill for an eight-hour day with no night work for women and minors in practically every industry in New York. The Lockwood bill amends the present labor law to provide for an eight-hour day and a forty-eight-hour week to be applied to workers in telegraph, telephone, steam, elevated, subway and surface electric railways, railroad shops, sheds and elevators, including the women recently employed as street car conductors.

It was around this last occupation that the question became heated. Women representing almost every industrial group directed the burden of their argument to the railway conductor feature of the bill.

Opposing the bill at the hearing were the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, the New York Telephone Company, the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, and the Typographical Union. The last wanted the regulatory features to apply to men as well as to women, women type-setters pleading their disadvantage as against men of their trade if night work is forbidden to them and not to their men-competitors.

There was practically no opposition at the second hearing of the Wagner Minimum Wage bill, which is modeled after the Oregon law, upheld as constitutional in April, 1917. It is an act creating a permanent wage commission composed of three members, who would, in turn, appoint wage boards for each occupation. The board would consist of representatives of employers, employees and the public.

The New York City Consumers' League estimates that \$11.70 is the least upon which a woman can live decently and healthfully in New York, and yet it was brought out before the Committee that thousands of girls are trying to live in New York City on as little as \$5, \$6 and \$7 a week.

All the large organizations of women sent delegates, whose interest in the legislation considered was not that of women demanding special favors for one sex as against another, but was an effort to protect society itself from deteriorating influences in this period of national peril, when women are being pushed into new fields. Mrs. Florence Kelley of the Consumers' League said she believed the time was coming when minimum wage legislation would include men as well as women.

Love and War

WE had asked her for something that would be revelatory of woman's psychic reaction to the war. We expected her to project it from the background of the motor run between hospital and *gare* that she had left somewhere in France. We knew her old writing reputation and we knew the new reputation she had made as a chauffeur in France. We knew that she had always been a sort of fly-by-night dilettante, dipping here, dipping there, with a little talent for writing, a little for modeling, unstable, morbid, feverish. We knew that something, what she had lived through in France presumably, had somehow steadied her, even while taking the old look of vagrant vitality off her face. She was not pretty any more. She was too tired looking to be pretty. She had a sort of grey look now, but it was restful compared with the old strained question on her face. It was like an overtone, under which you caught her soul, moving white and serene about some compensatory business of its own. We were imposing on an old, old friendship in demanding "something about the war" from her. But when she drew this on us, we shrank back in pain. "It looks like fiction," we muttered, "and we haven't any space for fiction, or any use for it—we print the hard bare facts. We don't care a whang-doodle about love and things like that. We want something real—the effect of the war from the inside."

"I'm too tired to write, to talk, to think anything new for you, but that is not fiction," she maintained stoutly, "it's facts, and it is literally about the effect of the war from the inside—the inside of me. It's fragments from my diary in 1914. All over the world, back in 1914, there were women like me who weren't really in love but had nothing else to do but play with the hope that they were, just for the fun of getting a little color in life, even though it was an off color. I don't pretend that your readers will find it interesting except as showing the bang with which a woman's sickly introspective world of he-loves-me, he-loves-me-not, was puffed out by the cannon. But you can stop it with the bang. Here, just read a few of these pre-war entries. This for instance:

June 2, 1914—How am I to leave tomorrow! If I don't, I shall die. We lock arms, we come close, — and next day there is something in the way. He withdraws into himself, I withdraw into myself. We do not meet at all. Or we meet and talk of other people. He has the capacity for love in his imagination. The reality taxes him. His mind goes out in a loving fancy—he attracts—his own feeling does not sustain him—he repels. There are days when I let him come and sit beside me, trying to quiet by his physical presence the spirit yearning that cries out to him too maddeningly through all this confusion. Sometimes the effect of such association with him is to steady me into a truer realization of him. He seems then so tame in comparison with my dream of him that I part from him, sure that I am not leaving so much, after all. Sometimes I'm left with a sense of infinite depression, infinite loss. He, too, is so sombre, his feeling for life is so wounded, his outlook on life is so triste. Sometimes I'm left wholly comforted. It is as if the softest balm had been laid on my spirit. We understand. We linger in understanding.

June 6—What on earth should I do if his spell on me should be broken—the question is teasing along on the edges of my mind. He must have moved a little farther away or I could not have asked the question. Evidently I am moving out of the glamor of my own imaginings, and now whatever comes will be real, not imagined. I have always finally to effect a compromise between my imagination and the reality. "Wait," I have to call to my imagination. "Come on," I urge the real.

—It grows on me—a curious inability to re-establish his effect on me by thinking of him. I feel as if I had laid aside a veil—a shimmering, mystifying veil. I see things in their former relations, but I don't seem to see him at all—at least it's only a flat photograph of him, this likeness that comes into mind now. How commonplace my soul feels in this little back wash of reality. What did it? What set me back? What did we talk about?—only other people—oh yes, always other people. They make one remember. They will not let one dream. They pull one back to the commonplace. When two people love the world should be unpeopled except for them.

June 14—Day by day, almost hour by hour, I fight this long-drawn battle for my own poise, for good cheer, for hope and ambition, for all the things that make life count. Deep down, under all my reactions to people and experiences, runs the current of my ennui, my sense of finish, my inability to find life amusing, bearable even. This is what he feels, too. But he can turn about and lose himself in people. I can't.

June 27—All day I have been on the run from myself, hiding from life. How I suffer! Yesterday was one long-drawn agony, sharp, horrible, my heart so sick, so heavy, so alone, and cut through with this new knowledge of O—. That it is over for him and not over for me. All day I have been stupefied. All day there have been little stabs of consciousness during which I live through eternities of pain—the unforgivable pain that comes from the sense of being utterly alone.

June 28—Oh, this endless, endless summer! If I could just jump over into the autumn with the new living arrangements made and that first sickening loneliness in the new place over. Already, my heart freezes with terror at the thought of the first night in a strange place—but then it freezes in terror out here many a night, so what's the difference. I wake up in the morning with the feeling that my soul has lain out all night in the cold and the rain.

June 30—Here I am waiting, longing, hoping for a letter—and none comes. In view of my inner turmoil—depression pulling down every little lift of spirit, despair crowding out hope—it's queer to look out of the window and see pink roses in a gay flauant of bloom, tall white lilies bowing to the wind, the outside world all sunlit beauty.

If there were only today what should we do! The thought of tomorrow is the one thing that sustains us. As each day's chance of a letter eludes me, there comes first a heart-sinking and then the glad cry—"but tomorrow—one may come tomorrow."

July 6—All that old sense-enwrapping, that feeling of floating, where is it? The beloved is



BY THIS SIGN CONQUER

no longer the magician who ministered to me. My eyes seem so wide open they are about to pop out of my head. Where *do* I get the ability to make up my illusions? Where do I get the perseverance to maintain them? Why don't I get people for what they are instead of for what I have decided that I want them to be?

July 14—If I should be alive ten years from now, and should read this, it will, I suppose make me seem curiously entangled to myself. But that's exactly why I am setting it down. I *am* curiously entangled. Everybody is, I fancy. If anybody's psychic and physical experience were candidly revealed—all the wayward impulses, the strange attractions, the imagery that one indulges in—wouldn't it be just some such kaleidoscopic jumble as this?

August 3, 1914—Everything has been swallowed up in this great matter of international war. Even as far away as America we seem to get the clatter of horses' hoofs as the cavalry troops go through the streets of Russia, France, Austria, Germany, Serbia; we get the "ominous silences" among the groups of peasants on the street corners in the villages, among the boulevardiers in Paris; we hear the Marseillaise resounding through France; Die Wacht am Rhein comes ringing out of Germany. England is singing Rule Britannia. Friday, the 31st of July, the stock exchange closed in New York. All America is holding its breath, staggered by the thought of what is happening in Europe. A world at war! We do not take it in. Nobody can stretch himself enough to take it in. Each meets his neighbor with some stupid exclamation of incredulity: "I cannot believe it—I cannot understand it—How *can* it be—Are we civilized or are we not?" The sobs and sighs of the women and children in Russia, in Austria, in Serbia, in Germany, soon in England, come on to America in a storm of sound mightier than the cannon's roar. Are we to stand it? Can we? I cannot write or think of personal equations. He is not coming this week. So much I learn from a letter received today. He thinks he will come next. So be it. I am glad he is not coming this week. I hope I shall be glad that he is coming next week.

August 5—England has been drawn into the vortex. German militarism is making its last
(Continued on page 396)

The Village Vote

TO begin with the village is to begin with the middle unit of local government. In the order of size the school district is smallest, the country largest. The state is normally divided and subdivided politically into county, city or village or township, and school district. All these units are created and their boundaries, officials and powers laid down by state law, but within the limits laid down by the state they are self-governing, their governments being charged to carry out both state laws and local ordinances. The state in other words prescribes the thing to be done, the local unit carries it out, sometimes, as in the case of roads with the help of state money or state officials, sometimes alone. The city, or village, and the township are mutually exclusive. Of the latter the school district is a subdivision. The school district and the township are "rural units"; the city and village are "urban units."

In the South some of these subdivisions of the county are lacking; in New England the town overshadows the county. The school district, the smallest unit of government, is purely educational in its functions. It is so small that in New York alone there are as many school districts as there are villages in the United States. Citizens—in some states only those who pay taxes or are parents of school children—at the annual district meeting in May vote the school tax and other school measures, elect school trustees, clerk, a school tax collector, a treasurer and an attendance officer. To the trustees fall the general management of the school; care of school property, salaries of teachers, courses of study and school supplies. All school officials are paid, generally at the rate of \$2.00 a day.

Next above the school district comes the township or town, on a larger scale and with more complex matters to handle. In New York, for instance, a township has within its area an average of ten school districts and embraces within the scope of its government general police protection, care of the poor, minor courts and care of roads and bridges, also the common but not the local interests of the school districts of which it is made up.

THE legislative powers of local governments are small, for as we have seen, the main laws governing local units are passed by the state. But there are local ordinances, local appropriations and other local measures which are still left to the small units. The town in its purest form exists in the New England states. There it is locally, except in those states where there are property qualifications for the local franchise, a pure democracy and a direct democracy; for the town meeting, made up of all the voters, which takes place in the Spring (October in Connecticut) is the town Legislature. It votes, taxes, initiates enterprises, criticizes officials, makes appropriations, legislates on local option and other matters. Besides all these powers, it elects the town officials, including selectmen, who serve for three years, a school committee, one-third of whom are changed each year, assessors, tax collectors, auditors, treasurer, overseers of the poor and highways, constable and town clerk, most of these officials serving one year.

In a series of brief articles, of which this is the first, the Woman Citizen will try to show what your vote means to you in the village or town, in the country, in the state, in the nation.—Ed.

IN New England there are few villages and the county is unimportant compared with the town. The population of a New England town averages from 400 to 4,000, rural and scattered over a fairly wide territory. The range is very great; Brookline (Mass.) has 30,000 population, whereas New Ashford (Mass.) has only 92 souls all told.

In New York and the middle Atlantic states the town meeting is preserved but in many cases it is more like an ordinary election, in some towns held in March, but in most at the general election in November, and in odd years, instead of annually as in New England. Measures as well as men are voted on. The town officers elected are supervisor, clerk, assessors, collector, overseer of the poor, superintendent of highways, school directors, constables and four justices of the peace. The supervisor, who is elected for two years, is the chief town executive officer and represents the town on the County Board. The Town Board is made up of the supervisor, clerk and two justices of the peace. Its duties cover disbursements, health, highways and bridges, the supervision of elections, for which it appoints special officials. The pay of all these officials is nominal, \$2.00 a day, the main source of income coming for most of them from fees.

In the Southern and Middle Western states townships are either unimportant and have few functions or, in many counties, do not exist.

WHEN 25 town voters decide that congestion of population has created new problems, which the town government is unable to cope with, they may submit a proposition to incorporate a village to the town supervisor. If he approves, the proposition is submitted to the voters and, if it passes, a village (sometimes

called "borough") is incorporated by the state Legislature. Villages are independent of the township in which they are situated. They are cities on a small scale, their population ranging from 100 to 10,000. In Texas and Wisconsin many cities have only a few hundred population, and in New York some villages have a population of 16,000. The annual spring village election, or "meeting," elects the village officials, all of whom serve one year except the trustees, who serve two years, half elected each year, and the police justice who serves four years. These officials are a president, board of trustees, of which the president is ex-officio a member, treasurer, clerk, assessors, tax collector, street commissioner, police justice, and the board of education. The trustees appoint a board of health which elects a health officer. The president's duties are to see that the village by-laws are enforced (among his other functions he is chief of police), and to have general charge of village affairs. The duties of the trustees are to make by-laws, appropriate public moneys, maintain water-works, sewers, streets, police and fire departments, regulate certain trades and fix salaries. In the activities italicized and in the offices of health officer and street commissioner are to be seen the difference between a town and a village. In the village certain matters attended to in the rural town by the individual are taken over by the corporate body. We will see the range of corporate activities further broadened when we come to the city, for the city is the village grown to maturity.

About the middle of March the women in most of the villages of New York state cast their first vote on local candidates and local issues. The village elections of New York were only distinctive in that this was the women's first vote on a large scale in the greatest state in the Union; therefore it was given considerable space in the papers. At the same time voters were casting their ballots in some 10,000 villages in other states.

A FEW representative examples from New York state will give an idea of what a village election means. In many villages only candidates—president, board and other officials—were voted on. At Scotia there was up also a proposition to buy a voting machine—voted on as all such propositions are, by taxpayers only, and voted down as too expensive. At Malone the voters abolished the office of police justice. At Mamaroneck the issue was between control by political parties, always injurious and unnecessary in local elections, and the preservation of non-partisan elections. At Scotia non-partisanship was so well in control that the non-partisan "party" held a caucus and nominated its candidates who went through on election day almost unanimously, for there was, as in many other villages, only one ticket. In many villages registration was not required and the voters had no duties to perform in advance of election morning. At Sacketts Harbor a woman was elected village president, but at Gouverneur, one of the major parties put up an all-woman ticket to try out sex-partisanship, only to find that no such thing existed in that village.

(Continued on page 396)



SOMEBODY IS DUE FOR A BUMP

One Day with the Land



NOT EVERY WOMAN CAN DRIVE A THREE HORSE PLOW, BUT THIS GIRL AT THE FARMINGDALE AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL COULD AND DID



AND ALL CAN DRIVE A WHEELBARROW. WHAT IS A BARROW TO ONE WHO HAS PUSHED A PERAMBULATOR?



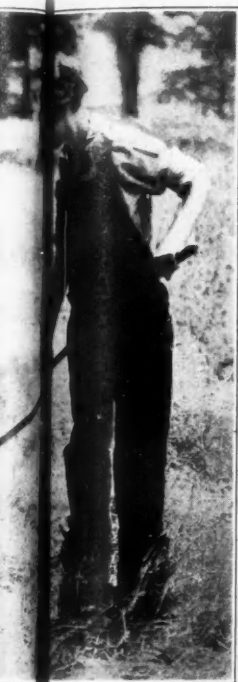
SHE SOMETIMES MILKS THE CAMP COW CLAD IN OVERALLS—THE GIRL, NOT THE COW

CAN A WOMAN DO REAL FARM WORK? JUST WATCH HER AT IT. HERE SHE IS AS SHE AND SCORES LIKE HER WORKED IN THE FIELDS OF NEW YORK STATE IN 1917. THEY WERE "HIRED HANDS" FOR THE FARMERS AT 25 CENTS AN HOUR FOR AN EIGHT HOUR DAY. SOME FARMERS PRAISE THE WOMAN FIELD HAND. OTHERS ARE CHARY OF HER. ALL HAVE TO GET USED TO HER. SHE'S NEW. SHE'S IMPROVING. SHE'S MEETING A NEED

THE GIRL THE
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STONE WAKES
AL FRESHUNC



in the Fields the Woman's and Army



RL THE HOE CAR-
HER LUNCH AND
THES THE BUSY
OF FARMER. AT
IDE SHADE OF A
WAKES A GOOD
RESLUNCH ROOM



SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER THE WEEDS

AT HOME IN HER
OVERALLS. THIS GIRL
IS IN THE TRENCHES
TO WIN THE WAR.
OVERALLS ARE EASY
TO WASH. THEY ARE
A PROTECTION FROM
BRAMBLES. THEY ARE
CHEAP. THEY FIT
ANYBODY. THEY ARE
WOMAN'S 20TH CEN-
TURY DISCOVERY. IN
THEM THE WOMAN
MOVEMENT GOES FOR-
WARD BY LEAPS AND
BOUNDS



COMIN' THROUGH THE RYE, AND LEAVING IT NEATLY STACKED
BEHIND HER



A PRICELESS
LOAD OF YELLOW
CORN FOR THE
DELIGHT OF MR.
HOOVER'S HEART



Notes and Comment

By Alice Stone Blackwell

That Zone System

ONE way in which the German people are kept in the dark has lately been described in the *New York Times* by a returned commercial traveller. Outside of a few large centres, he says, they read only the local papers, and in these the news is carefully colored to accord with the views of the Government. They have no chance to learn what is really going on in the world.

To limit most people's reading to the local papers will be the inevitable result of the new postal law which is soon to go into effect. The law establishes a "zone system," and lays a heavy increase of postage upon periodicals sent to subscribers at a distance from the place of publication. This puts a severe handicap on all periodicals that depend mainly not upon local sales but upon national circulation. They will have to raise their prices to subscribers at a distance, and the distant subscribers, unless they are rich, will discontinue the paper.

The new law is expected to kill all the papers of national circulation except a few. The *Ladies' Home Journal* will be able to stand it but not the agricultural papers which now carry to the remotest farmer the news of the latest improvements in farm methods and machinery; not the medical journals which help the country doctor to keep in touch with the new discoveries in medicine and surgery.

All the reform papers will be put out of business except the very few that have strong financial backing. It is believed in many quarters that one object of the bill was to make it impossible for independent papers to live. All the great profiteering interests favored the measure; and one of the publications representing those interests lately had an exultant editorial on "The Waning Power of the Press." It boasted that the press no longer exerted anything like its old power, and that it would be still further curbed by "the new taxes."

The profiteers hate and fear nothing so much as the independent paper and magazine; and the new postal law tends directly to crush these.

The Government must have money, and taxes must be laid; but it is poor policy to put a burdensome tax upon the circulation of ideas. As has already been advised in *The Woman Citizen*, write to your U. S. Senator and your Congressmen urging that the Congress reconsider its action in regard to the zone system of second-class postage.

Women and War

THE opponents of equal rights have lately turned a complete somersault in one of their main lines of argument. Now that our country is at war, they charge the suffragists with being pacifists, and predict that equal suffrage would be fatal to military effectiveness. Less than three years ago their official publications were arguing with equal earnestness that women were not a bit more pacifically inclined than men, and that it was absurd to suppose woman suffrage would tend against

militarism. In "Anti-Suffrage Essays," published in 1916, Mrs. Charles P. Strong, corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Women's Anti-Suffrage Association, had an essay on "Woman Suffrage and War" (pages 66 to 76). She says:

"History shows women at least as much inclined to war as men—a fact illustrated in the French Revolution, in our Civil War, in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, and in other instances too numerous to mention."

In the same essay she describes the suffragists as "boycotters of peace societies," and says "The incongruity of suffragists attempting to pose as a peace party is obvious." She adds:

"The falsity of the argument that woman suffrage would tend against militarism was crushingly refuted when Dr. Ernest Bernbaum drew attention to the recent history of militaristic policies in England and Australia. In male suffrage England, Lord Roberts, despite his personal popularity and strong arguments, was unable to get sufficient support for his program of universal military service. In woman suffrage Australia and New Zealand, on the other hand, the same line of arguments was completely successful by 1911. There boys from their twelfth year are required to be enrolled for instruction in drill and the rudiments of military science. The penalties for failure are severe, and public opinion supports their enforcement. . . . The electorate was determined that New Zealand and Australia should be nations in arms; indeed, they were more drastic than Germany, where many exemptions from military service on various grounds are allowed. . . . When the suffragists state that woman suffrage tends against militarism, they state what is diametrically opposed to the real truth of history."

In "The Case Against Woman Suffrage," a pink-covered pamphlet, with an introduction by Everett P. Wheeler, which was widely circulated in the New York campaign of 1915, the author ransacks history in the effort to show that women have been as much in favor of war as men, if not more so. At that time Americans very generally hoped that the United States would not have to get into the war; and the anti-suffragists colored their arguments accordingly. They have now changed their hue as completely as the chameleon.

We have always maintained that women are more opposed than men to wars of mere conquest and aggression; but in a war which they believe to be necessary and just, they will stand by their men to the last gasp, and will even urge them on.

Where Women Do Not Vote

If the recent anti-draft riots in Quebec had taken place in Colorado we should undoubtedly have been told that they showed the pernicious effects of woman suffrage.

"GIVING suffrage to the women of Idaho has done more for the state than any other measure," said former Governor Hawley of that state.

Dead in England

MRS. JOHN M. AHERN, the American wife of a British officer, is now lecturing in this country. She gives most interesting inside information about many things in England which the American public has not known.

Although she is exceptionally well-informed, she had never even heard of the fantastic story which has been widely circulated by American anti-suffragists, to the effect that the recent passage of the woman suffrage bill through the British Parliament was secured by German influence, for the purpose of weakening England. When questioned about this, at the close of one of her lectures, she could hardly believe her ears. It seemed to her almost impossible that anyone could have ever coined or credited so monstrous a statement.

It is easy to understand the complete collapse of opposition to woman suffrage in England, after hearing Mrs. Ahern's account of the magnificent way in which the English women are giving their help to their country. They are actually carrying on every department of the national life, while the men are in the field. She told of one woman, a stubborn anti-suffragist, whom they had labored in vain for years to convert. In announcing her final change of heart, this woman said: "Women are running England. Why shouldn't they have a voice in the management?" This change of mind has been general; and it is going on, faster or slower, in all the allied nations.

Mrs. Ahern also quoted a composition written by a little French girl, that shows how hearts and minds may be drawn together—on this question as well as others—in spite of distance:

"There is a river in France so narrow that a bird could fly over it with one waft of its wings, and men could even speak across it. There are thousands of people on each side of this river, and yet they are as far apart as right is from wrong.

"There is an ocean so wide that the sea-gulls cannot fly over it, and big liners take days to cross it. There are thousands of people on each side of this ocean, and yet they are so close that their hearts touch."

In New York State

MRS. EDWARD V. S. MASON was chosen president of Sacketts Harbor at the village election held in March. By a majority vote of 15 in favor of the woman candidate the village, once rated an anti-suffrage stronghold, registered its conversion to equal suffrage. Mrs. Mason was the local suffrage leader during the recent campaign for woman suffrage and is thoroughly acquainted with the needs of the village, which has a population between eight and nine hundred. According to press reports Mrs. Mason has the distinction of being the first New York woman to hold the office of village president.

In the Center of Activity

Executive Council Meeting

INDIANA is offering hospitality to all the national board members who attend the Executive Council at Indianapolis next week, and will entertain all the visitors at dinner on Wednesday evening, April 17th, six o'clock, at the Claypool Hotel. Each large Indiana league will be offered the privilege of having one visitor as a special guest at the dinner. There will be an evening meeting following the dinner at which Mrs. Catt is asked to speak and other members of the national board will be called upon informally. A drive is arranged for Friday afternoon, April 19th, weather permitting. Mrs. Barnhill, first vice-president of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana, is chairman of the programme for the Indiana convention.

Indiana's Convention

THE Woman's Franchise League of Indiana has planned a full calendar for its annual session at the Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, April 16 to 18. Many of the speakers will be of national note as the Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association will be in session at Indianapolis at the same time. Plans for the ratification of the Federal Amendment, when it shall have passed the Senate; a revision of the constitution of the state association, and war service work of the suffragists will be among the main features for discussion.

The convention delegates and visitors will be formally welcomed by Governor Goodrich on Tuesday evening, Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, president of the League, making the response. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw will make the address of the evening and following the program there will be a reception for national and state suffragists. The Tuesday afternoon session will be devoted largely to a discussion of publicity methods. Dr. Amelia Keller will welcome the delegates and then will come greetings from Mrs. Culla J. Vayhinger, president of the W. C. T. U., and Mrs. John E. Moore, president of the Indiana Federation of Women's Clubs.

FOLLOWING the state's reports Miss Rose Young, editor of the *Woman Citizen*, and director of the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education, will talk on publicity from a national viewpoint, as will Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke, national publicity chairman for Indiana. Miss Alma Sickler, editor of *The Hoosier Suffragist*, will speak on publicity "Through a State Periodical." "Ideal Publicity" is the topic upon which Miss Adah Bush, chairman of the publicity investigation committee, will speak, and Miss Mary I. Gallahan, state press chairman, will talk from that viewpoint. Mrs. Jessie Freemont Croan, chairman of the *Woman Citizen* circulation campaign in Indiana, will have much of interest to tell in regard to her work, and then will come the awarding of banners to county league and local club turning in the most subscriptions to the magazine.

Wednesday will bring a lively session with a full discussion of state plans and national activities. Mrs. Raymond Brown, fourth vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, will tell of the New York

campaign at the morning session, viewing it from the standpoint of "A Triumph of Organization." "Storming Congress" will be the subject of the talk by Mrs. Lewis J. Cox, state chairman Congressional Committee, at the afternoon program, when plans for ratification will be discussed. Mrs. Horace Stillwell, director of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from Indiana, will tell of the work at Washington.

"SUFFRAGISTS AS PATRIOTS" will be the general topic of the talk by Mrs. Stanley McCormick, first vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and general chairman of the committees for war service of the national suffrage association. The program will include the following: "The Woman's Land Army," Mrs. Anne Studebaker Carlisle, Indiana State Council of Defense, Miss Hilda Loines, national chairman, and Mrs. O. N. Guldin, state chairman; Food Production; "Conservation," Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, national chairman, Mrs. John Crume, Indiana chairman, and Miss Elizabeth Cowan, vice-chairman; "Women in Industry," Mrs. Wilmer Christian; "New Safeguards for Woman," Mrs. Arthur T. Cox, state factory inspector; "The Suffrage War Baby," Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, chairman of the Central Committee of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A.; "What Ails the Alien," Mrs. F. E. Bagley, chairman of the Americanization committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; "Red Cross Workers in the Suffrage Ranks," Mrs. M. H. K. Malone, state chairman Franchise League Red Cross Committee.

The big social event of the convention will be the Gala Night dinner on Wednesday evening when national and state suffragists will gather to celebrate recent suffrage triumphs. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of Congressional Committee at Washington; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, second vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, will be the national speakers on the after dinner program. Other speakers include Representative Jeannette Rankin, Mrs. Harriett Taylor Upton, president of the Ohio State Suffrage Association, Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, formerly president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and chairman of the National Suffrage Committee on Child Welfare.

Mrs. J. F. Barnhill is the chairman of the convention program committee.

Kentuckians Impatient

THE members of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs of the Ninth District, are growing impatient over the delay of the vote in the Senate on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Following an address by Mrs. John Glover South, president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, in which Mrs. South made strong points for the enfranchisement of women, the club women, in annual session, March 28, passed a resolution calling upon their Senators in Congress to vote "yes."

Woman's Committee Backs Woman's Land Army

SO many queries have arisen concerning the attitude of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense towards the Woman's Land Army of America that it is gratifying to be able to report the Committee unqualifiedly for it. Mrs. Stanley McCormick, chairman of the Department of Food Production, has sent to all the State Division Chairmen to say that "the Woman's Committee of National Defense has officially endorsed the plan of work of the Woman's Land Army of America to provide women farm laborers, according to the so-called Unit Plan."

Mrs. McCormick has also written to Food Production Chairmen all over the country asking their help in making the Land Army a success. She explains in her letter that the unit plan is based on those of Great Britain and Canada. It provides that the women laborers shall have their own living quarters, and shall hire out to the farmer in groups for day labor.

There is no doubt in the minds of many agricultural experts as to the value of women farm labor at this crisis. Mr. G. Howard Davison, chairman of the National Agricultural Society's Executive Committee, writes to the leaders of the New York State Committee of the Land Army strongly endorsing the movement.

"You may count on our backing you for all we are worth," said Mr. Davison. "I, for one, am absolutely convinced that women can perform farm labor in a way that will be satisfactory to the farmer. The average farmer has not yet given them credit for half what they can do. Let them prove it this summer." Asked if he thought women could handle farm machinery, Mr. Davison laughed. "I know a number of women," he said, "whom I would rather trust with a tractor than the average man. If women can become expert chauffeurs and machinists, as they have shown they can very rapidly, they can be trusted to master farm machinery." Mr. Davison said further that he believed women would be of greater practical value than boys on the farms. "The boys may set to work with a zest," he said, "but the old adage that they will be boys still holds true, and they are bound to play their pranks and make a jolly day of it, which is entirely natural. Women will go with a conscientious determination to deliver the work required, and will be more likely to keep steadily at it."

The President Also Endorses

To the Executive Committee of the Woman's Land Army, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, Chairman.

My Dear Mrs. Rogers:

I am gratified to hear of the plan of the Woman's Land Army to help increase the food supply of our country and the Allies through enrolling active and patriotic young women in self-sustaining groups or units to aid in cultivating crops where the farmers have need of them. I trust that our farmers, like the farmers of Great Britain and Canada, will avail themselves of this aid to the fullest extent practicable, and that the response of our loyal young women to this need, wherever it exists, will be generous and complete.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

National War-Work

THE Fourteenth Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, to be held in Hot Springs, Arkansas, April 30-May 9, is to be in the nature of a nation-wide war-work conference for women. "Practical Patriotism" is to be the keynote and all phases of women's work in war-time as well as the usual educational and altruistic work of peacetime will be discussed at the great conferences, three of which will be held each day.

Child-Welfare as a war-measure is a chief feature of the program, and all phases of child-welfare will be touched upon, with especial attention to children in the second year of the war. Speakers of the big Child-Welfare Conference will be Miss Julia Lathrop, of the U. S. Children's Bureau; Dr. Jessica Peioxotto, Prof. of Economics, University of California, and Dr. Grace L. Meigs. Miss Lathrop and Mrs. Josiah Evans Cowles will preside.

Elaborate programs have been arranged for all departments and many special sessions will be held with celebrated speakers, representing different departments of the U. S. Government.

Food Conservation will be given a special session, with Mrs. Herbert Hoover and Dr. Alonzo Taylor as chief speakers. Among other speakers will be:

Education, Dr. Henry M. MacCracken, president of Vassar College and director of the American Junior Red Cross; Mrs. C. C. Bradford, president of the National Educational Association, speaking on "Americanization"; Mr. J. L. McBrien, Rural School Specialist in the Bureau of Education, Washington; Mrs. Cora Wilson Stewart, president of the Kentucky Illiteracy Commission, and pioneer for the elimination of illiteracy; Mrs. Edward Franklin White, General Federation Chairman of Political Science, Indianapolis; Miss Rosa B. Knox, Director of Primary and Kindergarten Department of the Mississippi Industrial Institute, and many other educators.

THE Education Luncheon on Friday, May 3, is to be in honor of the School Patrons' Association of the National Educational Association. The speaker will be Mrs. C. Shepard Barnum, Alhambra, California, vice-president of the California State Board of Education and founder of the School Patrons' Association.

On the Conservation program will be Miss Jane Addams of Hull House and Charles Lathrop Pack.

Public Health, of paramount importance during war-time, when death-dealing shells are depopulating the world wholesale, will have a special session with Surgeon General Rupert Blue, U. S. Public Health Department, and Miss Julia Lathrop as chief speakers. General Blue will have on exhibition throughout the convention the United States Government Public Health demonstration car.

The Industrial and Social Conditions Department, co-operating with the War Recreation Commission and the Fosdick Commission on Training Camp Activities, will have Mr. Fosdick as chief speaker and the subjects to be discussed by experts will be:

"MAINTAINING Labor Standards—Wages, Hours, Living Conditions," by Mrs. Minnie Rutherford Fuller.

"Seasonable Trades, and Their Relation to Women Workers," Mrs. Samuel Sample, Fittersville, Pa.

"My State's Greatest Problem"—a conference of state chairmen on industrial and social conditions—two minutes each. Questions to be answered will be:

1. Has your state an Industrial Welfare Commission?
2. How many industries in your state employ women?
3. What is the percentage of women employed in industries in your state?
4. What is the law regulating hours of women workers?
5. Have you a "living wage" law? What is the minimum?
6. Have you a woman factory inspector?
7. Have you state or factory laws regarding the sanitary and housing conditions of women in industries? Insurance laws? Safety devices? Against hazards?
8. Have you "Seasonal Trades" problems in your state?
9. What are you doing for the "Unemployed?"
10. What laws have you affecting the employment of children? Child labor? Compulsory school attendance? School census? Are these being enforced?
11. Have you vocational schools? Mothers' pension law?
12. What are your organized women doing to train women who registered for emergency service in Government employ?
13. Have you a social morality committee working among girls near training camps and army cantonments?
14. What is your state doing for the insane and feeble-minded, etc.?
15. Is your state punishing defective delinquents in penal institutions?
16. Have you an adequate juvenile court law?

THE Civil Service Reform program will have the Hon. Richard H. Dana, president of the National Civil Service Reform League, as chief speaker.

The legislation conference, led by the Hon. Jeannette Rankin, M. C., will be one of the most interesting conferences of the convention.

The civics conference, with Mrs. C. C. Bradford, president of the National Educational Association, as speaker, will have a number of sub conferences. Among these will be "A Liberty Bond Campaign," discussed by Mrs. Delphine Dodge Ashbough, of Detroit, appointed by Secretary McAdoo as chairman of Michigan's Woman's Committee on Bond Sales; a program of national citizenship, presented by the chairman of the Civics Department after conferences with the U. S. Bureau of Immigration and the National Americanization Committee, and discussions by experts on "Organizing a State for Civic Work"; the "Municipality and the Woman's Civic Club," by Mrs. Edward Biddle, vice-president of the American Civic Association, and president of the Civic Club of Philadelphia; "Rural Planning." There will also be discussions on "Clean-Up Campaigns and Salvage Drives," and "Community Surveys as an Approach to Civic Action."

Conference of Women

A MOTION picture conference, with speakers on "Advantages and Evils of Motion Pictures," "Voluntary Self-Censorship," "What Motion Picture Surveys Have Revealed," "Why State Censorship Campaigns Fail," and "Is Federal Censorship Desirable?" will be held under the joint auspices of the Civics and Educational Departments.

For the art conference Mr. Dudley Crafts Watson, director of the Art Institute of Milwaukee, will discuss "Art during the War," and "Art after the War."

Mr. Richard Burton of the University of Minnesota, and Mr. Herbert Putnam, librarian of Congress, will deliver addresses, the latter upon "The War Service Committee of the American Library Association."

The Music Conference, Thursday, May 2, will hear Mrs. Edward McDowell, wife of the great American composer, tell of the Peterborough colony. Mrs. Frances E. Clark will speak on Music Education. Mrs. David Allan Campbell and Mrs. Jessie L. Gaynor on Child Music.

Kenneth Clarke, the music critic, musician and composer, now song leader for Uncle Sam at Camp Meade, Md., will give a demonstration of the manner in which the Government is creating a singing army.

On Sunday afternoon, May 5, there will be a patriotic vesper service, the program to include the patriotic, inspirational and home songs of our country and the allied nations, with a great oratorio chorus composed of delegations from the music clubs of the country.

On the opening night of the Biennial, the U. S. Military Band from Camp Pike will play, and the soloist will be Alfred Bergan, the well-known Chicago baritone.

On April 29, before the Biennial opening, there will be a Musical Festival in Little Rock, with the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra as a feature. While not an official part of the Biennial program, this has the endorsement of the G. F. W. C. Department of Music, and will be attended by many delegates en route.

MRS. THOMAS G. WINTER, National Chairman of Press, G. F. W. C., and Mrs. Jas. J. Read, chairman of Press of Arkansas and the Arkansas Biennial Board, have issued invitations to the Women's National Press Association and the American Pen Women to attend the biennial convention and to be present at a special Press Conference. Guests of honor at this conference are to be Miss Rose Young, of *The Woman Citizen*, and Mrs. Ida Clarke, of the *Pictorial Review*. The conference topic will be "Efficient Publicity and How to Get It," and the purpose of the conference will be to bring closer together the federated women of America and the women's publications and women writers.

The above is merely a skeleton of the Biennial program, which will include many features of interest to women. "Hostess Day," to be spent in Little Rock, will be May 9, when all delegates en route home will be guests of Governor and Mrs. Brough at the Arkansas Cantonment where officers are planning a royal welcome to the women of America who are behind the men behind the guns that are to bring liberty to all the world.



THE WINGED VICTORY BORNE ALONG BY WOMEN WAR WORKERS

A tableau arranged by Urquhart Wilcox and Robert L. Dempster and presented in the Patriotic Benefit Program for the Women's Oversea Hospitals at Shea's Theatre, Buffalo

Hospital in Active Service

TWO cablegrams from the Women's Oversea Hospitals to the National American Woman Suffrage Association have within the past week thrilled all suffragists.

On Saturday, April 6, word came to headquarters from Dr. Alice Gregory that Dr. Anna Sholly and twelve helpers had been caught in the war zone and are now caring for the wounded at the front. It is supposed here that a few days before the offensive began on the Western front, Dr. Sholly had gone with twelve picked helpers including the electrician, carpenter, plumber and some aids, to get the new hospital quarters ready for occupation. Then the drive began and the advance guard of the Women's Oversea Hospitals found itself swept into the thick of the fighting and was cut off from all communication with its base in Paris. Numerous Associated Press reports had convinced Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, chairman of the Committee for the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., that the hospital unit was working in the occupied district, but it was not until Dr. Gregory's cable arrived, that it was understood here just how their participation had come about.

A late letter from Dr. Sholly to her own family gave notice of her first visit to the house allotted to the unit by the French Government.

"Dr. Finley and I went out to see the site of our hospital on Thursday and spent two days there," she wrote. "It is a very charming place on a river with fine trees, and gardens and an aviary stocked with rare pheasants. The place has not been under bombardment for a year, and is safe. It is not the place originally planned—much better—electricity and hot and cold water and bath-tub in one house."

"The uniforms in Paris are very gay on Sundays on the Boulevards. Most of the soldiers are decorated with all kinds of medals. Except for this it does not seem like war." (This last was written before the super guns began their pounding on the French capital.)

A second cable, received April 8, called for Dr. Finley's sister, Miss Alice Finley, to be sent

over at once as housekeeper for the second hospital, so it is known here that the Oversea Hospitals are in active service and are extending their work even more rapidly than was expected in order to fill the new demand for medical help since the German offensive began.

Suffragists feel proud and thankful that their hospital arrived at the front in time to serve the wounded in their hour of need. Three more of the staff have sailed within the past few days, Dr. Rhoda Hendrick of Michigan, Miss Almina Campbell, dietitian, and Miss Anne Hirst Curry of Baltimore, Maryland, expert accountant.

Have You Given as Much?

WOMEN in little towns in the Aisne district where the first one of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., is located are going to find a friend indeed in the doctors of that staff, to judge from the story of a left-behind patient of one of them. This patient is a charwoman in a downtown office building who writes frequently to headquarters, 171 Madison Ave., for news of her beloved doctor, gone to the front. Out of her small wages she wants to send a box every month to France lest the doctor shall want for some necessities of life. "I can go a few blocks and get what I want," she writes, "but my doctor can't, and this is why I am so anxious to send a few things over to the most generous, unselfish, noble-hearted girl who ever lived."

"For over five years my doctor has given me the best in her and operated on me for almost nothing. Best of all I got something from her that keeps me from getting discouraged and gives me bright hopes for the future. I have known many people, but not one of them has been able to make me see things as she does. Even my dear doctor doesn't know how much she has helped me."

How many people will want to add a little more to what they are giving to the Oversea Hospitals when they know that this hard-working woman, scrubbing offices for a living, not only wants to send a box every month but adds,

"Let my doctor think the Red Cross is taking them over or she will think I am denying myself. She would say I was spending good American money in a foolish way. When she comes back she can call me down all she wants to, but while she is over there we won't forget her."

Still a Third Message

As the *Woman Citizen* goes to press there comes a third message from the women of the Unit. This time from Dr. Alice Gregory, who wires that Dr. Finley has just been commissioned to go to Bordeaux in the south of France to open a refuge station for the accommodation of some three thousand of the refugees who are moving south as the Germans press against the French and British lines.

Civilization's Last Reserves

MRS. A. BURNETT SMITH of Hartford, England, has been two months in America lecturing on the war. From now on she will lecture on Food Conservation. She makes the following statement:

"What I feel is not understood in this great country is that here stand the last reserves between civilization and the evil thing that is seeking to destroy it. America has yet to realize to its uttermost corner the omen of these words, the solemnity of the hour—the greatness of her tragic destiny. Her womanhood must mobilize for the fight, must consecrate and dedicate itself for service in every department, must stand solid behind the fighting men."

"Not till every unit grasps and fulfills its individual responsibility can we dare to expect, because we shall have earned, the victory which will make the world a possible dwelling place for our children and our children's children. Though we fall in the fray, what matter?"

"God has made us creators, builders, conservers. Let us then be true to our heritage, and leave the mark of our great giving on a rejuvenated world."

Love and War

(Continued from page 388)

stand against the world. It is as if all the forces of German imperialism, incarnate in the Kaiser, were suddenly leaping into action. It's the death struggle of autocracy against democracy. Europe will be remade by it. Never again the old trembling of balance between the social forces that pull toward self-government and those that pull toward despotic government. True, if Germany wins there will some day evolve a new tremble of balance, a new insecurity, a new struggle—for democracy may be delayed but cannot be finally denied. But if Germany wins the delay will be spelled in centuries.

I do not hear from him. I do not think of him or care about him. Mostly one hears nothing but the noise of battle, thinks of nothing but this world aflame, cares about nothing but the procession of horrors that stretches away into the future—financial panic, famine, mutilation, disease, death—already the shadows of these things fall across America out of Europe. Thousands of our people are stranded abroad. It is estimated that it will cost the country nearly \$3,000,000 merely to get them home.

August 6—American sentiment condemns the Kaiser. We say, "He must be crazy?" We say, "How dare he fight the world?" That is what it comes to—Germany and Austria against France, Belgium, England, Russia, Serbia, and probably Sweden and Holland, for the Kaiser is saying to neutral countries in his path, "If you are not for me, you are against me." There begins to be talk that the New York stock exchange will reopen in a month. In the streets of New York there is a clamorous demand for newspapers. In the face of it it was funny to see, yesterday, the Fifth Avenue women paraders parading as if the set of their clothes and of the enamel on their cheeks still absorbed them. "Undisturbed by the war," they minced along. Men are great fools to set up these mannikins as their idols. In order to possess something pretty of face and delicate of shape men lend themselves eagerly to a sexuo-economic scheme that epitomizes itself in this Fifth Avenue procession of parasites. Query: Do you possess a leech or does it possess you?

August 6—10 p. m. With all our gaspings of fear and our vague previsions of horrors, can we be minimizing the war disaster?

Is European civilization going to pieces?

Will men fight like beasts until there are no more men to fight?

Will cities and nations perish wholly?

August 8—Already we talk a little hopefully of markets—our American markets—the primary reactions—the secondary—"the first movement will be down," say the wise financial writers who never know anything, "the exports will be blocked out of markets abroad, food stuffs will pile up here in great abundance. The second movement will be up. Food stuffs will be accommodated with transportation facilities. The demand abroad will cut into supplies here and prices will go up."

When worlds get to toppling how puerile this talk of markets—yet what a great habit of accommodation the human mind has. "One has to go on living," we say, "war, or no war." We even talk of where our fashions are to come from, with all the model gowns shut up in Paris and all the men milliners gone to the front.

"That's all, or at least enough," she an-

nounced just there. "That shows what I was trying to tell you." It was all swallowed up, the personal. I forgot all about *Me*. I went abroad very soon, you remember. I was one of the women who couldn't keep out of it from the beginning. And we don't waste much time mooning into diaries over there. Want to see some of my last diary entries? Some written over there? They aren't wasteful of time and space, I can promise you. Over there there's never anything to write with or write on or lean against while you are writing it. Look! Listen:

February 10, 1918—"We hear the guns all day and all night now—shell tore a hole in the hospital wall last night. I drove hearse for three children's funerals yesterday after sundown. I drive hearse almost every night now. We call ourselves a burying brigade. I don't mind it so much when the coffin is a big one, heavy and hard to handle. But oh these little short coffins, so easy to handle!"

Openings for Women

THE Civil Service announces the dates of examinations for two more positions for which both men and women will be eligible. The first, in the schools section of the Signal Service, is that of registrar, the duties of which are similar to those required of a registrar of a college or university, including office management and the keeping of the school records. There are ten of these vacancies, as follows: four at \$2,400 a year, two at \$1,800 a year, two at \$1,500 a year, and two at \$1,200 a year. The open competitive examination will extend to April 23, 1918. Vacancies in the Signal Service at large, at entrance salaries ranging from \$1,800 to \$2,400 a year for grade 1, and from \$1,200 to less than \$1,800 a year for grade 2, and in positions requiring similar qualifications in other branches of the service at those or higher or lower salaries, will be filled from the examination of this date, unless it is found necessary, in the interest of the service, to fill any vacancy by reinstatement, transfer or promotion. Certification to fill the higher-salaried positions in either grade will be made from those attaining the highest average percentages in such grade.

There will also be an open competitive examination on April 23 for the position of negative cutter, for which women as well as men are eligible. Two vacancies in the Hydrographic Office, Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, Washington, D. C., one at \$1,200 a year, and the other at \$1,000 a year, plus 10 per cent, and future vacancies requiring similar qualifications in this or other branches of the service, at these or higher or lower salaries, will be filled from this examination, unless it is found best, in the interest of the service, to fill any vacancy by reinstatement, transfer or promotion.

Oh, Suffrage, of Course!

IN all the elevated and subway trains of New York city, the following tribute to its new voters has blossomed out in posters signed by the Interborough Rapid Transit Company:

"Is it gallantry, or the advent of woman suffrage, or the war spirit of self-sacrifice that is daily causing more men to give up their seats to women, and the women to be more courteous with their thanks?"

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The Village Vote

(Continued from page 389)

At the village of Mayfield only 16 voters, all told, turned out. Mayfield shows the difference between what should be and what is, for the small unit of government deals with matters close to the voter's life. The villager decides at these spring elections whether his streets shall be drained and lighted, his home protected against thieves and fire and whether an office shall be created or measure passed which shall directly affect his pocketbook. Yet a presidential election which, except in times of war, would not touch his life immediately at any point, would probably bring out ten times the vote at this same village.

The smallness of the normal vote at local elections is the more disappointing because it is in the small units of government that democracy is most complete. Of the township, the local unit next to the village in size, one voter says "it represents the largest area directly controlled by the assembled voters." All political areas larger than these are ruled by the people's representatives, not by the people themselves. The local unit of government is potentially the real democracy.

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Ownership Statement

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc., Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912

OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN,

County of New York..... } ss.:
State of NEW YORK..... }

Published Weekly at NEW YORK, N. Y., for April 1, 1918.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Rose Young, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Name of Publisher, Woman Citizen Corporation, Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y. Name of Editor, Rose Young, Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y. Name of Managing editor, Rose Young, Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y. Name of Business Manager, Florence E. Bate, Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are:

Woman Citizen Corporation, Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y. (owner): Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Post Office address, 2 West 86th street, New York, N. Y.; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Post Office address, 2 West 86th street, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. Harriet B. Wells, Post Office address, 46 West 9th street, New York, N. Y.; Miss A. S. Blackwell, Post Office address, Dorchester, Mass.; Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Yonkers, N. Y.; Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc., Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y., the members of which are: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President, 2 West 86th street, New York City; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, First Vice-President, 2 West 86th street, New York City; Mrs. Raymond Robbins, Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Austin, Texas; Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio; Mrs. Harriet B. Wells, 46 West 9th street, New York City; Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Post Office address, 144 Park avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they ap-

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ROSE YOUNG, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of March, 1918.

MAY GUERIN.

(My commission expires March 30, 1919)

When writing to advertisers please mention the WOMAN CITIZEN.

Where Is Your State?

FOR you who glance casually at this opening paragraph we have a message. You need this message and we need an audience—an audience with you in it. When you have read what we have to say, what you may or may not do depends on yourself, but our conscience will be clear.

Mrs. Josephine Preston Peabody has described the feelings of a child about to make a call on grown-up neighbors in the following lines:

"I feel polite outside the door
But when it should begin
I can't remember not to ask
If just their cat is in."

And this is so exactly the way we feel about our weekly appearances on this page—polite and cautious at the start, resolved to be encouraging and cheerful, even if it is Monday and our office radiator has forgotten that Garfield days were suspended back in February. And then somehow, as we sit trying to think and growing icier by the minute, we lose all thought of being polite or even decently tactful. Like the child in the poem, there is one thing and one alone that interests us. There is one question only that concerns us, and it's the same old question that has concerned us since the first of January.

Do you believe in the Woman Citizen? Do you believe a political weekly for women can be successfully published in the United States to-day? Do you believe that thinking women from Alaska to Hawaii, from New York to the Barbary Coast, require something more in the shape of a periodical than a combination cookbook and dressmaking guide? *Do you believe in the Woman Citizen?*

We are a voice crying in the wilderness with only an echo for answer. *Do you believe in the Woman Citizen?* You call it your magazine. How can it be your magazine if you have not helped to make it what it is, if you are not now working to make it what it may be? Here is your chance, one chance in a thousand, to show the publishing world what the world of reading women honestly wants. Will you let them go on thinking that women of sense are content to ignore domestic interests outside of the home so long as editors are successful in throwing a false glamor upon the domesticity within four walls? Or will you prove, not sometime in the distant future but here and now, this month, this week, to-day—that there is a great and far different need and an overwhelming demand for the magazine that will fill it? *Do you believe in the Woman Citizen?*

There is only one way to show us that you have faith in the success of such a magazine and that is to contribute personally to that success. We want new readers and we must have them if we are to stand in the front rank of publications, if we are to fill a real and universal need. The state suffrage organizations are doing something to help in our drive for 100,000 new subscribers. But they cannot accomplish it all alone. Will you help them and

us? Will you secure personally at least five new subscriptions during the next four weeks? Are we to have an answer before the end of April? *Do you believe in the Woman Citizen?*

Katharine Gay,
National Circulation Chairman.

The requisites for successful soliciting of subscriptions are three—belief in the *Woman Citizen*, enthusiasm for women and willingness to ask them to do things. We ask too little from most of them. There is no magic except the magic of faith and enthusiasm. Every time any sort of suffrage meeting is held an appeal is made and always some woman says, "I have been wanting to get hold of something of that sort." We are simply opening an opportunity to many who do not know where to look for the information they want, and that is a true sort of missionary work any time.

Long life and much power to the *Woman Citizen*. There are few things more delightful than to introduce it to new friends.—EFFIE McCOLLUM JONES, Webster City, Iowa.

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Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

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To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

March 30th	April 6th
1. Georgia	1. Georgia
2. South Dakota	2. South Dakota
3. Minnesota	3. Minnesota
4. Iowa	4. Iowa
5. New Jersey	5. New Jersey
6. Ohio	6. Ohio
7. New York	7. Michigan
8. New Hampshire and Wisconsin	8. Indiana
9. Indiana	9. New York
10. Massachusetts	10. Wisconsin
11. Alabama	11. New Hampshire
12. Virginia	12. Massachusetts
13. Maine	13. Alabama
14. Louisiana	14. Virginia
15. Pennsylvania	15. Maine
16. Maryland	16. Louisiana
17. Michigan	17. Pennsylvania
18. Texas	18. Maryland
19. Rhode Island	19. Texas
20. Nebraska	20. Rhode Island
21. Mississippi, Kentucky, Washington	21. Nebraska
22. South Carolina, Connecticut	22. Mississippi, Kentucky, Washington
23. North Dakota	23. South Carolina, Connecticut
24. Vermont and Tennessee	24. North Dakota
	25. Vermont and Tennessee

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the privilege of knowing that American women are preparing themselves for the great responsibility of citizenship soon to be theirs through the fortunes of this same war.

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In Our First Year of War— <i>Woodrow Wilson</i>	1.00	1.65
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A War Nurse's Diary.....	1.25	1.85
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PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman's suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Where Is Your State?

WE came very near not writing any column at all this week. It's cruel to mention what might have been, we know. But after our impassioned plea of last week we were utterly exhausted—far too exhausted to dream of an immediate repetition. We lolled, under the delightful impression that we had made a good job of it—for had not our editor assured us that we had written a masterpiece that should "draw tears from turnips"? We waited for the tears.

Dozens of letters from solicitous circulation chairmen—did not come in. Kind reassurances from kinder friends, hundreds of them—were not forthcoming. We arrived reluctantly at the conclusion that, turnips or no turnips, our readers have a deeply rooted objection to helping us fill space. In other words, they're no talkers. But when it comes to doing things—look at New Jersey! And Indiana and Alabama. Connecticut has slipped ahead several places, but she is still far below her rightful position.

At least two of our state chairmen have been actively campaigning for the Third Liberty Loan—Mrs. Croan of Indiana, and Dr. Jones of Iowa. We must confess we were not at all surprised when Iowa oversubscribed, knowing Dr. Jones. We're very proud of our chairmen who can do so much for the Government, and when this Loan has gone over the top they are going to take up their work for the *Woman Citizen* with added vigor.

We conceive the first duty of every suffragist to be the purchase of Liberty Bonds, and her second the support of the *Woman Citizen*.

INDIANA—Enclosed please find another token of regard from Indiana, amounting this time to eighteen dollars. Wish it was eighteen hundred, but if there's anything in Indiana that is more than something else, it is the ability to keep on hoping, and we're all good Hoosiers. So we think we will come again Mrs. E. Gordon Smith.

GEORGIA—I am very anxious to increase the circulation of the *Woman Citizen* in Georgia, and as soon as I receive instructions from you, will start a campaign for this purpose. I believe that a large number of subscriptions would aid

tremendously our suffrage work in the state.—Annie G. Wright.

Publicity like fresh air and sunshine is responsible for the death of much evil. Suffrage publicity means the *Woman Citizen*. Be a fresh air fiend. Open the doors of every home in your town to the *Woman Citizen*.

Katharine Gay,

National Circulation Chairman

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TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

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To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

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1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Minnesota
4. Iowa
5. New Jersey
6. Ohio
7. Michigan
8. Indiana
9. New York
10. Wisconsin
11. New Hampshire
12. Massachusetts
13. Alabama
14. Virginia
15. Maine
16. Louisiana
17. Pennsylvania
18. Maryland
19. Texas
20. Rhode Island
21. Nebraska
22. Mississippi, Kentucky, Washington
23. South Carolina, Connecticut
24. North Dakota
25. Vermont, Tennessee

April 13th

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. New Jersey
4. Minnesota
5. Iowa
6. Indiana, Michigan, New York, Ohio
7. New Hampshire
8. Wisconsin
9. Alabama
10. Massachusetts
11. Virginia
12. Maine
13. Louisiana
14. Pennsylvania, Maryland
15. Texas
16. Connecticut
17. Kentucky
18. Rhode Island, North Dakota
19. Nebraska
20. Washington, Mississippi
21. South Carolina
22. Vermont, Tennessee

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

April 20, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

On Guard for Child-Life

MAYOR HYLAN'S proposed abolition of the Child Hygiene Bureau, among other branches of the Health Department of New York City, was protested at once by the Woman Suffrage party of the city. According to press reports, this protest, presented by the chairman, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, was the first received by the Mayor. Since then many such messages have reached the City Hall.

That the vote in the hands of woman is counted upon as an asset in just such civic crises as this was manifested when the Women's Municipal League—a non-suffrage organization—appealed to the women voters "to take a decided stand against a step which means the useless loss of lives of children." Other corporate groups of women, the City Federation of Women's Clubs, Woman's City Club, Woman's Trade Union League, with almost every civic and social organization, have declared against disturbing the health-protecting institutions, in which New Yorkers take great and just pride.

In Miss Hay's message to the Mayor she reminded him of the real concern felt by New York suffragists in such a move as is contemplated. "To us as women, as voting citizens, and as patriots," said Miss Hay, "the work of the Child Bureau seems vitally important, since it plays a large part in child conservation. This Bureau, the first to be established anywhere, has served as a model for all the large cities of the country, and the reduction of our infant mortality to a point below that of any large city in the world is due to its excellent work."

The agitation of the women's organizations rapidly spread to the physicians, and on April 15 the medical profession added its voice to those reaching the City Hall. Heads of the New York Academy of Medicine and of the medical societies of New York and Kings Counties united in acclaiming the preventive and constructive work which has been achieved by the health bureaus. "Do the parents of New York know what it would mean if the infant death rate were to rise from 89 per thousand to 144 per thousand?" asked the physicians.

As for the Child Hygiene Bureau, it has a record under Dr. Josephine Baker which would have been remarkable in any city, and is beyond praise in New York. It was founded in 1908. In

1910 it had instituted 15 milk stations in the city to demonstrate the proper feeding of children. By 1917 the Bureau had raised the total number of milk stations to 60, serving 60,000 children. During the same period the infant death rate has fallen steadily. By 1917 it stood at 88.8 per thousand, the lowest in any large city in the world.

This is not all the Child Hygiene Bureau has done under Dr. Baker. It has instituted preventive medical inspection work in the schools. It has regulated the profession of midwives.

In addition the physicians of New York claim that the New York Health Department has a war-time record for furnishing anti-toxins, serums and vaccines of all descriptions surpassing those furnished by all of the rest of the country put together.

In his proposed changes Mayor Hylan has chanced upon the very things in which women are burningly interested, in which, it might be said, that they have specialized. No mere technicality of bureaucratic management will weigh with them as against the welfare of childhood. In the midst of a life-destroying war these enfranchised women will unite to stand guard over whatever threatens the health of the children of their city. New York women are more than ever thankful that the vote is theirs as an additional safeguard to the thousands of children reaching out their hands to them for help.

How Mean! How Mean!

AND if it is Oregon instead of Iowa which leads the country in oversubscribing the Third Liberty Loan, this will be another blow at the anti-suffragists who have tried strenuously to back up their charges that woman-voting states are unpatriotic, pacifistic, anarchistic and disloyal.

One of the mean little ways of the suffragists is a habit they have of disproving all the anti-suffrage attacks by the indisputable logic of events.

And these events ride on so irresistibly.

And so quietly.

And leave the anti-arguments quashed as flat as a pancake in their wake.

May the Farmers Remember

A PAPER on "Womanliness and Patriotism" which was presented by Emma Hutchinson Conrow to the Pomona Grange in New Jersey, has been published in the *National Grange Monthly* for March. The editors preface the paper by saying it might well be read in every Grange in the land as a timely contribution to any Lecture Hour program. Miss Conrow's article opens with a smashing blow against the idea of segregating women in any one "place" or confining them to any one task. She quotes Dr. Callis, head of the department of welfare work of the University of Munitions in England, as saying, "There isn't anything men can do that women can't. They are built lighter, but if you take women of the same height and weight as men, they will work up to exactly the same capacity. All this business of declaring that women can do one thing and not another is foolish. Women can do anything with practice. That is what is needed. The men have the advantage there."

"So ends the delusion of the ages," continues Miss Conrow, "that woman's work consists only in household duties."

"It has taken long years for this admission to be made, for from the earliest beginnings of human society the details of living have fallen upon the woman and any other activity has been frowned upon by society."

"Her industrial emancipation began as the use of power in the industrial world took from the home some of her duties, sending her as a competitor with man into the factory and workshop, not in the spirit of adventure, but because almost as large a proportion of women as of men have either dependents whom they must support or have no other means of livelihood than their own industry. Coincident with this change was the inevitable demand for woman suffrage, and today the world is witnessing the culmination of her 50 years of petition for political freedom. Canada has given women the vote in six provinces and a Federal bill is introduced. The French chamber has accepted a favorable report on municipal suffrage. On January 10, the House of Representatives of the United States adopted a resolution providing for submission to the states of an amendment for the national enfranchisement of women."

"Were these several actions taken as recognition of women's activities and services in the present war? If so, it would be a curious irony, for always the imponderable argument against the enfranchisement of women has been that it would take her out of her 'sphere' of the home and that she would become unwomanly in contact with the world. But startling as have been the activities of women in patriotic service during the past three years, these several actions of men's parliaments over the world have been not a vindication of women's capacity for citizenship, so much as a vindication of men's sense of justice. It is not women's patriotism that has been on the proving ground, but men's sincerity in their profession of belief in democracy; and in the last analysis, it will be not only women's but men's standard of citizenship that will be broadened and ennobled."

"Fundamentally, the vote in Congress was the recognition at home of what men are proclaiming to the world as the ideal of

democracy—the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government.' It was not a gift of award for services; it was an act of human justice. Neither has suffrage been given abroad as an act of chivalry; but because of a feeling of union and co-operation, for where men and women have toiled and suffered and endured hardships together the sense of comradeship always comes. That is the reason that the Grange has always endorsed woman suffrage, for the Grange is itself a true democracy. When the day comes for New Jersey to vote upon the ratification of the suffrage amendment may the farmers of New Jersey remember the loyalty of the women who have worked beside them, and show equal loyalty to them."

The Place for Belligerents

THE Governor of Nevada—a woman suffrage state—has just given needed advice to prize fighters who wanted to have a contest within his state precincts. He says there is no room out there for such an exhibition and that any gentlemen burning for a scrap at the present moment have his unqualified approval to go to the French front and take it out on the Kaiser.

Advice much like that of the Governor of Nevada was recently given to the anti-suffragists by the New York Morning Telegraph.

"We have a few kind words of advice to the women of New York State who oppose woman suffrage," says the *Telegraph* editorially. "Cease your efforts to keep women from voting and turn your energies into the channels of war work. Women have the ballot already, and nothing under the sun can keep them from voting if they wish to do so. Nothing under the sun can compel them to cast ballots if they do not take enough interest in the election to do so. Thus the matter stands: women can vote or not vote, just as they please. Then, one asks, why should anti-suffragists go about making what they call a fight against suffrage? Doubtless it is due to the fact that some persons are so constituted that they must be busy with something or other all the time. And now we get to the point. Recognizing the fact that anti's must fight and 'orate' and circulate around, and mix in and dispute and voice their views and generally keep on the move, we ask them in a spirit of kindness to take a hand in war work. If they must make speeches and think out loud, let them talk for Liberty Bonds. If they feel that their hands should be employed there are sweaters to be knitted. The younger ones can help care for sick and wounded soldiers. If they wish to 'fight'—with their voices—no one will stop them if they stand out in public and verbally strafe the Kaiser. And all these things will help."

The Quickest Way

NORTH CAROLINA Republicans want the ballot for the women of their state and they want it "the quickest way." The State's rights bogey doesn't seem to loom large in their consciousness. The suffrage plank inserted into their platform at the annual Republican convention in Greensboro on April 9, reads like an endorsement of federal suffrage and was received with the greatest enthusiasm and cheering.

"You ask how we shall stand as to the question between a Federal Amendment or action by states?" said Mr. Frank A. Linney, state chairman, and then answered his own query, according to the press reports, by saying, "We want it the quickest way we can get it."

Their resolution reads: "As a matter of justice to the women of this nation, many of whom are taxpayers and compelled to earn their own living, and all of whom are rendering particular and useful service to our country in the prosecution of the war, the Republican Party of North Carolina is in favor of the extension of the right of suffrage to women." Mr. Linney was strongly of the opinion that if the Republican Party can not stand for the admission of women "into political freedom, it deserves to go down." As to the Democratic Senators and some nine of the Congressmen from North Carolina who have been opposed to woman suffrage, Mr. Linney predicted that they will "too late discover the error of their ways."

Shouldn't They?

"WITH the exception of the United States all of the women of the English speaking countries of the world have now been enfranchised—a large number of the women of this country are also voting.

"Under the circumstances should not the women of West Virginia and other non-suffrage states enjoy similar advantages?

"In the face of the great changes that have recently taken place in this matter, is it fair that the people of this country, who live in the states where women do not vote, be deprived of at least the privilege of passing on the important question?

"Give a little thought, Senator Sutherland, to this phase of the matter."—*The Telegraph*, Wheeling, W. Va.

A Gag That Doesn't Work

"SOME people thought when Attorney General Lewis decreed that women voters must tell their age at registration it would go a long way in nullifying the suffrage amendment.

Well, it didn't work that way in Plattsburgh. Today there are more women than men voters registered in Plattsburgh. In fact, the number of women registered is greater than the number of registered male voters at any time in the history of the city from its foundation, with possibly one or two exceptions.

We must conclude, as a consequence, that the old gag about women refusing to tell their ages for the sake of voting doesn't go—not in this city, at least."—*Plattsburgh Sentinel*.

A Sure Sign

"WHEREVER woman has been given this privilege she has not abused it, is the universal testimony, nor has she in any way lost her womanly influence, her modesty, her charms or her graces.

"When woman becomes an active participant in the affairs of government it will be impossible for wars to longer continue.

"The race will put on newer and better growth and will be stronger in every way."—*Ocala (Fla.) Banner*.

Bound to Come

"PERSONALLY speaking we favor state rights in this as in other questions, but even as President Wilson reversed himself concerning the Federal Amendment measure and urged favorable action by Congress, the Democrats of the South can do the same without hurt to their consciences or injury to their convictions. The President knows it is not an ethical question, but only one of expediency in government. The President knows that woman suffrage is bound to come, and the sooner it comes, the sooner it will render fully available the woman power of the nation. This is no time for idle discussion and useless wrangling. The Louisiana Legislature of 1918 should be prepared to act quickly when the question is formally presented."—*The True Democrat*, St. Francisville, La.

From the National's Mail Bag

IT's a rare letter to the National Association these days that does not refer to the twin-sisterly ways of war service and suffrage. From Iowa the state president, Miss Anna B. Lawther, writes: "The women chairmen of the Liberty Loan to the number of 90 met last week in Des Moines and they looked like a suffrage convention." And this is from Mrs. Lucy I. Harrington, the new corresponding secretary of the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association: "We have taken part in all social measures connected with the war, making the increase of production our special care, but doing all in our power for the Red Cross, Liberty Loan and other sorts of work. We wish we could be the first state to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment."

THE declarations of our friends, the Wadsworthians, that equal suffrage is the great little old home disrupter resemble more and more each day the lingo of the lightning-rod man. Experience proves that neither is according to description. But it also proves that the home is more invincible than the anti or the lightning-rod men profess to believe. Witness this: there is a brand new state suffrage president on the National list, Mrs. Leslie Warner of Tennessee, and among the congratulations she received, one—and from an in-law relative, too—is illuminating. "I am still an anti, but this is a family matter, therefore I am delighted."

MRS. JOHN B. THREADGILL, chairman of the newly-organized Oklahoma state suffrage campaign committee, former president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs and a former member of the General Federation Board, has added another star to the honor list of Oklahoma men at the office of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. J. B. A. Robertson is his name, and last week he announced woman suffrage as the second plank in the platform on which he will make the race for the Democratic nomination for governor of Oklahoma.

—*The Mail Carrier*.



MRS. JOHN BLAIR IN A NOVEL SCHOOLROOM

What Every Woman Voter Should Know

FEWER than six months ago the women of New York City were waging an intensive campaign for the political emancipation of the million or more women in America's greatest metropolis. Today these same energetic, far-seeing women are engaged in a new task, different, but equally as important as the old one, the preparation of these hundreds of thousands of women voters for the enjoyment of the fruits of the great victory. No sooner had the Empire state got its coating of white on the suffrage map than the suffrage leaders set about devising means by which the women could be given the most intelligent appreciation of their new duties and responsibilities.

In a city less cosmopolitan in its make-up, less complex in its problems, the task would not have been so colossal, but the education of the new voter in Greater New York presented a stupendous task. The suffrage women were equal to it. The campaign for the franchise had been a hard but worth-while school, and out of it came women prepared to handle just such problems as confronted them when the suffrage liberty bell rang out on November 6.

UNDER the leadership of Miss Mary Garrett Hay, the New York City Woman Suffrage Party announced that the great work of preparation for citizenship would be undertaken by a newly created committee, the Woman Voters' Council. Mrs. John Blair, secretary of the Council, was given the responsibility of inaugurating this work. The solution of the problem, she believed, was in schools of citizenship and within a very short time the women of New York found themselves going to school again.

NOW the word school presents to one's mind orderly rows of desks and seats, surrounded on all sides by blackboards and presided over by a deity—or ogre—according to the point of view. But not so with these schools of citizenship. They have broken all bounds of convention and one day the school room has been a charming tea room with glistening mirrors and tables with snowy covers, and next the school room has been the assembly room of one of the great department stores or insurance or banking firms. Perhaps the next day a tremendously interesting group of new citizens may be called to order in the green room, or on the stage of a theater, with members of the chorus as pupils and the chairman of the movement, Mrs. Blair, as the presiding genius.

IN the month of March 312 classes were held, reaching out to many groups. There is a busy corner in the city headquarters, where Mrs. Blair devotes a large part of her time to perfecting the movement for the making of good citizens. When she is not to be found there she may be found in one of the scores of places, where the women of the city are becoming better acquainted with the government under which they live and under which they are now full partners with the men.

A staff of paid teachers is employed by the department of citizenship of the City Party, "exceptionally well qualified," says Mrs. Blair, with enthusiasm, "to teach the rules of government." To those who stand on the side lines and view with critical eye the work of the citizenship committee it can be said that the promoters of this movement are well aware that a course of six lessons in citizenship does

not entitle one to a diploma, but it is believed that the classes take a big step in the right direction.

They have awakened a keen interest in matters relating to government and will enable thousands of women to go to the polls and exercise their right of suffrage with more than an elementary knowledge of their duties. And as one of their results, thousands of women will vote who might otherwise have remained away through the embarrassment of ignorance.

"One thing these classes have done," says Mrs. Blair, "has been to dramatize, to visualize, that wonderful word—democracy. Demonstrations of voting have been held and almost in a flash it has come to many that each person on election day has one vote, and each vote has identically the same value. It brings out vividly the fact that we are a democracy in truth as well as in name."

WHEN plans were formulated for the classes in citizenship, in all assembly and election districts a carefully arranged course of study was given and such fundamental matters as the relation of the various departments of the city government to the individual home, the state government's relation to the city, the federal government's constitution and naturalization laws, the industrial status of women, the machinery of voting, enrollment, primaries and registration were crisply explained.

Not content to stay within these bounds, but determined to be of as practical help as possible, extension of this instruction was made to the young women employed in large offices, factories and stores. In some instances it has

(Continued on page 409.)

What Every Woman Voter Should Know

(Continued from page 408.)

been possible to arrange for certain classes to be held under the leadership of the faculty of paid instructors. In other instances it has been found most practical to work out the classes through the women who are at the head of the educational departments of the large business establishments. These heads of departments have first taken their instruction in citizenship through the normal course in citizenship arranged and conducted by Mrs. Raymond Brown, member of the executive board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and one of the best known suffrage leaders in New York. Mrs. Brown has devoted much time to the preparation of a systematic course of instruction for women voters.

THE first group of women, heads of educational departments, who met for this instruction represented more than 10,000 young women employed in various firms and stores. It has also been found expedient in some cases to give instruction through a series of printed lessons, interest being stimulated by the offering of prizes by firms for the best essays on "The Duties of the Woman Voter."

Afternoon and evening classes have been held at the suffrage headquarters, one class numbering 175 keen, alert young business women.

"The co-operation that has been accorded us by the employers of the young women has been marvelous," said Mrs. Blair. "We were hopeful of accomplishing big things, but the result, due to this cooperation, bids fair to surpass our hopes. Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the fact that the classes are held in the employers' time. We would not make this study a burden upon the young women. The business men realize what it means to have this great obligation of citizenship intelligently met and they are doing their part."

One of the latest firms to cooperate with the citizenship committee is an insurance company which employs 3,500 young women and has made provision for the classes to be held during the afternoon hours.

"Think what it means—3,000 or more voters—reached through the cooperation of just one firm," said Mrs. Blair. "In another instance we are working with a group of 2,000 young women employed by one firm and in many instances the number runs into the hundreds. From these figures one may gather something of the immensity of this New York problem," and Mrs. Blair looked out over the roofs to the skyscrapers. "Beneath many of these roofs one finds as many voters as in a town of twelve to fifteen thousand inhabitants."

THE scope of the work in citizenship may be judged from a glance at a list of the places where classes have been held or are now in operation. The list includes: Parish houses, community centers, mothers' meetings, settlements, public schools, Red Cross clubs, various women's clubs, City College girls' clubs, Y. W. C. A. (including the colored branches), Y. W. H. A., banks, Edison Electrical Company, Consolidated Gas Company, department

stores, lunch and tea rooms, ladies' specialty shops and restaurants, Y. M. C. A. (where the use of rooms was given), and the Hippodrome Chorus.

For novelty and interest the class held at the Hippodrome stands out in relief. "We did not know just how the young women would take this innovation," admitted Mrs. Blair, as she recounted the story of the citizenship progress. "At first they were a little skeptical, but when I reached the point in my talk where I said, 'Now, we all have something in common, no matter what our political faith, and that is our interest in all legislation which tends to benefit women and children,' I found a direct and immediate response. I thought at first that this interest was all on general grounds, but later I learned that some of the chorus are married and have little folks in their homes, and the appeal had special interest for them. It was the response of the mother instinct. All the politics in all the world will not kill that in women, despite the fears of some of our reactionary friends."

"Do you know it was just that same point—legislation for women and children—that made the real appeal in a number of the groups before whom I have talked about this big new privilege that has come to us? In one of the tea rooms, where the office employees, the waitresses, and kitchen force all met together for the preliminary talk, I found this same quick response to this platform of common interest. They were immediately alert to have a part in the making of laws for women and children."

"ON May 18 the women of New York will enroll for the primaries so stress is being laid in all the classes now on the duty of the women to enroll. The classes in citizenship will go on after May 18, as we will have much to do to get ready for the vote in the fall. New York was never more in the spotlight than it has been since the suffrage victory and we all feel a state pride in making our record for intelligent voting the standard."

"Throughout all our work we maintain a non-partisan attitude. We do not presume to dictate, or even suggest, we simply ask each woman eligible to enroll, to do so, and then to use her new privilege with all the intelligence, all the wisdom that is hers."

"While March shows 312 classes and April will show a big record, we are hoping for even larger records during the summer when the stores and various businesses have a little lull from the rush of the spring and the Easter season."

"One of the very good features about all this class work is that we are reaching out to new groups. It is not the women who have been working for the privilege of voting throughout the past years that form the membership. The faces are new faces. I feel it a most encouraging and convincing sign of the general interest voting has for women. The work hours of business and professional women have prevented them in many instances from taking an active part in campaign work, but their hearts were there. We find evidence on every hand that all sorts and conditions of women want to vote, and are anxious to take part in the government of their city, state and nation. We cannot do everything in a minute but we have a fine start and each year, each election, will see us more and more alert and anxious to exercise our new right of citizenship."

Again New York Women Register

WOMEN in thirty-nine towns of New York registered in such extraordinarily large numbers for the local option election on April 16th as to completely swamp the election machinery in many of the towns. In Syracuse 40,000 women registered sending the total registration for that city up to 76,600. It became apparent that if they voted all day long, each women taking only a minute, the election facilities would not take care of them all. Election officials were obliged to appeal for legislative relief which would grant them two days, instead of one, in which to hold the election. The same heavy registrations were reported from all parts of the state. Binghamton showed a registration of 15,324 women, as against a registration of men at the last election of 12,658. There the vote was expected to be so heavy that, for the first time in the city's history, women police officers were named to guard the polls. Gloversville had a registration of 5,100 women, which was within 100 of the total number of women listed in a recent house to house canvass. In Middletown and Newburgh seven times as many women registered as men. So the story ran down the list of towns from Amsterdam to Watertown, each a telling answer to the old plaint of the opposition—the woman will not use the ballot once they have gained it.



DUE FOR ANOTHER PUNCTURE

Monotonous, Isn't It?

THE South Side Business Men's Association of Buffalo at a recent session endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment, called for its early passage by the Senate, and especially urged Senator James W. Wadsworth to vote favorably upon the question.

THE executive committee of the Westchester County (New York) Republican Committee adopted resolutions calling upon Senator Wadsworth to support the Federal Amendment. William L. Ward, chairman,

THE New York Letter Carriers' Association unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon Senators Wadsworth and Calder to support the Federal Suffrage Amendment.



The Herald

NOW when "Spring's gentle hand strews flowers o'er the land," the suffrage Primavera is abroad and rejoicing in the crop of victories springing up wherever she has set her foot. Since she walked abroad in her glad spring raiment one year ago, she has counted 6,000,000 new women voters in Great Britain and 4,000,000 women of voting age added to the electorate in the United States.

She has seen an affirmative vote cast on the enfranchisement of women in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress; a municipal woman suffrage bill introduced into the French Chamber of Deputies, and the question of complete Dominion suffrage favorably discussed by all parties in the Canadian Federal Parliament.

She has added the state with the largest territory, Texas, and the state with the largest population, New York, to the 1917-18 list of woman voting states.

She has seen an army of men—723,733—in Maine and New York, cast their votes in favor of the full enfranchisement of women.

She has taken note of the complete vindication of women's use of their voting privilege through the triumphant vote of women at the congressional elections in New York and at the municipal elections in Vermont in March, and through the overwhelming registration of New York State women for the elections of April 16.

The National Committees of both major political parties are in full bloom with approval of the woman suffrage cause.

The Republican Party of North Carolina, the State Democratic Convention of Indiana, the legislatures of New York, of North and South Dakota, and of Montana are among those that have blossomed into approval of the enfranchisement of women.

Victory is the splendid flower gathered by the suffrage herald of the Spring.

She is reaching out her hand for one more expected blossom—the affirmative vote of the United States Senate.



Some Facts and a Fancy

Judge Lindsey Misquoted Again

A CERTAIN man boasted that he was a bold swimmer, and had saved nine lives. On his being cross-questioned, it turned out that he had rescued a kitten from drowning. The nine lives of a cat are nothing, however, compared to the vitality of some anti-suffrage fictions.

The opponents of equal rights are again circulating a garbled extract from an interview with Judge Ben B. Lindsey, giving the impression that he said equal suffrage tended to "make looser women." Newspaper interviews are notoriously unreliable, and this particular passage is a shameless misquotation. In a letter to Mrs. Ladd M. Wood, of Denver, published in the *Woman's Journal* of May 13, 1916, Judge Lindsey wrote:

"I am glad to correct a very unjust if not unscrupulous use of an interview attributed to me in the *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*.

"I was chatting with a reporter who asked me substantially this: Did I believe in the radical contentions of some so-called feminists, who believed, for example, that women were justified in having children regardless of the conventions that call for the marriage tie? I said I did not. I said that in this day and age the protection of women demanded respect for these conventions, which some feminists were disposed to treat lightly. I particularly emphasized that it was not the leaders of the suffrage movement who were making any such radical demands. I always insisted that the demands of the suffragists were just, but that the demands of some of the feminists—an entirely different matter—were questionable. Many of the feminists making these extreme demands are in states or countries where suffrage has made the least progress; and I believe that the success of woman suffrage would do much towards allaying any such demands.

"I did say that such contentions as to the right of women to bear children regardless of the marriage tie, in my judgment, under our present conditions and civilization, would more likely pull women down than lift men up. This was my opinion on a matter entirely different from suffrage.

"You may rest assured that I never said or had any occasion to say that the suffrage movement encouraged or tended to encourage this sort of radical feminism. My belief is that it has just the opposite effect. The failure to give women their natural and normal rights, such as men have in the making of law, is, in my judgment, chiefly responsible for the very radical contentions of some of the feminists. These radical contentions have never found root in Colorado, or in any suffrage state to my knowledge."

No anti-suffragist has ever explained how it happens, if equal suffrage tends to ill morals, that the clergyman in the suffrage states generally speak so well of it. Singularly enough, the few persons in the enfranchised states who find fault with it are as a rule either ultra reactionaries, or individuals who have cause to dread law enforcement.

"No rogue e'er felt the halter draw
With good opinion of the law."

A. S. B.

By
A. S. B.

A Vision of Catherine Breshkovsky

ONE of Catherine Breshkovsky's old companions in arms has lately communicated to me a reminiscence of her, which illustrates vividly the veneration felt for her by her fellow-workers. Incidentally it shows also the power and originality of the Jewish imagination.

Mr. Mendel M. Rosenbaum of Warrensville, N. J., has now lived for years in the United States; but in 1903 he was a revolutionist in Russia, and was commissioned by his colleagues to persuade Madame Breshkovsky to leave the country for a time, as the government was making special efforts for her arrest. He succeeded in getting her out of Russia. Not long after, he was caught and sent to the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. His health and reason gave way for a time, under solitary confinement; and in his delirium he had a vision of that wonderful woman, of whom it had been said, "She hovers over Russia like the Holy Spirit of the revolution." Mr. Rosenbaum says:

"The gray walls of my cell receded, and I saw multitudes of people emerging from the mist. I recognized, first dimly, then more and more distinctly, the faces of those who had ceased to live. I fancied that all the dead were coming back to life, the bad as well as the good—those who had lost their lives in the effort to stop the movement of human progress, as well as those who fell in the struggle to aid it. They were all rising from their graves: Perovskaya, Sheliaboff, Balmashoff, and also Alexander II, Sipiagin, Plehve; because material things, like a rope, a bomb or a bullet, cannot destroy life where there is the will to live. Only those were really destroyed who wished to be—those who committed suicide. The dead were coming back to life, unchanged in their good and evil. The whole terrorist fight had therefore been in vain; the evil in man remained just as it had been.

"Babushka called a meeting of the best and greatest men, to find a way of doing away with evil forever. Assuming that life cannot be destroyed unless there is the will to be destroyed, they came to the conclusion that the only way would be for one person to absorb the evil from all human beings, assimilate it in his own soul, and then commit suicide. This transfusion of evil could be brought about very simply; one had only to look into men's eyes with an earnest desire to draw out the evil, in their souls and pour it into himself.

"This task was allotted to me. I fixed my look successively on Von Val, Plehve and Ivan the Terrible. I gazed into their eyes, and concentrated my will on extracting the evil from their souls. To my horror, I perceived that their faces began to look more cruel, and to resemble the faces of wild beasts. One of the comrades shouted to me:

"Heavens, what are you doing? Instead of drawing out the evil, you are taking away the little good that they have in them!"

"Babushka came over to me and said, with deep pain in her voice:

"O Mendel, Mendel! Your wish to take away the evil from man is not genuine. It does not come from the depths of your heart. Your selfish little soul is forever longing for the sweet, the attractive, the beautiful; and your life is dearer to you than the happiness of mankind. You tremble at the thought that your small, insignificant self will have to disappear. I see that you are not strong enough for the task. I shall have to take it upon myself."

"She lifted her eyes to Von Val, eyes full of deep sorrow and infinite kindness. Her soft but powerful look drained his soul of all the abomination, as the sunbeams drain a foul swamp of its poisonous vapors. The expression of hard cruelty vanished from his face, and it became noble and serene.

"I felt that Babushka was undergoing the tortures of hell, that the wickedness she was imbibing filled her with sickening disgust, as if she had to swallow worms and snakes and scorpions. I was horrified to think that she, the noblest of all, would have to disappear forever, while everybody else would remain living, in a pure and beautiful world. And I was to blame for it—I, weak, false-hearted man!

"Babushka went on with her work, purifying the souls of mankind, one after another. I dreaded to look at her, for I could not bear to see her suffer. And I was still more horrified to think that after her soul had absorbed the evil of so many human beings, her face would surely undergo a frightful change.

"Thank God, I am through!" I heard Babushka say wearily.

"Trembling, I opened my eyes, expecting to see her face totally changed, and to hear the fatal shot which would kill the evil of the world forever, and at the same time end one of the noblest of human lives.

"To my astonishment, I saw that Babushka's face had become even more beautiful. From under the red peasant kerchief that she wore, her eyes shone forth with a deep, holy love.

"I understood that a great miracle had been wrought. The evil and wickedness that Babushka had absorbed had been distilled within the purity of her own soul, and transformed into the Good and the Noble. The earth was purified, and our Babushka would remain with us through a bright Eternity!"

Catherine Breshkovsky has in reality drawn the evil out of thousands of human souls, and raised them to a higher level, even though she has not been able to do it for all the world, as in her friend's dream.

When we consider the large part that certain women have played in human history, from Deborah, the wife of Ladiodh, to Joan of Arc, as leaders and inspirers, it seems more than ever incongruous that women should still be classed as political non-entities. Happily, unless all signs fail, the end of this anachronism is at hand.

A. S. B.

MORE than 100 of the leading citizens of Colorado Springs desire the speedy passage of the Federal Amendment by the Senate, and have so expressed themselves in a telegram to Senator Shafroth.

Fitting Women for Field Service

Making Beauty Pay Its Way

HOW to be lovely though poor, is a problem which has generally been answered in the negative. But there is one place where the commercial aspects of beauty are being taught as a fine art. This is in the Lowthorpe School of Landscape Architecture for women, at Groton, Massachusetts.

Landscape gardening does not represent as novel a profession for women as some people may think, for the Lowthorpe School was founded in 1901 by Mrs. Edward Gilchrist Low, in a house of her own which has since become the property of the school corporation. English women had also given attention to the profession of landscape architecture for women—not as a development of the war but as an expression of the inclination of women.

The Lowthorpe school is far from being a costly fad, accessible only to the few. The school is carried on from September to June and its program includes knowledge of plant materials, soils and entomology, botany and horticulture. In addition a course in surveying and applied engineering is given. Landscape design, drawing and water color are necessary parts of the pupils' equipment.

One of the trustees, Mrs. Lewis Kennedy Morse, has just written Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and chairman of the General Executive Committee of the Woman's Land Army of America, to say that in view of the immediate need for women farmers a number of women have been specially prepared to act as supervisors over groups of girls or women, who have volunteered for farm work this summer. These supervisors will be available by the middle of May. Also to fill a war need the school has initiated for this year a special summer course to instruct women who want to prepare themselves as superintendents of farms and estates or as directors of school and community gardens. This course was opened on April 15, but students who could not be released from their winter work to register as early as April may enter later. There is a satisfactory enrollment already for the summer course which will continue until the middle of September at a total cost of \$200 for board and tuition. To fit the needs of the moment, the summer curriculum will emphasize direct agricultural instruction such as pruning, grafting, spraying of orchards, care of live stock and use of farm materials. Lecturers have been secured from the United States Department of Agriculture and from agricultural colleges and workers in the Farm Bureau.

"The Lowthorpe School is fine in its training of landscape architects, a woman's profession quite as much as a man's," says Mrs. Morse. "and now we have added practical farm work. Miss Mabel Babcock, the director of agriculture, has her A. B. from Northwestern and her M. S. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She has owned and successfully managed a hundred-acre farm for ten years."



LOWTHORPE SCHOOL FOR WOMEN

THERE is a point of view in Mrs. Morse's letter which is of social as well as economic interest, indicating the type of woman alert to opportunities for service. She sees that the woman educated in practical arts and sciences is becoming more and more an economic necessity. As a corollary of this she finds that school plants must be put to public use all the year round. That is what the Lowthorpe School has done—put its plant into an all-year working center.

Mrs. Morse has been instrumental in advancing women's opportunities in the West as well as the East. She was the first president of the California State Normal School of Manual Arts and Home Economics, which she virtually created. She wrote the bill, made the appeal to the legislature and secured the appropriation for this school.

"Being a 'transplanted' California-born woman who has had the privilege of voting four years," writes Mrs. Morse to Mrs. Rogers, "I have longed to congratulate some New York woman on the splendid victory won in that state, so I ask you to accept the tribute."

Another Out-Door School for Women

BENDING all its energies to meet the present emergency, the School of Horticulture for Women at Ambler, Pennsylvania, plans for greatly extended work through the coming season, and has organized special War Courses running from April 8th into June. These courses aim especially to train leaders and organizers for the Farm Unit work and for the School and Community Garden Movements. They will be of value to women possessing country places of their own.

The United States Bureau of Education has recently been constituted the federal agency to promote school directed home gardens. In connection with this movement there will be great need of teacher directors, and in addition it is desired to have one competent supervisor for every city of 20,000 inhabitants or over. The School of Horticulture provides special training for this work. Saturday courses have been organized in connection with The Drexel Institute for the teachers in and near Philadelphia, and the Captain's Course, listed below, is especially designed to meet the needs of this work.

Outline of War Courses

Captain's Course

Twelve weeks, April 8th to June 28th.

Vegetable Gardening. Lectures and practical work. The morning work deals with principles and practices of vegetable gardening—such as sowing, planting, cultivating, preparation of the soil, and the use of tools, etc., insect pests and diseases. The afternoon work deals with the culture of specific crops, potatoes, onions, root crops and all important vegetables.

Practical Business Methods. School Gardening. Demonstration and practice teaching. Canning and Preserving. Beekeeping Lectures and practical work in the school apiary. Fruit Growing. Poultry.

Lieutenant's Course

Twelve weeks, Mondays and Fridays of each week. Students may enroll for one-half day, whole day or the two full days each week.

Vegetable Gardening. Work similar to that of Captain's Course.

Fruit Growing, Canning and Preserving, Poultry.

For any further details and information, apply to Miss Elizabeth L. Lee, Secretary-Director, School of Horticulture for Women, Ambler, Pennsylvania.

The regular course covers a period of two years and draws its students from colleges and secondary schools in all parts of the United States.

"I HAD twenty-five women work on my farm last summer," says Dr. Sargent, Director of Physical Training at Harvard. "I had to hire them because I couldn't get men. I had no cause to regret it. They proved to me that women are first rate as farmers. They did everything on my place except ploughing. Neighboring farmers who borrowed some of them during the apple picking season hated to admit that they found them more efficient than men workers, but had to."

"As truck gardeners women are superior to men. If a girl is robust she can do about everything on a farm without injury to her health. There are women as strong as men. These can do heavy farm labor without ill effect."

Suffragists Open Spring Drive

GOVERNOR BROUGH of Arkansas, in addressing the Equal Suffrage Central Committee of that state in convention at Little Rock, urged the women to insist that their county representative at the next constitutional convention incorporate a woman suffrage plank in the constitution. He further called attention to the fact that while Arkansas was the first southern state to give women primary suffrage, it is behind five other southern states as it still does not permit its women to act as school directors, notary publics or justices of the peace.

Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, chairman of the Equal Suffrage Central Committee, in introducing the speakers, said the next legislature would have to pass upon the ratification of the Federal Amendment for woman suffrage. She also made an appeal to the delegates to at once set about raising the \$1,000 which is Arkansas' quota of the fund necessary to maintain the Woman's Overseas Hospitals, U. S. A., the first unit of which is now in the fighting front in France.

There was much rejoicing at the convention over the Texas victory. The story of how it happened was told by Mrs. O. F. Ellington, who was president of the Arkansas State Suffrage Association at the time that state granted the women primary suffrage and now as a resident of Texas is able to have a part in the Texas victory.

War service work, the Liberty Loan, Food Conservation, all came in for attention, and so Mrs. Cotnam presented a "Creed for Women" which affirmed the loyalty of the women to the Government stating at the close, "I pledge my heart, my mind, my soul, my fortune, my life, to my country."

Resolutions were passed urging women to pay their poll tax that they might vote at the state wide primary, May 28th, and asking for a suffrage plank in the new constitution. Other resolutions upon war conditions included: Co-operation with the Woman's Committee of National Defense in raising a fund toward the erection and maintenance of a home for delinquent girls in the vicinity of army camps; co-operation with National Child Labor Committee in using school children in vacation for garden and farm work; extending the use of the Smith-Hughes educational fund; asking the Government to make a survey of rural educational conditions with a view to stemming the tide cityward when work on farms is so necessary during the war; asking for the abolition of the brewing of beer in the interest of food conservation; approving of the employment of police women in the vicinity of army camps.

Mrs. Cotnam, of Little Rock, was re-elected chairman of the Central Committee, and Mrs. O. F. Ellington was made honorary chairman. Other officers are: Mrs. O. T. Drennan, Little Rock, first vice-president; Mrs. Stella Bizolara, Fort Smith, second vice-president; Mrs. Frank W. Gibb, Little Rock, secretary; Mrs. R. W. Walker, Little Rock, treasurer.

THE Wisconsin Woman Suffrage association is expressing gratification that so good a friend of suffrage as the Hon. Irvine L. Len-

root was chosen to represent that state in the Senate and is looking forward to his affirmative vote when the Federal Amendment shall be before the Senate for consideration. Mr. Lenroot's home city, Superior, gave the banner pro-suffrage vote in 1912 when a referendum on suffrage was held in Wisconsin.

Wisconsin continues an active program of war service suffrage work. The Milwaukee County Suffrage Association will provide fifteen members to act as garden visitors in the work to be directed by the Milwaukee County Council of Defense. The Liberty Loan Drive will engage the attention of a large number of members who will take charge of sales.

"IT is conceded without argument that the thirty-second annual convention of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association marked the inauguration of a triumphant drive for full citizenship.

"It did another thing. It demonstrated womankind's magnificent mental equipment for the widened responsibilities and opportunities that are coming to her as the fruits of a half century of brave battling for her inalienable rights.

"Bring on your ballot, democracy! Michigan womanhood awaits it, full-armed for any responsibility or obligation that comes with electoral emancipation."—*Times*, Detroit, Michigan.



THE Equal Suffrage League of Richmond, Virginia, was represented in the Thrift Stamp Parade held in Richmond, by a float depicting the Barge of State with Victory at the prow. A group of figures showed the extensive war service work being done by the League in conservation, Red Cross, Liberty Loan and food production. One shield bore the legend "More than \$10,000 of War Savings Stamps sold by the Richmond League." Mrs. Milton Marcuse and Mrs. S. M. Block head the committee which made this fine record. Miss Nora Houston and Miss Adele Clark, recording secretary and legislative chairman of the Richmond League, designed the float, which received an ovation all along the line. A delegation of the executive council of the League acted as escort to the float.

SUFFRAGISTS from twenty-one middle western states composing the Mississippi Valley Suffrage conference will gather at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, on May 26-28, to celebrate a year of notable suffrage achievements and to plan for the remainder of the campaign to complete the enfranchisement of all the women of the United States within an-

On an Extended Front

other two years. This conference promises to be the most important meeting ever held by western suffragists, in view of the possibility that the Senate may pass the Federal Amendment before that time. The South Dakota Universal Franchise League, of which Mrs. John F. Pyle is president, Sioux Falls suffragists and the Commercial Club and business men of the city will unite in entertaining the visiting suffragists.

A noteworthy program is planned by the committee consisting of Mrs. John R. Leighty of Kansas City, Mrs. Andreas Ueland of Minneapolis and Mrs. Grace Julian Clark of Indianapolis. The conference will celebrate the recent suffrage victory in Texas, one of the states represented at the conference, and the notable suffrage victories in New York State and England, also the promise of complete enfranchisement for the women of Canada now assured for the early future, all of these events having transpired since the conference which met last year at Columbus, Ohio.

Much of the time of the conference will be devoted to a discussion of suffrage problems in which numerous leaders of national prominence will take part. Should the Amendment be passed by the Senate within the next few weeks, which seems to be a possibility, much of the time of the conference will be devoted to the preparing of plans for the ratification campaigns which will be waged next year in all of the middle western states. For this reason it is expected that the attendance and interest in the conference will be unusually large.

SUFFRAGE in Connecticut has begun its spring offensive and everything is ready for the great drive. Four new workers, Mrs. Nancy Schoonmaker, Miss Mary Carson, Mrs. Florence Kitchelt and Miss Sallie Fannie Gleaton, all of whom worked in the victorious New York campaign, have been added to the staff of the Association.

Senator George P. McLean was again urged to vote for the Federal Amendment through resolutions passed at a large meeting held under the auspices of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association addressed by S. Ratcliffe, a London newspaper man, who spoke in New London on "Woman Suffrage and the War," and at a second meeting held in Willimantic where Mrs. Schoonmaker spoke on "Woman and War."

What is considered by the press of Connecticut as one of the most constructive efforts to educate a large body of prospective voters for citizenship has been begun in New Haven County under the direction of Mrs. Charles G. Morris. Mrs. Schoonmaker, who has charge of the work, has four large groups of women already enrolled for the course in New Haven and vicinity. Mrs. Schoonmaker will give the course there in six consecutive weeks and it is planned to give similar courses in all parts of the state.

The Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association branch of the Red Cross, at Hartford, has established a record of 150 garments a week, according to Mrs. Louis F. Middlebrook, chairman of the work.

The Book Stall

THERE is no more reason why *The Woman Voter's Manual* (Century Co., \$1.00) should be dedicated to women than to men. It is a complete and efficient guide for all voters. Its use for recently enfranchised people of any class, men or women, lies specifically in two of its features, its thoroughness and its simplicity.

The nomenclature of political affairs is new to many recently enfranchised women, just as it is to boys of twenty-one and to newly naturalized men. To all of these classes the manual offers a compendium of information. It sits down with the inexperienced voter and explains everything he needs to know from the meaning of popular government to the systems of finance and taxation used by the United States. It devotes several chapters to the federal government, and explains state, county and municipal divisions, elections and officials. Political party organizations and their platforms are defined, international relations analyzed, commerce and the monetary system explained.

Not the least pleasant part of all this is the way it is done. The book conforms to the best standards of English. It is clear and direct without superciliousness, and it is admirably concise, as the magnitude of its scope within the confines of 150 pages would suggest. Of the joint authors, S. E. Forman and Marjorie Shuler, Miss Shuler is experienced in the exact needs which this book is designed to cover. She is a practical suffrage worker and a journalist. She had an important post in western New York state during the recent campaign for enfranchising women.

In spite of this intensive interest in New York state, Miss Shuler has not directed the manual exclusively to New York women. Except for a final appendix giving the New York election law, the book is applicable to new voters, first voters and young voters anywhere. It would not be stretching a point to say that it is doubtful if there are old voters of either sex or of any class who would not find benefit and profit from the possession of this manual. One who turns the pages of this admirably condensed little book will want to keep it at her—or his—elbow for constant reference.

The book's foreword by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, adds just the explanation of the voting ideal which the body of the book does not pretend to cover. Mrs. Catt focusses on woman as a voter. She shows what woman has done with her vote when she has it, and she allays the fear that there might ever be any deterioration of the electorate from the admission of women. Mrs. Catt here re-emphasizes also her well-known desire to see the ballot in the hands of both men and women as a force for elevating the standards of American life.

IF anti-suffragists are in earnest about wanting to know actual conditions in suffrage states one may commend to them an incidental tribute to the improvements in California found in *Religious Progress on the Pacific Slope*. (The Pilgrim Press, Boston. \$2.) This book was not written as suffrage propaganda, but in the interests of historical fact. In his chapter called "Social Betterment," the Rev. Albert Wentworth Palmer, pastor of the Oak-

land Plymouth Church, says: "No historian of the future, whatever his political sympathies or prejudices, will be able to overlook the remarkable record of legislation in the direction of social betterment which the last five years have witnessed in this state."

In order that there may be no mistake as to his own stand upon the question of equal suffrage, Dr. Palmer accounts votes for women as one of California's enactments for social reform. This author speaks in glowing terms of the measure of improvement already achieved in California concerning the social evil. The fight is on, he says, to secure enforcement of the Red Light Injunction and Abatement act in San Francisco, as it has been enforced already in Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and other large areas. "Cities never before were so clean or so sanitary or had such visions of the city beautiful," affirms Dr. Palmer. It would be only fair for those who assert that California is worse since women got the vote to read this unconscious tribute to the fact that the same forces which have seen women's enfranchisement as a moral reform are the forces which are developing a wholesome state.

Message from "Hosea Biglow"

Apropos to Mrs. Margaret C. Robinson's recent utterances.*

*MY, ain't it terrible? Wut shall we dew?
We can't hev no Suffrage Amendment,
thet's flat;*

*Guess we shall hev to rise up, don't you,
And rescue the Senate from that Mrs. Catt?
For Margaret C.
Robinson, she*

*Sez the Kaiser's a-rubbin' his hands in glee,
Us poor foolish Americans to see.*

*Wilyum knew that no woman should hev any
power,*

*'Thout her name wuz Sophia and he wuz her
boss,*

*And well he foresaw that the Russians would
cower,*

*The Finns call on him, and the Serbs come
to loss,*

*For Margaret C.
Robinson, she*

*Sez them countries is ez suffrage'y ez they
can be,*

And a reg'lar warnin' to you and me.

*Old England, too, hez fell inter the trap,
The plain road to Ruin staves her in the face,
A-freein' her women in the middle of this
scrap!*

*All Berlin can see she will lose in the race,
For Margaret C.
Robinson, she*

*Thinks they know everything down on the
Spree,*

Includin' runnin' this land of the free.

Cambridge, Mass. ADELAIDE A. CLAFLIN.

* (See Page 328, *The Woman Citizen*. "Are Germans More Virile?")



MISS ANNE HIRST CURRY

Our Own War Correspondent

THE *Woman Citizen* is to have its own official foreign correspondent, who has just reached France. She is Miss Anne Hirst Curry, of Baltimore, Maryland, who has been editing a publicity journal. She has now gone over to join the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., as bookkeeper and special correspondent. One of the first appeals from the hospital unit after its arrival was for an expert accountant.

Miss Curry, who has had a broad experience, will see that the *Citizen* has all the news the censor will permit to pass the lines. It will be a part of Miss Curry's official task to write back every week and keep the members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in touch with what their unit is doing.

Miss Curry's father was a surgeon in the Civil War, and she has only held herself from going to the front before this because she could be of greater service here. As an advertising expert, she has been serving for the last year and a half in positions which would otherwise have been held by men.

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW presented the beautiful hostess house at Camp Johnson, Jacksonville, Florida, to the government on March 25. A large meeting was arranged by the Florida Division for the same date in Jacksonville, which Dr. Shaw addressed. This was the first of a series of meetings over the United States at which Dr. Shaw is speaking on the work of the Woman's Committee.

THE Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense has issued a call to its state chairmen for a national conference to be held in Washington, May 13, 14, 15. The call, it is announced, is for the purpose of "perfecting plans for the better co-ordination, co-operation and closer unity among national, state, and local units to counsel together, to instruct, advise and inspire each other for the greater and more arduous tasks which this crucial year of the war has laid upon us."

Correspondence

The Name Peace

To the Editor of *The Woman Citizen*:

THE Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party is henceforth to be known as the League for Permanent Peace, with the subtitle Massachusetts Branch of the Section for the United States of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace.

The reasons for the change are briefly as follows:

The name Woman's Peace Party has from the start been held by many of us to be both vague and confusing. The confusion arises mainly from two causes:

First, the name "Peace" when not qualified has always been misleading and now is more so than ever. This is true not only of the Woman's Peace Party, but of all other peace organizations. What we are working for is permanent peace, which is as far removed from "Peace at any price" as is A from Z.

Second, its resemblance to the Woman's Party, the name of the Militant Suffrage Group, with which we have no connection whatsoever.

Further, at the annual meeting of the National Woman's Peace Party, held this winter in Philadelphia, it was voted that henceforth each state branch be autonomous. Under this ruling we are responsible for our own work and our own actions alone and we naturally wish to have our individual name.

Our aims and ideals have been expressed by President Wilson in his great messages. We wish to assist in the accomplishment of those aims, by helping to establish an Association of Nations which will provide for the ultimate removal of economic barriers between nations; and which must secure adequate guarantees that national armaments will be reduced, after this war is over, to the lowest possible point consistent with safety.

We are pledged to continue our struggle against autocracy and militarism, and to work unceasingly for the achievement of a durable peace, which means a peace based on justice and democracy.

MRS. J. MALCOLM FORBES.

Milton, Mass.

War-Marriage Children

To the Editor of *The Woman Citizen*:

A RECENT incident compelled the writer to query the good results to be derived from hasty war-marriages. A young woman came into a Y. W. C. A. to flee the young officer whom she had wed. Her story was that they had met at a military dance in Philadelphia and were married a month later in Boston. While he trained at a Radio School she spent her first two months as a bride in a nearby apartment. During this time it cost them just one thousand dollars of her father's money to live. Alone for hours, she had ample time to reconsider the step. Her conclusion, that it was rash and unwise, she made known to her husband. He feared that she would leave him, therefore threatened her.

One day while he was training, she fled to the Y. W. C. A. and wired her mother. Before the latter arrived the husband found his wife and tried to persuade her to return.

War brings much grief that cannot be avoided. Why add to this the sorrow resulting from thoughtless war-marriages? The fact that the children who follow are the chief sufferers cannot be overlooked.

America, while righting the wrong done European children, must not forget her own advancing generations. Child psychology teaches that the child is the product of heredity and environment. If the parents are not congenial and devoted, their children cannot be strong. "A normal emotional life for the mother," says Prof. Kirkpatrick, "is favorable to the best development of the child."

The factor most needed for racial progress is a favorable environment. In order that children may enjoy these surroundings which the psychologist urges, fathers and mothers must provide them. Hasty, precipitate marriages rarely propagate such an atmosphere as is essential to child welfare.

America's posterity is what the young woman of today chooses to make it. Her ability to resist the lure of the uniform, her consideration for generations yet unborn will, in a large measure, determine the happiness of the American home in the future.

ELISE BRECKER.

Boston, Mass.



The Two Greatest

To the Editor of *The Woman Citizen*:

Your readers will, I am sure, be interested in the accompanying extract from a letter written to his mother by a Rochester physician now "Somewhere in France."

"Mother! you, like all mothers, are the best soldier of them all. Your lot is the hardest, but you are the bravest. Put me down on record and quote me if you like in saying that after what I've seen of the women of France and England—he who would in any way restrict the privileges of woman on account of her sex is a — fool beyond redemption. I take off my hat to them and apologize for holding back my vote. They are the glory of the age. If I should be asked to say what are the two greatest things I've seen I'd say first the women and secondly the Y. M. C. A. Never refuse the latter a request. They are the finest and best that live."

J. S.

The "Glory" Was the Editor's

To the Editor of *The Woman Citizen*:

A week or two ago I happened to see in *The Woman Citizen* a letter regarding my communication to you on the subject of the vote in Congress on our Amendment. The correspondent referred to the "astonishing caption" of my letter.

I am writing to ask you to tell this correspondent that I agree with her that the caption might be criticised. Perhaps you will be good enough to tell her that the caption was written by you and not by me. When I first read the heading you had put to my letter, namely, "The Glory of the Republicans," I felt that it was not what I would have said; but I concluded that you were referring to the biblical comparison of "One glory of the sun and another glory of the moon," and as you are an editor and I am not, I concluded not to criticise your choice of words.

On the main issue, it might also be interesting to your correspondent to know that what work I have done for the passage of the Federal Amendment has been done in harmony with, and as representing a committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in New York, and that the political appeal has been used, when and because necessary. And may I further say that I see no inconsistency in the fact that a good suffragist may be a good enough Republican to rejoice in the fact that the party of her choice has given 83½ per cent of its vote in the House of Representatives for suffrage, and that almost as large a percentage will do the same in the Senate—even though the other political party is controlling both houses.

ROSALIE LOEW WHITNEY.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Same Old Trouble

To the Editor of *The Woman Citizen*:

Will you give me some advice on the following, or if I am asking too much, kindly suggest from what source I may obtain information:

It is the same old trouble over the naturalization of married women. I would like to know the present status of the bill before Congress allowing the married woman to retain her citizenship, or if she be an alien to take out her own papers.

The case in question is further complicated by the Amos bill, just signed by the Governor of the State of New York. This bill prevents teachers of foreign birth from teaching in the grade schools without naturalization. The sentiment we fully agree with, but it can work a great hardship on the married woman who is perfectly willing to become an American citizen, but cannot on account of her marriage. Take the case of a young married woman who is bound to support herself and little daughter. Her husband is living somewhere in the states. They both came from Canada about ten years ago and their daughter was born there. The father took out his first papers, but their time limit has now expired. On the desertion of the father the mother took a kindergarten training, with the full knowledge and approval of the Normal School faculty, and has been a

(Continued on page 417.)

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 416.)

successful teacher for the last three or four years. She has very strong scruples against taking divorce proceedings, and apart from her feeling in the matter does not want the publicity that might reflect on her teaching career. However that seems the only alternative if she cannot file her citizenship papers as a married woman. Her personal inclinations in the matter have for some time been to become an American citizen, just the same as her child is.

Will you please advise what steps can be taken to relieve such cases? Would an amendment to the Amos bill be possible, or what are the probabilities in regard to Federal amendments to the naturalization laws? Doesn't it seem rather dictatorial to force anyone to obtain a divorce in order to get what she has always wanted to become—an American citizen? If she obtained a divorce would she then be free to take out her papers? I understand the New York suffrage party has a committee watching legislation in Albany. Can you tell me how I can get in touch with them, and if they would be in a position to advise?

We Shall Keep It Up

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Woman Citizen*:

Do keep up the agitation about the American girl's citizenship after marriage! I am one whose husband cannot vote until a year from May, and here I have been working for suf-

frage for years and may not be able to vote at the first election in New York State. I have a vote in Ontario, although I have lived here all my life and my people are all Americans from way back.

GRACE C. FULFORD.

Rochester, N. Y.

Texas Women Jubilate

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Woman Citizen*:

We have just celebrated with a Jubilee Luncheon the fact that we are citizens of the United States. Our last called Session of the Legislature was wonderfully progressive, giving women the franchise in the primaries, three varieties of prohibition, and last, but not least, protection of the law between the ages of fifteen and eighteen to the maidens of Texas. Many of us received these benefits, solemnized even to tears, yet smilingly, because they meant so much to the world.

This awful war has shaken us from much of our age long selfishness. The slogan of democracy and the urge of a dawning sense of justice is doing much to bring about that equality and friendship between men and women so necessary for harmony in the present and the welfare of our future citizens.

M. ELEANOR BRACKENRIDGE.

San Antonio, Texas.

A Partisan on Partisanship

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Woman Citizen*:

Your letter, although long unanswered, has not been forgotten. I have not received the *Citizen* since the first of December, 1917, and I supposed that you had stopped sending it to me.

I am no longer a friend of suffrage. The strong partisan stand taken by the women in 1916 is enough to disgust any honest, decent man.

We did not expect Judge Hughes to carry all the suffrage states. We did expect him to carry part of them, however.

Although a very rabid anti, I congratulate you ladies of New York on your brilliant victory. It was also a great victory for the Democratic party. The Democrats will carry the State by nearly 1,000,000 majority next fall.

When the women get nation-wide suffrage every member of Congress, as well as the President, will be a Democrat. The way everything is I don't care to take your paper any longer.

Lainsburg, Mich.

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Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confering upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays 136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.



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(See page 418)

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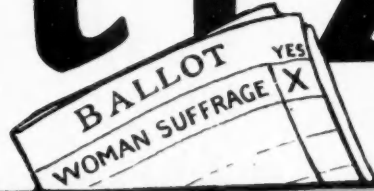
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Woman Citizen

(SEE PAGE OPPOSITE)

CONTINUING the *Woman's Journal*, founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, as a weekly newspaper devoted to winning equal rights and especially to winning equal suffrage for women, and published weekly in Boston, Massachusetts, from 1870 to 1917. Continuing also the *Woman Voter*, and the *National Suffrage News*. In succeeding the *National Suffrage News*, The *Woman Citizen* became the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such tries to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

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at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

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VOL. II APRIL 27, 1918 No 22

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman's suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Where Is Your State?

IT was a great day for the *Woman Citizen* when the suffragists of Indiana met in convention last week. Under the leadership of Mrs. Croan, who says that her campaign is just beginning, league presidents responded to the roll-call by telling how many new subscribers they had secured, and individual subscriptions were taken from the floor. A great deal of enthusiasm has been roused among the various Indiana leagues by the competition for two *Woman Citizen* banners, photographs of which appeared in our issue of April 6. But we believe that Mrs. Croan herself is responsible for the fine fighting spirit that is distinguishing her state's circulation campaign. She is not only a splendid executive, but a born publicity woman, and we print the following excerpts from the letter with which she launched her campaign, knowing that they cannot fail to interest our other circulation workers:

"In the mud and gloom of the trenches our boys fight for Democracy. MOTHERS—if you could HELP these boys—would you? YOU CAN—by securing that most powerful of all weapons, the vote.

"A thing has happened in Indiana that should not have happened. Things will keep on happening unless the women of Indiana get together and make it impossible to expunge laws from the records of our State legislature.

"Propaganda's greatest force lies in publicity. The suffrage medium of publicity is the *Woman Citizen*. By means of the *Woman Citizen* we can loose upon the community a volume of information and argument that will rouse the indifferent and unappreciative to a sense of their responsibility.

"Every *Woman Citizen* placed in your community is a gun fired for our boys in the trenches, for the home, for democracy. How many guns will you shoot?"



Here is a real idea for circulation workers. Mrs. L. D. Ledbetter of Coleman, Texas, writes: "I have distributed the sample copies you sent, rented me a *Woman Citizen* window up town, and filled it full of pictures cut from my own valuable copies and there are always passers-by stopping to read. Also I have pasted my own 'Clarion Call to Mothers'

and displayed a homespun dress of my own spinning and weaving, cutting out and making with my own fingers at 14 years, during America's Civil War."

Katharine Gay,
National Circulation Chairman.



State Circulation Chairmen

Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane of New Orleans

Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York of Augusta
New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin of East Orange

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Rhode Island: Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt of Bristol

Kentucky: Mrs. Charles Firth of Covington

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South Carolina: Mrs. J. T. Gittman of Columbia

Alabama: Miss Mary P. London of Birmingham

Indiana: Mrs. Jessie Croan of Anderson

Michigan: Mrs. John Waite of Ann Arbor

North Dakota: Mrs. Katherine L. Brainerd of Hebron

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium

FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

April 13th

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. New Jersey
4. Minnesota
5. Iowa
6. Indiana, Michigan, New York, Ohio
7. New Hampshire
8. Wisconsin
9. Alabama
10. Massachusetts
11. Virginia
12. Maine
13. Louisiana
14. Pennsylvania, Maryland
15. Texas
16. Connecticut
17. Kentucky
18. Rhode Island, North Dakota
19. Nebraska
20. Washington, Mississippi
21. South Carolina
22. Vermont, Tennessee

April 20th

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. New Jersey
4. Minnesota
5. Iowa
6. Indiana
7. Michigan
8. Ohio
9. New York
10. Alabama
11. New Hampshire
12. Wisconsin
13. Massachusetts
14. Virginia
15. Maine
16. Louisiana
17. Pennsylvania
18. Maryland
19. Texas, Connecticut
20. Kentucky
21. Rhode Island, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Dakota
22. Nebraska
23. Washington
24. Vermont, Tennessee

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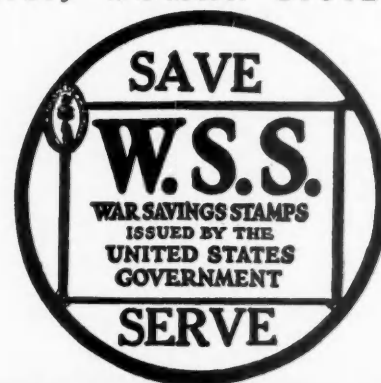
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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

April 27, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Is Suffrage Work War Work?

THERE foregathered in Executive Council in Indianapolis last week a group of women, representing a vastly larger group of women, whose collective activities in war work, it is safe to say, have resulted in more actual achievement than have those of any other specific group of women in the United States.

In one state alone, the state of New York, their self-apportioned share of the first two Liberty Loan drives was over \$10,000,000.

In various states their organizations have assumed complete charge of such patriotic tasks as the military registration, while taking over, as well, large details of the Red Cross relief program, the conservation and thrift programs, and the Liberty Loan campaigns.

Besides which, they have organized a chain of hospital units and have assumed their upkeep, about \$125,000 per year to begin with, for the relief of the women and children of France.

From the beginning of the war these women have leaped at every presenting opportunity to help, to stand by America, to see the war through.

No detail of the war program has been slighted by them.

The crassest and stupidest critic has been silenced by the eagerness of their loyalty and the effectiveness of their war service.

These women are the suffragists of America, and it was the duly appointed representatives of their 2,000,000 membership that foregathered in the council meeting at Indianapolis.

In all their counseling the war stood out foremost.

It filled their minds.

It thrilled their hearts.

It informed all discussion.

It was part of every report.

It conditioned all prospects.

They were logical women.

They were balanced.

They were practical.

You could not listen to them without realizing the coherency of their purpose and intention.

And never for a moment did they visualize suffrage work as anything but war work!

It was there in the war work scheme just as Red Cross work and Thrift and Conservation and Liberty Loan work were there.

Were they wrong?

Is woman's right of self-government not pertinent to the world's right of self-government?

Is practice not pertinent to theory?

Is the thing we are fighting for not pertinent to the fight?

As well say that the freeing of the slaves should have been deferred until the Civil War for their freedom was over as to say that woman's right of self-government should not be considered until the war for self-government is over.

Suffrage work is war work and as such must go forward unceasingly until the war for democracy ends in triumph.

Not Their Policy

WHILE suffragists push forward the war program with collective strength, anti-suffragists seem proud of the fact that, as an organization, they are taking no part in war service.

"It has never been our policy," says a letter written in February of this year and signed by Mrs. James Wadsworth, president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, "to go into war work, or any other work, as a national organization."

On whose side in this great war for freedom are these women whose existence as a corporate body is, at this crisis of the nation's fight for democracy, not justified by any organized part in the nation's struggle for life? Perhaps the lack of such united effort explains why they could listen with patience to the advice of Charles S. Fairchild and Henry Wise Wood at a meeting of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. According to the *New York Times*, friendly to the cause of the antis, ex-secretary of the Treasury, Charles S. Fairchild, urged the anti-suffragists there assembled to form themselves into political groups to defeat the suffrage bill already passed by a referendum vote at the polls in New York State.

"You will have to make great sacrifices," he told them. Not sacrifices, mind you, to beat autocracy abroad, but to establish autocracy at home.

"Many women who have been giving their time to their families and household will have to give up that"—So woman's place after all isn't in the home.

"You who have been giving time to this great war work will have to give up some of that."

In the *Sun's* report of the same meeting, Mr. Henry Wise Wood, whose fear of women's pacifism has driven him into the anti-suffrage fold, is said to have contributed his share of the same advice. "War work must diminish for a while," he is reported as saying, "till we overcome the danger of a woman's vote."

The Bonds of Sorrow

"*C'EST l'entente cordiale de la souffrance*," said a French officer behind the lines as he watched two wounded soldiers, a British Tommy and a French poilu, helping each other in a painful journey bask from the front trenches. This is the vision of a new internationalism being wrought into the very marrow of all the fighting races, an alliance of suffering shared, the entente of a common hope. The belief that in these bonds of sorrow the world will finally see a new protection against injustice buoys up the spirits of nations at war. It is this bond which gives a new thrill to the sound of halting foreign syllables on the tongue of American men in khaki. They may not yet know the speech of Uncle Sam, but they know the heart of him.

It is the common hope of ridding the world of wrong that adds a touch of poignancy to the sight of negro sailors wearing the caps of the U. S. S. Leviathan, the ship that was once the Vaterland. The oppressed of the earth are rising that there shall be no more oppression.

The shared sorrow of women is making a force for freedom so

strong that its like has never been seen in the world before. On one of those moonlight nights, so much dreaded in England now an American woman who lives just outside of London, becoming anxious over her husband's late return from the city, opened her front door to look down the street. As she did so she saw an English woman neighbor drop dead, bombed by a German Zeppelin.

Parisian and American women also have been drawn into the *entente cordiale de la souffrance* by the blind, aimless brutality of the long-range guns which shot up the church in which American women were at prayer, and destroyed a day nursery and three babies with their mothers.

The invisible comradeship of sorrow is more dynamic than the highest explosives, stronger than Krupp guns. It is as deathless as love. In the end it will conquer all hates. The Central Powers have built a great machine, but they have forgotten to reckon with the mightiest force there is, the unbreakable ties of sympathy. Do they believe that the grief of mothers for sons heaped up on the plains of Picardy will not some time rise and rend their war machine? Do they believe that eventually all over the world the power of an ideal hammered out by comradeship in suffering and in injustice will not be the final voice in the adjustment of the world?

My Share in the Cost of the War

PEOPLE have stopped asking, How much can I spare for the war fund? They are now saying, What is my share? At first everyone had a tendency to calculate what would be left for Red Cross and Liberty bonds after the household bills were all paid. Now the people of America are waking up—as the people of Europe woke up months ago. They are estimating what will be left to pay the household bills after their share of the war cost is deducted.

The German war loan has averaged \$350 to every German, big and little. This estimate was based on the population of Imperial Germany before its men were mown down in battle. It has actually cost the existing population more than that. What America has so far demanded of its people for the war fund is only about \$120 per person. It is evident that America cannot expect to beat the Hun on a 33 1-3 per cent basis.

There are in the United States 10 families whose incomes total a little more than \$1,000,000,000. The total incomes of all the families in the country equal \$38,250,000,000. If the 200 richest families of the United States were to sacrifice their entire living income they could not float a quarter of the war loan.

An estimate of the war's cost and its equitable distribution has just been issued by the Bankers Trust Co. of New York in a pamphlet entitled "What is My Share in the Cost of the War?"

The principal feature of this pamphlet is a table which shows the number of families in the country by income groups; the total cost of the second year of war; the amount available from taxes, direct and indirect; from corporations and from banks.

The total estimated cost of the war for this second year is \$15,000,000,000. Of this only \$7,750,000,000, about half, is pro-

curable from all sources other than personal contributions. The schedule furnished by the bankers offers a sliding scale, proportioned to the size of the income. It reckons the contributable share of the 10 families whose incomes are over \$5,000,000 yearly at 79.70 per cent. From this it slides down the scale until the incomes below a thousand dollars are reached. These are estimated as less than 10 per cent contributable. Out of the 27,304,199 family groups in the United States, more than 24,000,000 have incomes of less than \$1,800 a year. Some of these groups doubtless represent single persons. But approximately 75 per cent of the family income of the country is in the hands of the class receiving less than \$2,500 a year and 85 per cent of it in the less than \$10,000 class. Only 15 per cent of all the families have great wealth, yet it would be manifestly unfair to deny the poorer members of society a chance to own government bonds. If the Liberty Loan were all in the hands of the rich 15 per cent of the country, real democracy might even be jeopardized. Yet it is evident that the margin for actual existence left to the people of small incomes will be disproportionately reduced by the 12 per cent asked of them, while a reduction of even 79 per cent of a \$5,000,000 income still leaves a very comfortable living.

What is of special interest, however, is the proportion expected of the professional groups, those people who live on two, four and six thousand dollars a year. The estimated contributable percentage of a \$4,500 family income is 22.40 per cent, or \$1,008; of a \$6,500 income, 29.40 per cent, or \$1,911. This, of course, includes taxes, which are expected to furnish \$1,500,000,000 towards the payment of the \$15,000,000,000 budget for 1918.

The table offered by the bankers is interesting in its details. Probably few readers have seriously considered the actual cash terms in which their share of the distribution is estimated by the financiers who are working out the loan. It will demand the utmost strain upon every pocket-book, and the surrender of much individual comfort.

"If I cannot wear any other uniform," said one woman, "at least I can wear cheerfully the universal uniform of shabbiness. I can be ashamed to buy new clothes."

War Time Propaganda

"A SUFFRAGE meeting was held in New London last evening. There is an intimate connection between the cause of suffrage and the devotion of women to war work. There is an intimate and distinct woman's interest in the war itself. Suffrage propaganda is legitimate wartime propaganda and by so much as the granting of suffrage is a recognition of woman's sacrifice in the defense of our citizenship and of our natural rights of freedom—of democracy itself—by so much is justice done and the whole cause aided. While women stand ready to forge cannon, and to do men's work wherever necessary for the good of the nation, it is an outrage to deny the privilege of woman's suffrage. Anti-feminists should realize that in England women are working in the mills and foundries and in all industries that the men may be spared for the front. If the war lasts we shall see the same development in our country."—New London, Conn., *Day*.

Confessions of an Anti

IT is Mrs. James W. Wadsworth who brings the solemn word from Washington that, in regard to the Federal Suffrage Amendment, "the only hope I can give you is that we are doing all we can to hold this thing back. Our task seems a colossal one, an almost hopeless task. Our band seems so small and ill equipped." Mrs. Wadsworth said that in Washington the antis had not won anyone to their side and, she hoped, had not lost any one. Her sense of insecurity found further expression when she said: "The majority of the Senators apparently agree with us when we talk with them, but they make no promises. I regret to say that some of the Representatives in the House who made promises did not keep them."

Another contribution to the antis' confession has been made by a Mrs. Edwin Ford of Massachusetts, who complains that "the antis are now practically eating out of the suffragists' hands" in her state, and she lets the cat still further out of the bag when she says: "When the President of the United States refuses to welcome the head of a great national organization, the wife of the senior Senator from New York State, and the daughter of John Hay, whom can we get to represent us?"

It all goes to show into what a state of innocuous desuetude anti-suffrage has fallen. Of course the President of the United States has no time to receive a professedly anti-democratic organization in an hour when the world is on trial for democracy's sake. Of course United States Senators cannot stultify democracy within their own hearts by denying democracy to women. It did not need the confessions of the antis to reveal the dire case of the opposition to woman suffrage, but since they have come, they but reaffirm what everybody knows anyway.

The Suffrage Allies

"THE time is ripe to extend suffrage to women," says Premier Orlando, in an interview granted to the "*Giornale d'Italia*." "I hope the present Legislature may grant it."

New York suffragists are delighted to hear that Italy is going to join the "suffrage allies." England is in the lead, so far as actual suffrage legislation is concerned; France has promised it, and the United States Government has passed the federal suffrage bill through one House. It remained only for Italy to acknowledge the pertinency of the topic to the times. Will the United States Senate kindly take note.

"What I 'Spise"

A PROMINENT anti-suffragist, in addressing the relic of the New York State Association opposed to Woman Suffrage the other day, said she despised some of the suffragists, but was forced to admire some of their attributes, notably, their perseverance. Which reminds us:

Erastus, having approached the business end of the mule three times with a caution that went down three times with the rest of him, was heard to remark as he arose the last time and sidled away indignantly: "Thass what I 'spise 'bout a mule."

Within the Organization

INDIANAPOLIS was Mecca on the suffrage map last week. From all over the country suffragists journeyed to the pretty mid-western city for the contemporary meetings of the Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the state convention of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana.

A brilliant luncheon given by the Indiana press women on Tuesday, the 16th, as a feature of their annual convention, vivaciously presided over by Mrs. Mindwell Crampton Wilson, with Dr. Shaw as the centre of attraction at the speakers table, threw open the gates of Indiana's hospitality, as it were, to the visiting women of the National, and what with the communicable liveliness of the state convention, the exquisite hospitality of the Indiana women, the friendly, effective Indiana press, and just Indianapolis, no Council meeting ever closed its sessions with a feeling of greater satisfaction in work done and to be done.

Perhaps it was some winged prescience of the end of the long suffrage struggle that came into the council chamber, along with the drafts that circled about in it and zipped through it, perhaps it was that Mrs. Catt's skilled generalship was more than usually diversified by the fleeting quips and sallies with which she limned the obstructions in the senatorial situation and hymned the praises of the senators who stand to the suffrage guns, perhaps it was that the picture of the two women, Mrs. Catt and Dr. Shaw, still side by side and shoulder to shoulder, was more than usually inspiring there on the last lap of the suffrage race; perhaps it was that Dr. Shaw's remarkable record of public speech-making for the Liberty Loan three times a day during the whole week of the Council—specially gripped and lifted the assembled women—whatever it was, something did it. They planned and plotted with a sense of the imminent end and there was a colorful new zest about it as if they had never done it before. And, as often before, they were renewed and remade in solidarity of purpose by the prospect of a lot of hard work.

CONFIDENCE in the Senate's speedy passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment was the base from which there was promptly projected a plan for a ratification campaign that received the unanimous approval of the members. State ratification committees were outlined and departmentalized to cover the work of organization and education. Never before in its history has the National Council had to face a ratification campaign, but that did not prevent its doing so at Indianapolis with great good will. Plans were perfected with the amazing sense of direction with which Mrs. Catt is wont to steer the suffrage ship over uncharted seas. Every detail was worked out, every sub-committee's task was appointed, every contingency provided for, every need anticipated. As a result, the Senate will no sooner pass the Amendment than every suffrage association in the active force will take its place in line, knowing exactly what it has to do and exactly how it is to set about doing it. All kinds of organizations favorable to suffrage, religious, industrial, political, civic, philanthropic, will be asked to cooperate in the ratification program.



THE CONVERT

IT was difficult for the possibility of the defeat of the Amendment to hold the boards for even brief consideration, but having been brought out for an airing, it was dealt with by a reaffirmation of the National's already declared intention, in the event of the failure to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment, to go into the congressional elections next autumn for the avowed purpose of opposing candidates to Senate or Lower House who oppose the Federal Suffrage Amendment, loyalty to the country to be, however, an essential prerequisite of any candidate whose fortunes might be indirectly furthered by opposition to his opponent.

It was decided to send Mrs. Raymond Brown to France to assist in working out the growing program for the Women's Overseas Hospital, the suffrage war baby. She will leave within a short time, taking with her more nurses and nurses' aides.

Of the twenty members of the National Board, there were present, the honorary president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw; president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt; first vice-president, Mrs. Stanley McCormick; second vice-president, Miss Mary Garrett Hay; third vice-president, Mrs. Guilford Dudley; fourth vice-president, Mrs. Raymond Brown; treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Frank J. Shuler; recording secretary, Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson; directors, Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Mrs. Nonie B. Mahoney, Miss Esther G. Ogden, Mrs. Horace C. Stilwell; chairman of press department, Miss Rose Young. The only absentees were one vice president, Mrs. Helen Gardener; two directors, Mrs. T. T. Cotnam and Dr. Mary Safford; one chairman of a standing committee, Mrs. Maud Wood Park.

OF the forty-five states represented in the Council, about two-thirds sent their Council members, the solid South and near South making an exhilarating showing, with Alabama, Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, Missouri and West Virginia all in line. The suffrage associations of the Northwest and Middle West were likewise very much there in the persons of their presidents, or proxies, Mrs. Ueland of Minnesota, Mrs. Youmans of Wisconsin, Mrs. Farrell of Michigan, Miss Lawther of Iowa, Mrs. Brooks of Kansas, Mrs. Threadgill of Oklahoma, Mrs. Edwards and Mrs. Noland of Indiana, Mrs. McCullough and Mrs. Cunningham of Illinois, Miss Allen and Mrs. Davidson of Ohio (in Mrs. Upton's place—it taking two women to fill Mrs. Upton's place). And the East was there, New York state under the leadership of Mrs. Laidlaw, Massachusetts headed by Miss Blackwell, New Jersey headed by Mrs. Feickert, New Hampshire represented by Mrs. Post, and Pennsylvania headed by Mrs. Belford.

A number of associations were still further represented by their extra Council members, and by specially seated representatives, Mrs. Raymond Brown being there in that capacity for New York, as well as Mrs. Edge and Mrs. Belknap, also of New York, Mrs. Hooper for Wisconsin, Mrs. Simpson for Minnesota, Miss Sue White for Tennessee, Mrs. Jacobs for Alabama, Mrs. Post for Kentucky, Mrs. Russell for Michigan, Mrs. Stix, Mrs. McNeill, Miss Lowenstein for Missouri, Mrs. Smith for Pennsylvania, Mrs. Johnson for Massachusetts, Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke for Indiana, and Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker of Texas, as chairman of the National's Child Welfare Committee.

Resolutions were passed testifying to grateful appreciation of the hospitality of the Woman's Franchise League and the good-will of the Indiana press, which insured front page space to the suffrage story day after day through the meetings.

A Banner Convention

ALL during the week that began with Tuesday, April 16, that was what you heard on every hand if you happened to be in Indianapolis—"banner convention"—"wonderful meeting"—"finest ever." It was the week of the seventh annual convention of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana. And from the beginning to the end of it, things moved. In the first place there was a highly efficient woman in the president's chair, Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, of Peru. Her harmonizing and unifying influence, her keen appreciation of work values, her sturdy ability to work herself and make others work, were in striking evidence all through the convention's competently handled program. After just one year of her incumbency of the presidential chair the Indiana association leaps to front rank for downright effectiveness. Around her she has drawn various other women of brilliant significance. Reports from the chairmen showed a verve in the projection of programs as inspiring as the care with which they were worked out was reassuring.

Among the women whose grasp of detail was
(Continued on page 433)

Women and the Third Loan

Speak Up for Liberty

IN the ordinary course of peaceful events it might have taken a long time for woman to gain an entrance into the big, financial affairs of the Government. In the extraordinary course of war happenings, her entrance was immediate. In no department into which woman has been thrust, for it has really amounted to being thrust in, though she has gone willingly and with a mind open to the best advantage of her nation and of humanity, has she been of greater service. This is especially so of the women who have given their undivided attention and their concentrated effort to making the Liberty Loans a success. Not only have they been working members of the national and district Liberty Loan Committees, but in every line of endeavor connected with the loans they have shown the mettle of the Puritan and Knickerbocker mothers whose counsels helped to establish America as a nation among nations.

Speaking on this subject, Mrs. Antoinette Funk, National Vice-Chairman of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, who was in New York recently for a conference with Mrs. John T. Pratt, Chairman of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee of the Second Federal Reserve District, said, "The women of this country have a large work to do in raising the Third Liberty Loan. Their accomplishments during the first and second loans demonstrated their indispensable value to the Government in this important war work. During this campaign and in all future ones they are counted upon to take over a growing share of the financial responsibility of the Government."

Mrs. Funk's particular responsibility is women's participation in the Liberty Loan Speakers' Bureau. She has just returned from a nine thousand mile trip all over the country and has organized a national speakers' bureau in which every available speaker is to be enrolled. "It is not really a bureau," Mrs. Funk explained. "It is a crusade. We have not enough great orators in this country to do the work, but in every town and village there are people who talk well. It is to them I make an appeal."

Being a speaker does not necessarily mean getting upon a platform and exhorting the populace. Just as much good can be done from hour to hour by a word here, a sentence there, a deed everywhere, for Mrs. Funk's idea of achievement is well-expressed in the old couplet,

"A man of words and not of deeds

Is like a garden full of weeds."

"It is pulling up these weeds that constitutes woman's part in this particular phase of war work. Many really patriotic people are unconsciously careless about the little things which, when accumulated, make a big difference to the country at a time like this. Over the tea-cups, at dinner parties, while the knitting needles are clicking, or the bandages are being rolled, while going about the day's necessary marketing and shopping, the woman whose word is active has a splendid chance for diverting money toward the Liberty Loan.

"This is not a task requiring oratorical gifts. All it requires is patriotism, a sense of values, an alert mind and a will-to-do, all of which

qualities are deeply imbedded in the conscience of the modern woman. Just a word about thrift, a sentence or two as to the necessity of the hour, a human interest tale of a boy in the trenches, a letter he has written home, so that those who hear will feel bound by the necessity to build an impassable bulwark of financial resistance behind our men who have gone so cheerfully to obey the divine call to the war for humanity. We are fighting for even a greater ideal than that which inspired the continental troops in 1776," continued Mrs. Funk. "It is the spirit of '76 that we must have. We must inculcate it in the minds of the people, young and old alike. There is no better way to do this than to talk about the pertinent and imperative needs of the war, to keep its meaning ever before each and every individual in the land, to point out what victory means and yes, even to paint in graphic terms the horrific aftermath of a possible defeat."

It is to men as well as women that Mrs. Funk is addressing this appeal. She said, "If a man can do no more than get up on a soap box on the street corner and talk about the safety of investing one's savings in the Liberty Loans, if a woman only addresses her sewing club, if a man but speaks a casual word to the men in his employ, if a woman but says a fervid passing word to a luke-warm acquaintance, if a father but instills the idea of saving and investment into the mind of his young son, if a mother but impresses upon her young daughter the desire for economy and investment, then indeed is the speakers' crusade making its forward march toward the inevitable conquest of the enemy."

Dr. Shaw's Call to Arms

"COMBINE all the organized force of your state back of the chairmen of the woman's section of your State Council of Defense," said Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary chairman of the Woman's Division of the National Council of Defense and honorary president of the National American Women Suffrage Association, to her audiences in Indianapolis at the recent double session of the National's executive council and the Indiana state suffrage convention. Dr. Shaw spoke three times a day to huge audiences and always in the interests of the Liberty Loan.

"Our government, profiting by Great Britain's mistake, organized our women at the beginning of the war," she continued. "We have no time for anything but winning this war. We have no thought but that which should be given to our country. Our country needs the army of women at home just as much as the army of men in France. It needs the same kind of devotion from its women as from its men. It is because I love my country so much and because I am so anxious to give ourselves entirely to the great service of winning the war, that I want the freedom of American women now. We women would be thrice traitors if at this time we should fail to struggle for the fundamental principles here which America is trying to help bring to other countries."

Beating Their Best

EVERY resource of New York state's new-fledged citizens is being placed behind the campaign to insure the success of the Third Liberty Loan. Freed from the responsibilities of a campaign for the ballot, the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, of which Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw is acting president, has undertaken the task of making a new bond sales record for the women of New York. Until the Liberty Loan drive is completed, the entire machinery of the State Party will be placed at the disposal of the Government in the work of reaching as many men and women as possible.

Thousands of suffrage workers, representing every election district in the state, are enlisted in the work of the Third Liberty Loan. Before the end of April every woman in the state will have been made acquainted with the aims and purposes of the Loan and the value of the bonds as an investment, according to Mrs. Laidlaw. State officers, central committees, congressional chairmen, assembly district leaders and election district captains who served in the last suffrage campaign will be in active charge of the big work. Liberty Loan literature will be circulated in the 5,000 election districts of the state, speakers provided and the work of the suffragists and allied organizations will be co-ordinated with that of home defense leagues and Liberty Loan committees. Approximately 700 clubs located in the 150 assembly districts will cooperate in the Liberty Loan work, which is in charge of Mrs. Charles A. Stone of 907 Fifth avenue, who represented the State Party in the first two drives.

Among the suffrage leaders who will cooperate with the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee in distributing literature and providing speakers throughout the state are Mrs. Laidlaw, who will serve as ex-officio for Mrs. Charles A. Stone, and Mrs. Ogden Reid, who will assist in the work of administration. Mrs. E. Victor Morawetz, chairman of the educational committee, will provide speakers for educational classes, and Mrs. Willis G. Mitchell, chairman of the Rural Problems Committee of the State Party, will have charge of the work in farming districts. Miss Mary Dreier, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot and Miss Esther Lape, will conduct the campaign among foreign born women and the Americanization classes through the Suffrage University Extension of Citizenship. Alien women citizens are to be shown the value of Liberty Bonds as an investment and the need of helping the Government to make the war a success.

Although engaged in an effort to win citizenship for themselves, the women of New York made a great showing in the first two Liberty Loan campaigns, raising \$3,837,300 worth of bonds in the first and \$6,785,750 in the second. Now that every effort of the organization can be put to use for the work it is expected that the Third Liberty Bond drive among New York women will eclipse the records of the first two.

In Indiana

By April 18, Indiana women had raised a total of \$8,873,890 subscriptions in the Third Liberty Loan Drive, according to press reports.



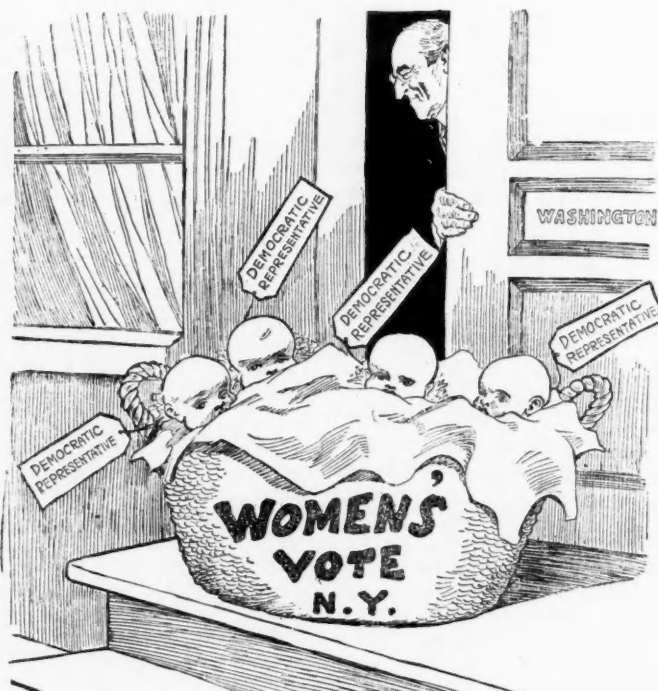
G'wan, Smile!

Chronicle, Marion, Indiana

'Cross Country with S



Hands as
Times, Boston



Welcome

Sid L. Reese in Evening Telegram, New York



Another Dark Alley to Go Through

Evening Telegram, Philadelphia, Pa.

with Suffrage Cartoonists



lands as the Sea
Times, London, D. C.



Blocked

Commercial Telegram, Memphis, Tenn.



Will They Let Her In?

De Mar in Philadelphia Record



A Spring Hat for Miss Texas

Morning News, Dallas, Texas

Indiana's Great Week

Different

By Alice Stone Blackwell

No Stop Word

LAST week's meeting of the National Executive Council at Indianapolis differed from all those that have gone before it. No other has been held under the shadow of such tremendous world events. Yet the council meeting illustrated afresh how perfectly suffrage work and war work can go hand in hand.

All hearts were with the mighty struggle in France. Mrs. Catt said she could hardly wait from hour to hour to know how the battle was going. Yet she carried through the work of the Council with her usual ability and efficiency, laying out a comprehensive plan of suffrage work for the whole United States, and providing for all contingencies with far-sighted statesmanship. Dr. Shaw not only attended the Council meetings and spoke inspiring words to the delegates, but found time to address several great audiences outside, moving them to enthusiasm and to tears. The same spirit was found among the rank and file.

The Council meeting did more than show that suffrage work and war work can go together. It deepened the conviction of the delegates that suffrage work is war work. "Have you been fighting again with the little boy next door?" a visitor once asked a young American. And he answered, "No, ma'am, it's the same old fight." The fight against Prussian militarism abroad is one in principle with the fight against unequal suffrage at home, and with all the good fights of all the ages.

Mrs. Catt said: "Some people went into the war gaily, to 'can the Kaiser.' We see now there is to be a demand upon us for greater sacrifices than we had yet dreamed. The outcome depends upon the stuff of which we are made. I am so much an American that I refuse to believe any Hohenzollern is going to rule over the world; and to my mind it would be just as impossible that the Federal Amendment should not pass.

"Ours is a nation that has lived for and by ideals. Our ideal was threatened, and so we are in the war. We are fighting for democracy; but democracy means votes. No country professing to fight for an ideal abroad and living a lie at home is ever going over the top. The slackers include every woman who says she wants a vote, but wants some other woman to pay for it and to do the work. Put in your best efforts now, and nation-wide suffrage will soon be an accomplished fact. Then put your biggest visions and your largest prayers into the ballot-box, where they may be counted!"

Over the Top

ONE of the interesting features of the National Executive Council meeting at Indianapolis was the report of the *Woman Citizen's* growth in circulation and advertising. The National Association has now had the paper for ten months. During February and March, 1918, the *Woman Citizen's* receipts from advertising were nearly treble what they were in June and July, 1917, and its receipts from subscriptions were nearly six times as great as they had been.

There has been a large and steady increase; but we must make it still greater, if the *Woman Citizen* is to come up to the full measure of use-

fulness that it ought to have, as the national organ. The paper has now attained a point where, if each of its present subscribers would get two more, the *Citizen* would sweep triumphantly "over the top." With that circulation it would command so much advertising as to be completely self supporting, and could carry its important message to those who need it, without anxiety about its financial foundation. Almost anyone can get two new subscribers if she really tries. If you cannot go about and ask people to take the paper, subscribe yourself for two friends or for two enemies, or for two persons of influence, who need to be converted. Do your bit to spread the good gospel of equal suffrage, which this tormented world needs now as never before!

Her Place Is at Home

MRS. HENRY PRESTON WHITE, of Massachusetts is in Oklahoma, campaigning against the pending equal suffrage amendment. She is making public addresses there to prove that a woman's place is at home. It is reported that she reads to her audiences choice selections from the *Anti-Suffrage Notes*, representing that the suffragists are free lovers, pro-Germans, and everything else that they ought not to be. It is further reported that these slanders make the Oklahoma women very indignant, but that some of the men are impressed.

Anti-Suffrage Notes is the most inaccurate of all the publications opposed to equal rights for women. Its editor lately listed Serbia, Hungary and Sweden, along with Australia, Great Britain and other enfranchised countries, although not one of the three has yet given women full suffrage. Its errors and flagrant misrepresentations have been too numerous to mention. And Mrs. White herself is noted in Massachusetts for her reckless inaccuracy. If the people in Oklahoma want to know whether equal suffrage will promote immorality, let them observe whether the vicious interests favor or oppose it. Those interests, without exception, are always lined up against votes for women.

As a War Measure

WE have got into the way of thinking that when a woman does one job extremely well, there is something else waiting for her just around the corner."

In these words Mrs. Richard Edwards, President of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana, described in a nut-shell the way in which one successful achievement brings upon the achiever the urgent call to undertake other tasks.

This has undoubtedly been one cause of the rapid spread of equal suffrage since the breaking out of the war. The splendid war work done by women has convinced a vast number of men that the women should be called upon to help their country also by taking a share of the responsibilities of government. So, in these days, instead of hearing the old argument that women should not vote because they do not fight, we see nation after nation enfranchising its women as a war measure.

TEXAS, the latest State to extend suffrage to women, was naturally the subject of much rejoicing at the recent meeting of the Executive Council of the National American Women Suffrage Association at Indianapolis. The Texas women present were showered with congratulations. Mrs. Pennybacker, in her address, told an amusing story, illustrating the swift advance of this movement in the South.

Two railroads ran through a certain small town. Being rival roads, they had built their stations as far apart as possible, and travelers often found it hard to get from one end of the town to the other in time to make connections. One day an ex-Confederate officer alighted at one station, with only a short time to get across to the other. He took the only conveyance in sight—a hack drawn by a team of aged horses, driven by a solemn old colored man. In spite of urging, their progress was slow.

"I'm afraid those are not very good horses," said the officer.

"Yes, sah, dose am fine hosses, sah. Dem horses did a lot of fighting in de war, sah."

"Oh, they are cavalry horses, are they? May I talk to them?"

"Yes, sah! Suttinly, sah!"

The officer rose in his seat and shouted, "Forward, march!" The horses started forward like the wind. After a little while, he cried, "Double quick!" and they flew still faster. They reached the station just as the train was coming in. The officer shouted, "Halt!" and the horses stood still.

The astonished driver was delighted to have learned so effective a way to make his horses go. The next day he had a load of several passengers, and he tried the magic words.

"Forward, march!" he cried, and the horses started forward. "Double quick!" and they went faster still. But when they came to the station, they dashed right past. After racking his memory in vain for the third command, the dismayed driver flung the door wide open and shouted, "Gentlemen, get out de best way you can. I done forgot de stop word!"

Our Ship Well Steered

AFTER hearing Mrs. Catt's full and detailed report of the Congressional situation, the members of the National Executive Council all felt thorough approval of the course that has been followed by the representatives of the National Association. Unquestionably, our ship has been and will be ably steered. Of the pilot of our Congressional work, Mrs. Catt said:

"Mrs. Park is certainly the most tactful person I have ever known. She has won the approval, good will and respect of all the Senators, no matter how they stand on suffrage."

Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Tennessee said every man in the House expressed perfect faith that whatever he said to Mrs. Park in confidence would never get out. Mrs. Catt said that even the doormen and other employees had been inspired with the same feeling of esteem. An elevator boy expressed the general sentiment when he said, as he gazed after Mrs. Park: "There goes one nice woman!"

The political situation has often been difficult; but our cause could not be in better hands.

Suffrage in Politics

To Strengthen Democracy at Home

THE Executive Council of the N. A. W. S. A. passed the following resolution at Indianapolis on April 19:

Whereas, America is fighting for the right of self-government for the people of Europe while one-half the people of America are denied that right, and

Whereas, the ideal of democracy can be defended with increased zeal abroad if it be given practical application at home, and

Whereas, the votes of the loyal women of America are needed as never before to sustain American ideals at the polls while our men fight for American ideals in the trenches, and

Whereas, country by country, all Europe is recognizing woman suffrage as a war measure fundamental to democracy, British women, Danish women, Icelandic women, Russian women, all having been enfranchised since the war began; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we women in executive council assembled call on the Senate of the United States to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment, to the end that America may be strengthened in the fight for democracy abroad by the added strength of her democracy at home. And be it further

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to each member of the Senate and to the President of the United States.

Their New Status

THE new political status of New York women is emphasized in the call to the county conventions issued by Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Acting Chairman of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party. Calling attention to the fact that previous conventions, when the women have been laying plans for their political enfranchisement, have had great significance, the call states, "for the first time their conventions will be civic gatherings of responsible, empowered women voters. For the first time their woman's hope and ideal, their woman's high sense of human responsibility, will become a potent actualizing force in their communities."

"They will meet with a glad sense of a great reform accomplished. No one yet realizes the full possibilities of the woman's vote, but there have been some forecasts in that direction, enough to give the women that political zest which will lend to the convention a tone that no suffrage convention, however earnest and purposeful, has ever had."

"The emphasis in our conventions this year is not to be upon converting, but upon education—not upon winning votes for a cause, but upon preparing women voters for all great causes. It is a happy shift of effort—from the comparatively unproductive struggle for a chance to serve to the inspiring determination to equip ourselves to serve in the best way."

Political Justice

KNOXVILLE, TENN., is showing signs of impatience over the delayed vote in the Senate on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Prominent residents of that city have petitioned the Senate to pass the Amendment

now. The petition was read into the Congressional Record by Senator Shields.

"Be it resolved, That we, citizens of Knoxville, in meeting assembled at Knoxville, Tenn., this 13th day of April, 1918, congratulate Senator McKellar on his progressive stand on the Federal Suffrage Amendment and urge Senator Shields to work and vote for this measure granting political liberty to 20,000,000 American women at a time when they are called upon to serve and suffer in a war for democracy abroad, and be it further

"Resolved, That we call upon the United States Senate for the immediate passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, that political justice may be done to the women of this Nation."

In Favor in South Carolina

THE South Carolina Equal Suffrage League is taking up the food conservation and food production campaign with vigor. At the meeting of the Executive Board of the League, held at Columbia, March 27, extensive plans were laid for this work. Mrs. Harriet P. Lynch, state president, reports the appointment of Mrs. W. E. Taylor, of Lancaster, as chairman of the Committee on Food Production, and Mrs. W. G. Peterkin, as chairman of Food Conservation. The press speaks of Mrs. Taylor as a "wide-awake practical farmer-ess" and much is expected from both these chairmen. South Carolina is also planning a campaign on behalf of the Women's Oversea Hospitals.

In the meantime the work in behalf of the Federal Amendment is continuing. All of the candidates for mayor of the city of Columbia announced themselves as in favor of the Federal Amendment. The suffragists of South Carolina refer to the "all men's suffrage committee" of Missouri and ask, "When will South Carolina have such a committee?" In answer they say, "Our 'States Righters' will sit quietly by and do nothing to help the women get the vote through the state and will blame the women when they get it by Federal Amendment."

One of the very energetic branches of the State League is the Aiken League, and the report of its year's work, as given by the president, Mrs. Julian Salley, shows a large amount of work accomplished. The Aiken suffragists celebrated their first anniversary in January by having the first suffrage parade held in South Carolina. Suffrage work was pushed with energy during the year, and in addition the League found time to go in for war gardens, giving special attention to the raising of medicinal herbs, and to establish a municipal market which was kept open throughout the summer. Tables were placed outside the Rest Room, and the farmers brought their produce and sold it there. Canning was done and some 1,500 quarts of fruits and vegetables were saved in this way.

Classes in elementary hygiene and care of the sick in the home were carried on with success.

Since November the Rest Room has been open every Sunday for the soldiers from Camp Hancock, and lunches and gifts were given each drafted man by the league members, the last three times the drafted men have been sent.

A Banner Convention

(Continued from page 428)

particularly impressive was Miss Helen C. Benbridge, chairman of organization; Mrs. Grace Julian Clark, of the State Publicity Committee; Mrs. Lewis J. Cox, chairman of the State Congressional Committee, and Mrs. Jesse Fremont Croan, State Circulation Chairman of the *Woman Citizen*. Miss Adah Bush and Miss Mary Gallahan, press chairman, with Miss Benbridge, are responsible for a press program that reflects great credit upon the League.

The public and social events of the convention were as huge successes as the workaday part. At the public meeting on the evening of April 17, Dr. Shaw held the great audience in the convention hall in the usual frankly spell-bound attention with which she is wont to grip an audience. Mayor Jewett, the mayor of Indianapolis, extended a welcome at this meeting that made a happy prelude to an excellent suffrage speech. He didn't look old enough to be the mayor of even a little city, but there he is, the mayor of the significant city of Indianapolis, and if he is as good a mayor as he is a suffrage speaker, Indianapolis is in luck.

Wednesday night's banquet drew a large and enthusiastic assemblage to the Riley Room. Mrs. Catt's speech topped a remarkable program of forensic talent which included Mrs. Edwards, as toastmistress; Florence Allen, of Ohio, in a notable speech that brought prolonged applause; Miss Hay, who sent back some rounds of hot shot from the suffrage firing line; Mrs. Dudley, whose southern wit and grace filled the gap where Maud Wood Park was expected to be; Miss Blackwell, before whom the audience rose as one; Mrs. Pennybacker, who used her inimitable gifts as a *raconteuse* by way of introducing Mrs. Cunningham, the Texas woman who has just carried suffrage over the top in Texas and who told about it with droll and delectable simplicity, and Mrs. Laidlaw, who stirred her audience deeply.

The officers elected by the League for the ensuing year are: Mrs. Edwards, president; Miss Adah Bush, Kentland, first vice-president; Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, Indianapolis, second vice-president; Mrs. A. H. Beardsley, Elkhart, third vice-president; Miss Helen Benbridge, Terre Haute, fourth vice-president; Mrs. Charles J. Bill, Muncie, fifth vice-president; Mrs. J. S. Morrison, Lafayette, recording secretary, and Miss Sara Lauter, Indianapolis, treasurer. It is expected that Peru will be selected as state headquarters, although an Indianapolis headquarters will be maintained during legislative sessions.

Mississippi's New Roster

THE Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association elected the following officers at the state convention which met at Jackson the first week in April: President, Mrs. B. H. Trotter, Winona; first vice-president, Miss Mattie Thornton, Meridian; second vice-president, Mrs. Charles Thompson, Jackson; recording secretary, Miss Nannie Rice, Starkville; corresponding secretary, Miss Virginia Redditt Price, Carrollton; treasurer, Miss Margaret Hodges, Meridian.

Jean Brooks Greenleaf

By Harriet May Mills

NEWs of the death of Mrs. Jean Brooks Greenleaf of Rochester, at the ripe age of 86 years, awakened many memories of the earlier days of suffrage agitation. To those who had the privilege of working with this wonderful woman when she was president of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association, those memories are very dear. She was one of the great souls of earth, strong, able, courageous, generous, gifted.

She was born at Bernardston, Mass., Oct. 1, 1831. Her father was an eminent physician and her mother a cultivated, charming woman. At 21 Jean Brooks married Halbert Stevens Greenleaf and lived at Shelburne Falls until the breaking out of the Civil War. Mr. Greenleaf enlisted and was chosen colonel of the 52d Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers. While he was in Louisiana Mrs. Greenleaf was near him and gave her time to helping the soldiers in the hospitals. She was always a most ardent champion of the rights of the colored people.

In 1867 the Greenleafs removed from Louisiana to Rochester where they passed the remainder of their lives. Here the closest bonds of friendship were formed with the Anthony sisters and all other workers for human freedom. Among these one of the nearest was Mary Thayer, who later became Mrs. Mary Thayer Sanford and served for many years as recording secretary of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association.

The Greenleaf home at once became a centre of hospitality where the warmest welcome was always extended by host and hostess to all guests. It was a charming table at which Mrs. Greenleaf presided with her interesting talk on all topics. During Mr. Greenleaf's term in Congress, her Washington home became another such centre where reformers, litterateurs and artists loved to gather.

AFTER serving two years as president of the local Political Equality Club, Mrs. Greenleaf aided in arranging for the holding of the state suffrage convention at Rochester in 1890. It was then that the public work for our cause began. Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake, who had been president of the state suffrage society for a number of years, wished to retire. The choice for her successor fell upon Mrs. Greenleaf. She had long been hampered by extreme frailness of body and was reluctant to assume such responsibilities. She consulted her husband, who was in perfect sympathy with her in her advocacy of woman suffrage, as in everything else. He had introduced a federal suffrage bill in Congress during his term and was ready with purse and influence to further the cause at all times. He said to his wife, "Why shouldn't you take office since it gives you a fuller opportunity to advance the cause in which you so ardently believe?" But it was sheer force of will and a great spirit that enabled her, in spite of lack of physical strength, to lead our forces in the state so ably for five years. She first turned her attention to systematic organization and increased the membership of the association many times over, from a few hundreds to thousands, by the formation of local and county clubs. She spoke admirably herself, having a rare command of English and a

forceful persuasiveness which never failed to make a profound impression upon her hearers. She had a noble presence, great dignity and gentleness of manner.

FORTUNATE was New York state in possessing such a leader through the Constitutional Convention campaign of 1894. An amusing incident of the election of the delegates to that convention was that the Democrats of Rochester nominated both Mr. and Mrs. Greenleaf. At first Mrs. Greenleaf thought that her husband would be elected and that there was no chance for her. Then later it looked as if she alone would be chosen and the thought of being at Albany without her husband was quite alarming to her. She loved to narrate her experiences and the excitements of the campaign after it was ended and Republicans only were elected to seats in the Convention. From the Anthony home as headquarters during that winter and spring of 1894, two day meetings were planned in every county of the state with Miss Anthony and Dr. Shaw as the chief speakers. When funds were needed, Mrs. Greenleaf went out among her friends in Rochester and secured the money required to go on with the work. After the meetings were over, we opened headquarters in the State Capital. All through that hot summer, from May until August, when the vote was taken in the Convention on our amendment, Mrs. Greenleaf was present. Those of us who were with her through those trying days learned the power of her great personality and her unflinching faith in the final victory of right and justice which gave her a sublime optimism at all times. One persistent anti-suffrage member of the Convention said to me: "We are not converted to suffrage for women, but I do not believe there is a man in this Convention who is not converted to Mrs. Greenleaf." Many hearings were held over which Mrs. Greenleaf presided with a dignity and charm which won every one's admiration. It was the beginning of the anti-suffrage activity in the state. Albany was the stronghold of this reactionary movement. But who remembers now its leader, Mrs. J. V. L. Pruyn? With Bishop Doane she used every possible means to attack us and to defeat the amendment. Much of the wealth of the city, the press and many of the churchmen were then arrayed against us. Elihu Root, the leader of the Convention on the floor, used his political power to defeat the amendment. In spite of all this opposition, Mrs. Greenleaf went on serenely and fought such a good fight that the vote of the Convention was sufficient to surprise and alarm the anti-suffragists.

The final victory in New York state owes an inestimable debt to Jean Brooks Greenleaf and the splendid battle against injustice and prejudice which she carried on all over the state for five years. When her husband's failing health forced her retirement, her keen interest and sympathy kept her in close touch with all the work of the succeeding years. We had hoped she might live to exercise the citizenship she had worked so valiantly to win. It was not to be. We may say with Browning, "Through such souls God, stooping, gives sufficient of His light for us to rise by."

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From Representative Blanton

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

Usually I can say "Amen" to everything found in your admirable magazine. But I must dissent from the position take by Miss Blackwell in her article entitled "That Zone System," wherein she states that its inevitable result will limit most people's reading to the local papers, is expected to kill all of the papers of national circulation except a few, will put most reform papers out of business, and that all distant subscribers who are not rich will be forced to discontinue their reading matter.

With this her belief, I cannot condemn her for thus writing. But Miss Blackwell probably has not had the same opportunity to study this question as was afforded our able Ways and Means Committee which framed this legislation. Has she considered that our Government has carried publications through the mails each year at an actual loss of \$90,000,000, necessitating the raising of \$4 from every family of five members, each year, to cover this loss? It is admitted that if publications paid the cost of their carriage through the mails, we could easily go to a one-cent basis for first-class letter mail and have a surplus left over every year. While the publisher received \$450,000 for the advertisements in the May, 1917, number of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, it cost our Government \$20,000 more to circulate that one issue than it received; and while one weekly issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* brings to the publisher \$310,000, yet the Government on that issue sustains an actual loss of \$15,000 each week, and the Government sustains an actual loss of \$4,000,000 each year for carrying through the mails the publications of the Curtis Publishing Company alone. During the last fiscal year the Government lost \$1,516,388 in carrying *Collier's Weekly*, \$451,044 in carrying the *New York Times*, and actually paid to the railroads \$80,000 more than it received for hauling the *Outlook*. No wonder they are howling, when some of this subsidy has been taken from them. This loss has been paid by the people, who have been taxed in order that rich publishers may become multi-millionaires.

I want to assure Miss Blackwell that the people will continue to have plenty of reading matter, that no publication worth while will discontinue, but that dividends will decrease some, and even if there is an increase in subscription price, the people will pay it and then save money, for such increases will hardly amount to as much as \$4 per family.

THOMAS L. BLANTON.

House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

A Plainswoman's Testimony

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

When I read today in the *Woman Citizen* of the girl with the hoe carrying her own lunch and at noontide eating it in the shade of a stone wall, I thought of a South Dakota ranch woman who last week ate hers in the shade of a hay stack in an Indian pasture on the Pine Ridge reservation, while she watched the cattle which, owing to a three days' snow storm, she had helped to drive across the Cheyenne river to the reservation in order

that they might be fed the hay which, on account of the soft roads, could not be hauled to the ranch.

The picture in the *Citizen* of the girl driving three horses, reminded us of a four-horse team on a disk driven by a woman, last summer. This is easy. The only farm or ranch work women don't do in Custer County is pitching hay and loading and feeding it out in the winter, and even this we have done in a pinch.

Many times last summer while in the alfalfa field, it was in my mind to write the *Citizen* of the experiences, as an encouragement to prospective women farm workers, from one whom circumstances have thrown at times, for a number of years, into many kinds of ranch work. We have a kodak view which was snapped by a mischievous sister while the writer was milking a broncho cow whose calf was getting too much milk for its good. We have dabbled a little in dairying because of the irresistible example of the new settlers, but the old-time ranchers cannot yet feel pride in this milking business and feeding calves skim milk, though the closing up of the ranges, due to the homestead entries, is cutting down the size of herds and forcing to a growing extent, small diversified farming, notwithstanding the special adaptability of this section to grazing.

The things I ruminated on last summer for an article! How I wish I could recall them. I do remember that while we were feeling so buoyantly free and wonderfully useful riding a mower, a rake, a sweep, we did like to have a man around to tinker with the harnesses and feel sorry because there was no pie for dinner. Of course, there couldn't be, with the women folks in the hay field.

The overalls—well we've had to do out door work for so long—and so many masculine things—that we just can't come to the overalls. Oh, my brother's wife has the garden suits—she whose tastes are strictly feminine—but those of us who jump into a saddle on quick notice without getting into a habit, are still splitting and mending our skirts. Each spring we go to the store and look at the overalls and these wonderful new things for the outdoor women—and then go and buy the dresses like we used to.

We like to listen to and join in the cattle talk, the chat about the alfalfa seed crop, the branding, the price of beef, if you please, and all this interesting stuff, but we can't come to the overalls. Maybe we will next year.

But this is to say any girl who can drive a team—and if she can't she can learn—can mow, rake, sweep, and drive a team on the stacker as well and as easy as a man.

One fall and winter we helped load and haul and saw the wood and fix fences. And there is always the riding—looking out for the cattle, I think the jolliest kind of work for women. But we still do like to have a man around to do the branding—and to tinker with the harnesses.

Bower, S. D.

ROSE BOWER.

"Where is the best place to keep milk perfectly nice and fresh during a hot summer day?" asked the domestic science teacher.

And one girl promptly answered: "Please, teacher, in the cow."

"Liberty Land"

"Liberty Land," at the Sixty-ninth Regiment Armory, Lexington Avenue and Twenty-fifth Street, New York, should not be missed by any one interested in the war or the progress of the Third Liberty Loan. The largest number of war relics in the country are on exhibition there. These were prepared under the auspices of the French and British Governments, and sent to this country to the Liberty Loan Committee for the express purpose of arousing the enthusiasm and interest of the people for the coming bond issue. Admission is free. Among the war relics are German aeroplanes, the remains of a destroyed Zeppelin, trench mortars, French "seventy-fives," barbed wire entanglements and a thousand and one other implements of warfare as it is today on the plains of Flanders and France. The exhibition will last for the period of the Liberty Loan. It is open from 11 a. m. to 11 p. m. on week days. Admission free.

Governor Lowden, Guest of Illinois Women's Club

THE Illinois Women's Athletic Club of Chicago, "organized for women, by women," has increased so rapidly in strength and numbers that plans are now under way for a club which will rival any athletic club home in the country. At the Founders' Dinner, held recently at the Hotel LaSalle, the club pointed with pride not only to its growth but to the broad democratic lines upon which it is founded. The Founder Membership list, representing some 125 women, includes women active in civic, suffrage and state affairs, home women, teachers, artists, musicians, lawyers, physicians, authors, advertising women, buyers, stenographers, managers and proprietors of various lines of business.

Governor Lowden was the principal speaker at the Founders' Dinner, Mrs. Lowden being one of the honorary members. The Honorary membership includes also Mrs. Edward F. Dunne, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, Miss Mary M. Bartleme, Miss Florence King, and Mrs. Harriett Stokes Thompson. Mrs. William Severin is president of the club, Mrs. Howard Gould of New York, vice-president-at-large, Mrs. Samuel S. Hutchinson and Mrs. Leona H. Krag (Jean Prescott Adams), vice-presidents, and Miss Mary E. Luce, secretary.

The Legion of Death

By Caroline Kettle

*Lo, women stand in Odin's hall,
Fresh from a glorious death;
Loud the triumphant Valkyr-call*

*Thru dim space wandereth,
Shades loved of Odin press small hands,
Cold-damp with battle's breath;
Small hands all eager with their joy—
To give their all to Death.*

*Pro Patria! For them the call
Meant more than life could mean;
Now stand they white in Odin's hall,
Holy and white and clean.*

*Lo, women throng Valhalla's hall,
High keens the Song of Death,
Shrill the triumphant Valkyr-call
Thru dim space wandereth!*

Your Vote in the County

By Mary Sumner Boyd

THE county is the only unit of local government which is common to all states. In New England the perfecting of the early towns left little room for villages, which are the development of a later period; in the Middle West, which was settled later, the village is the type, the township either unknown or exceedingly insignificant. In the agricultural South there are no, or few, villages and the county is the important local unit; in New England town dominates county, but for all that the county is a universal unit.

There are in the United States almost 3,000 counties ("parishes" in Louisiana) covering the entire area of all states, each state adopting its own standards of number and size. Delaware has three, the minimum number, and Texas the maximum, 248. Though all cities must perforce be in counties, yet five-sixths of the county area of the United States is rural, a unit wide in area and thinly populated.

The area of individual counties ranges from Bristol County, Rhode Island, 25 miles, to Custer County, Montana, 20,490 miles, the average being somewhere about 600 miles; population runs from half a dozen souls in Brown County, Texas, to between two and three millions in New York County, the average about 200,000.

THE county's functions are few, for when people live far apart they neither need nor are able to undertake many collective activities. The number of the county's functions depends in part on the degree of development of the smaller local units in a particular state and this in its turn depends on density of population. "Everywhere and above all," says an authority on local government, "the county is a district for the administration of justice." The county seat is the place where the jail and court house are and the greater number of county officials are connected with justice. In most states county functions cover also taxation and finance; in all but New England, roads; in many the county has some educational and charitable functions; in many it has the conduct of elections.

These functions, or such of them as the county performs in a particular state, are carried out by a county board with legislative powers and certain administrative officials.

Los Angeles County (California), which has commission government, alone in the United States has departed from the traditional forms of county government.

COUNTY boards are of two kinds; Boards of Supervisors, one elected from each town, for a period of two years in most states, are characteristic of those states where town government is important; Boards of Commissioners, generally three or five, elected at large, are characteristic of the states where the smaller units are unimportant. Rhode Island, a state of the New England group in which the town has rendered county government unimportant, has no county board. Georgia has no board, strictly speaking, and in Virginia the Justices of the Peace serve as a county board.

There is in the county no direct democracy,

no general meeting of the voters for direct supervision of county affairs; the voters have no part except to elect, at the fall general elections—or, in some states, in odd years to avoid state elections—the county officials and the board representing the voters for legislative purposes. As a legislative body the supervisor-board is perhaps the more representative form of government, but the commissioner-board, elected at large, not by units but by count of heads, is the more democratic. This method prevents such conditions as exist in New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Maine and Rhode Island where the towns of ancient establishment are veritable "rotten boros," having a representation on the Board of Supervisors with no relation to their population while newer places with greater population have little or no representation.

IN other states also centers of population are not infrequently under-represented on the supervisor-board. Thus Buffalo, embracing 80 per cent of the population of Erie County, elects only 50 per cent of the supervisors.

Of possible county officials there are a score, some characteristic of one state, some of another, a few appointive but the vast majority elective, serving terms of from 2 to 12 years, the latter in the case of some judges. Maine has the smallest number, nine officials, all elective.

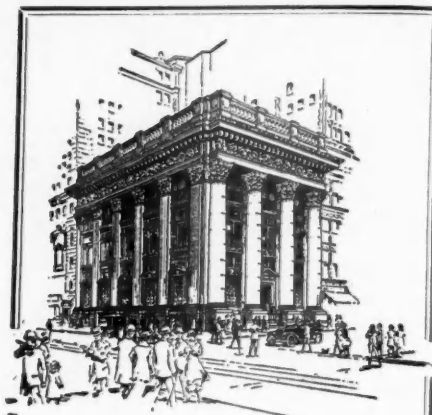
J. A. Fairlie in his book on Local Government lists 17 officials who are found commonly in county governments. Eight of these are connected with the administration of justice—thus bearing out the statement already made that justice is the main function of the county and the function common to all states. In 12 states the county judge is not elected by the county but appointed by State Legislature or Governor. Three county officials are connected with taxation and finance, one with roads (surveyor), one with schools and one with health.

AS New York is typical of the states where a county government is fairly important a list of New York County officers with data concerning them will give an idea of how the average county is governed in a populous state where all local governmental units are well developed.

The legislative body is a Board of Supervisors elected for two years, one from each township. Their work covers levying taxes, appropriating money, fixing salaries, preparing grand jury lists, care of county property, districting for school purposes, appointing superintendent of highways and canvassing election returns. As these functions involve a great deal of labor in a state like New York, the various activities are assigned to committees. The members of the county board are also town supervisors. They receive a salary for each function, \$2 a day when working for the town, and \$2 extra when serving on the county board, which meets a certain number of days each month. This small salary is supplemented by fees.

(Continued on page 437)

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THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confering upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays 136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.

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made of high-grade materials in the latest models; all sizes in the assortments

Your Vote in the County

(Continued from page 436)

Administrative officials are:

Office.	No.	Term.	Pay.	Elected or Appointed.
Sheriff (Chief Executive)....	1	3 yrs.	Sal & fees.	Elected.
Treasurer	1	3 yrs.	Sal. & p.c.	Elected.
Co. Clerk (also clerk of court). 1		3 yrs.	Sal. & p.c.	Elected.
Supt. of Poor.....	1-3	3 yrs.	Salary.	Elected or appointed.
Supt. of Highways.....	1	4 yrs.	Salary.	Appointed.
Dist. Supt. of Schools.....	1-8	5 yrs.	Salary.	Elec. by local school directors.
Dist. Attorney.....	1	3 yrs.	Salary.	Elected.
Judge	1	6 yrs.	Salary.	Elected.
Surrogate (some Cos.).....	1	6 yrs.	Salary.	Elected.
Coroners	4	3 yrs.	Sal. or fees.	Elected.

Six out of the above executive offices are connected with the administration of justice. The salary of most officials is no greater than that of the supervisors.

Wyoming is at the opposite extreme from New York. It is a rural state, thinly populated. Of villages it has none, and though the town government has some of the officials ordinarily characteristic of the village, these officials are few and their functions very limited. The county is the important local unit in this state. Here the legislative body is a board of three Commissioners elected at large, two serving two years, and one four years. Their functions are to apportion and levy taxes, manage the business of the county, keep up its buildings, make and keep in repair roads and bridges, to establish election precincts and have full superintendence of the poor. They receive a small

annual salary (\$200.00), and a per diem of \$5.00 for days of actual work.

Administrative officials of Wyoming County all serve two years. They are sheriff, county attorney, coroner, constables, court clerk—five offices connected with justice—and treasurer, surveyor, county clerk, superintendent of schools and assessor—five officials not connected with justice. All these officials receive fixed salaries, in most cases \$1,200 a year, the sheriff receiving fees in addition.

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Who Started Primary Suffrage?

TEXAS Primary Suffrage Bill and the recent entrance of practically 1,000,000 women into the suffrage column have brought out many requests for further information on the initiation of the seemingly novel idea of giving women primary suffrage. Mrs. Helen Moore, first vice-president of the Texas Suffrage Association, gives the following information about it:

"In the winter of 1916-17, Judge W. E. Hodges, Associate Justice of the Court of Civil Appeals of Texarkana, Texas, wrote to Hon. O. S. Lattimore, State Senator from Fort Worth, saying that he believed a law granting women the right to vote in the primaries would be constitutional and that he would like to see the matter taken up. Senator Lattimore investigated the matter and satisfied himself it would be constitutional and so prepared a bill with primary suffrage for women as its object. The bill was introduced into the regular session of the legislature in January, 1917.

"A favorable report was secured on the bill from the committee to which it was referred. Senator Hudspeth, the leading anti-suffragist in the senate moved to recommit it, and it was re-committed, with the result that the bill was brought out of committee with an unfavorable majority report, but with a favorable minority. It was refused consideration.

"The women never for a moment gave up the primary suffrage idea. They determined to try for the passage of the bill at the very next session when action would be possible. At a special session of the legislature called in the summer of 1917 to impeach the governor, no other legislation was considered. Feeling sure that a special session would be called in the winter of 1917-18, Judge Ocie Speer, of Fort Worth, was asked to draft the bill for us, which he did and rendered an able opinion on its constitutionality. The bill, before passage, was changed considerably and so many amendments were added that when it was finally passed, we hardly recognized it. But now we are voters and will endeavor to make the greatest possible showing at the primaries in July."

In regard to the Arkansas Primary Suffrage Bill, Mrs. Moore says, "Senator Lattimore states that Senator Riggs of Arkansas wired him for a copy of his original bill, which was sent and later introduced into the Arkansas legislature and passed."

According to the table of suffrage events the Primary Suffrage Bill in Texas was reported out of committee on January 31, 1917, with a favorable majority. It then died on the senate calendar. The bill passed through its several stages until it became a law, March 26, 1918, upon Governor Hobby's signature. The same calendar of events shows the Primary Suffrage Bill to have passed the House of the Arkansas legislature on February 15, 1917. It was then passed by the senate, and on March 6, 1917, received the signature of Governor Brough.

Credit Given

Credit for the picture of Mrs. John Blair in last week's issue of the Woman Citizen is due the White Photo Co.

WILD PHRASES YOU HAVE MET—TAMED

Have You a Little Liberty Bond in Your Home?

No Metal Can Touch It.

Eventually—Why Not Now?

There's a Reason.

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Go after the Kaiser.

Buy Liberty Bonds.

Cooking Under Water

IT is intensely cold down close to the bottom of the ocean and the sort of sub-cellar submerged cooking that you have to do on a submarine has some other disadvantages. Still, cooking under water isn't so bad, according to Mrs. M. A. Wilson of Philadelphia, who trains cooks for the United States Navy.

Enlisted men are Mrs. Wilson's students and pupils and she conducts some of her cooking classes on board battleships and submarines. She tells of being 39½ hours under water on a submarine.

"Electric stoves are used," she says, "but food which requires a high temperature must be cooked before the submarine is submerged."

She began with a class of 50 men. Today she has 1,000 men under training.

"I have spent days taking oil ranges apart to find out why the men could not make them work, finally discovering that it was because they had kept the flames too high. The work done has conformed entirely to navy requirements. One must find the amount of food named in the regulations to serve at a cost of 45 cents a day.

"The cooking course lasts five weeks, every day from 5:30 a. m. to 7 p. m. Every man must know how to make bread and under very different conditions from those on land. The variation in temperature is great and the water used must come from the ocean.

"The boys are enthusiastic about their work and I don't believe I have ever seen a finer class of men. We have doctors, lawyers, clerks—all professions and trades are represented. There have been practically no failures.

"In Boston 225 men were turned over to me to train as commissary stewards. I did not know what was required of such an officer. I went to Cape Henlopen to find out what a commissary steward was supposed to do. Then I immediately put these 225 men into white suits such as navy cooks wear and put them into the kitchen to learn how to cook as the foundation for their work."

Garment Trade Women to Help Hospitals

WOMEN prominent in the garment making professions have started a plan to support their own unit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A. About thirty-five leading women were called together by Miss Bertha Bernstein of the *Dry Goods Economist* and, launched their enterprise at a banquet held in the Woman's City Club about ten days ago. Miss Bernstein was unanimously elected chairman of the organization, Miss Mirima Rothschild of *Women's Wear*, secretary, and Miss J. Wise, of Wise and Co., treasurer. There are to be no paid officers. Women of the various trade newspapers will take care of the publicity and clerical work, and will work in connection with the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which is backing the hospitals. Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, chairman of the National's Executive Committee for the Hospitals, was the guest of honor at the dinner, and explained to the women present the work of the units now in active service.

Some of the most important women buyers are co-operating in the plan to sustain this separate unit as the special war baby of the garment workers. Buyers from Best and Co., Lord and Taylor, Wanamaker, Bonwit Teller and Co., were among those at the City Club dinner. Among the women of the manufacturing end of the garment-making trades present were Miss Wise, Mrs. Max Cohen, Miss Silver, Mrs. Steinthal, Miss Piedmont, Miss Grannis, Mrs. Bustanoby and Mrs. Smolin.

In addition to the two trade journals in which the chairman and secretary of the new enterprise are interested, the *American Coat and Suit Review* was represented by Miss Hoyt, Mrs. Fayes and Miss Levy; and *Nugent's Bulletin* by Mrs. Robert.

This is a strong industrial group in which there are many high-salaried women. They are accustomed to important business transactions and to the handling of large funds. They feel in every way competent to sustain their share of an important enterprise like this, and are proud of the fact that the hospitals are staffed entirely by women.

On April 23 they held a second meeting at which many more women manufacturers and buyers were present. Among the new firms represented were Gimbel's and Stern Bros.

The Alien in Equal Suffrage States

EQUAL suffrage states have been first to take up the problem of the alien voting on first papers. Oregon recognized the problem long before the war. The first Legislature which women had a part in electing, that of 1913, passed a bill disfranchising voters on first papers, which was passed on referendum to the people by a three to one vote.

Kansas, first among the states, recognized the alien as a war problem. Shortly after war was declared in 1917, its Legislature passed a resolution to amend the suffrage clause so that none but citizens could vote. This amendment striking out "first paper voters" in favor of "every citizen" will be voted on by the people next November.

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On the War

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THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL POLITICAL WEEKLY



WIN-THE-WAR WOMEN

The Nurse

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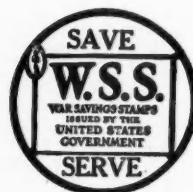
Serve Your Cause

and

Serve

Your

Country



CONTINUING the *Woman's Journal*, founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, as a weekly newspaper devoted to winning equal rights and especially to winning equal suffrage for women, and published weekly in Boston, Massachusetts, from 1870 to 1917. Continuing also the *Woman Voter*, and the *National Suffrage News*. In succeeding the *National Suffrage News*, The *Woman Citizen* became the official organ of the *National American Woman Suffrage Association*, and as such tries to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

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VOL. II

May 4, 1918

No. 23

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman's suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Florence E. Bate is the business manager.

Where Is Your State?

ALL the poetry we ever knew about swans and swan-songs was written in an enemy-alien tongue and is therefore banned by the censor. Despite the poets, we have always been sceptical of the beauty of the mythical swan-song but never of its wealth of plaintive emotional appeal. Of this latter element you should find an abundance in the swan-song we are about to perpetrate. For this is positively our last appearance as campaign manager for the *Woman Citizen's* subscription drive and next week will see the work in the capable hands of Rose Lawless Geyer. This then is our song.

Years ago Susan B. Anthony said: "Woman must take to her soul a purpose and then make circumstances conform to this purpose, instead of forever singing the refrain, 'if and if and if.'" It is especially easy just at this time to drop into that refrain. We could do so much more for the *Woman Citizen*, you say, if it were not for the war and if we had not done so much for the Third Liberty Loan, and if the great Red Cross Drive were not just starting. But we say to you that not only has the war brought the need for thrift and economy home to the people of America with a tremendous force, but the Liberty Loans and the Red Cross drives, the appeals for Polish and Serbian and Belgian relief, have developed in these same Americans a habit of unlimited generosity.

Presently the Red Cross drive will be on, and with it a drive for subscriptions to the Red Cross magazine. Hundreds of thousands, indeed we hope millions of new readers will be the result. And what of the *Woman Citizen*? Is there no room for it also? Must one good cause suffer that another may succeed? Or have not American women already proved that no good cause need suffer while they possess the strength and determination to make it succeed?

Speaking of the Indianapolis meeting of the National Executive Council the *Woman Citizen's* editor recently wrote: "In all their counseling the war stood out foremost. It filled their minds. It thrilled their hearts. It informed all discussion. You could not listen to them without realizing the coherency of their purpose and intention.

And never for a moment did they visualize suffrage work as anything but war work!"

This is our parting appeal. Work for the *Woman Citizen* is concentrated suffrage work, and suffrage work is war work. Emphasize this point in conducting your campaign for new subscribers and you will find it unnecessary to drop into the refrain of "if and if and if."

Katharine Gay,
National Circulation Chairman.

STATE

State Circulation Chairmen

Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane of New Orleans

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North Dakota: Mrs. Katherine L. Brainerd of Hebron

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium

FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

April 20th

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. New Jersey
4. Minnesota
5. Iowa
6. Indiana
7. Michigan
8. Ohio
9. New York
10. Alabama
11. New Hampshire
12. Wisconsin
13. Massachusetts
14. Virginia
15. Maine
16. Louisiana
17. Pennsylvania
18. Maryland
19. Texas, Connecticut
20. Kentucky
21. Rhode Island, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Dakota
22. Nebraska
23. Washington
24. Vermont, Tennessee

April 27th

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Indiana
4. New Jersey
5. Minnesota
6. Iowa
7. Michigan
8. Ohio
9. New York
10. Alabama
11. Wisconsin, New Hampshire
12. Massachusetts
13. Virginia
14. Maine
15. Louisiana
16. Pennsylvania
17. Maryland
18. Texas, Connecticut
19. Kentucky
20. Rhode Island, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Dakota
21. Nebraska
22. Washington
23. Vermont, Tennessee

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WHEATLESS

SATURDAY ONE MEAL
WHEATLESS

WEDNESDAY ALL MEALS
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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

May 4, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Two Letters and Sundry Senators

SOMBRE as is the spirit of the times, we present below a letter from a prominent opponent of woman suffrage, confident that to read it will be to add a little to the gaiety of nations. The naïveté of the assurance that a public statement from an anti-suffrage source could have any possible effect upon the suffragists' program will go rippling down the aisles of time to the tune of motherly laughter. The letter follows:

Washington, D. C., April 16th, 1918.

My dear Senator ———:

You probably have noticed, in the same issue of the *Evening Star* which carried the announcement of the death of Senator Stone, and in the same column with an account of the death of other Senators, there was an article entitled "Suffrage Resolution to be Pushed in Senate—Deaths of Two Senators Give Majority to Backers of Anthony Amendment." The article says:

"It probably will be impossible for their successors to be appointed and take their seats for several days. In the meantime the women suffragists may take advantage of the situation."

During my life time I have seen a good deal and heard more of politics. I have known cases of party retaliation, withdrawal of patronage, the passage of legislation by the victorious party to which the defeated party was opposed, but so far as my experience goes, it has been left to a political organization of women to advertise that they would "take advantage" of the deaths of several Senators to "push" their resolution while it is "impossible for their successors to be appointed and take their seats." This article must have been prepared by the suffrage publicity bureau as soon as it learned of Senator Stone's death, as the *Evening Star* goes to press at 12.30 P. M.

But it was not enough for them to exhibit their shameless desire to "take advantage" of the death of two Senators. They actually framed a "fake" story as well by including Senator Stone as "reckoned among the opponents of the amendment." Senator Stone had repeatedly declared to us, and presumably to them, that he would vote FOR the amendment.

The actual situation is this:

There are, since the death of Senator Broussard, 33 Senators who are either definitely pledged or who have publicly indicated that they will vote against the suffrage amendment. We have had the pledges of a number of these Senators for some time. We have kept them in confidence to save them annoyance from the suffragists. This poll does not include the men who are regarded as "doubtful," who may vote either way.

Consequently, unless the suffragists can persuade or stampede some of the anti-amendment Senators to *desert* their principles and convictions, the measure cannot be carried. This is the object of their present campaign.

By every means in their power they have tried to indicate that they *already* have enough votes to carry the measure. This is designed to "frighten" some of the anti-amendment Senators into surrendering. It has been practiced now for eight weeks, during which the suffragists have repeatedly stated that they "have enough votes," but at the same time they have not allowed the measure to come up.

Another "frightfulness" method by which suffragists are trying to make them desert their principles is by circulating the story that "at the proper time the President will put the screws on several Democratic Senators." We use their exact words.

Therefore, we are asking our friends who are not pledged, now that the margin is getting close, to put themselves on record against the amendment, knowing that if there is *no desertion* we *cannot lose*.

Will you not allow us to include you, Senator ———, among those definitely pledged against this amendment? Your statement, like the others we have hitherto received, will be kept in strict confidence. A few more positive pledges would make it possible for me, without announcing any names, to make a public statement showing that the suffrage amendment cannot pass the present Senate. This will have the effect of largely freeing the Senate from the deluge of delegations, letters, telegrams, and appeals they are receiving. It will stop much of the recent annoyance and lobbying. Moreover, it will relieve the women on both sides from the *present suspense*, allowing them to concentrate more fully on patriotic service so much needed by our country at this time.

May I ask, therefore, that you will give us your final assurance at your earliest convenience? I can pledge you in turn that it will be kept in confidence.

Thanking you, I am, sincerely yours,

(Signed) ALICE A. WADSWORTH,
(President National Assn. Opposed to Woman Suffrage).

Having received that letter, the Senators received another, which likewise follows:

New York, April 29th, 1918.

My dear Senator ———:

I do not wish to impugn the truthfulness of Mrs. Wadsworth

in the astonishing letter sent you recently. She doubtless has stated what she believed to be true. She has been misinformed, and I beg to assure you that every statement concerning suffragists therein is absolutely false.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association has given to the press no such statement as she credits us with having done, nor have we used such words, even in our private conversation, as "the President would put the screws on the Democrats at the right time." Our respect for the dignity of the President and the intelligence of Senators would preclude such banal thought or expression. More, we have always been proud to count Senator Stone on our side.

Since Mrs. Wadsworth compels us to defend in this way the honor of the millions of women asking you to pass the suffrage amendment, I beg to call your attention to one point.

The German newspapers did not print the news in January that the British Parliament had enfranchised two millions of men and six millions of women. The reason is obvious. The menace of autocracy is democracy. Naturally, the Kaiser dreads an uprising in Germany, which will leave no place in its scheme for a King by Divine Right, far more than the world's armies and navies. Therefore, no encouragement to democratic German thinkers must be permitted to seep through the censor's hand.

If the Senate votes "yes" on the suffrage amendment, will German papers print the news? Probably not, and for the same reason that made them silent when Great Britain and Canada gave the vote to women. If the Senate votes "no," will they print the news? Yes, for the Kaiser fights to make the world safe for autocracy, and any refusal of the vote in the land which professes to fight for democracy will discourage democracy at home.

"Find out what your enemy doesn't want you to do and then do it" is a slogan credited to more than one military strategist. Suffragists desire no unfair advantage nor to win by crooked politics. They base their hopes for the passage of their amendment upon five things:

1. Woman suffrage is inevitable all the world around. Few deny it. Why should the United States delay?

2. What our Allies have done in war time our Republic can do.

"A hundred per cent. American" Republic will not deny its women the political liberty that monarchies have extended.

4. All political parties have endorsed the suffrage amendment either in platform or by action of their national committees.

5. The government which expects the women of the country to give their all to win a war for democracy abroad will not repay them by denial of the vote, the symbol of democracy, at home. This is not a quarrel between women; it is a struggle for fundamental human freedom, and until the amendment is passed the suffrage campaign must and will go on.

When the Senate has passed the amendment every believer in representative government will rejoice, and American women, honored at home, will fight for world liberty with a fervor they otherwise can never feel. Yours truly,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,

(President National American Woman Suffrage Association).

DEMOCRATS of New York state, according to press reports, are seriously considering nominating a woman for the office of Secretary of State. Politicians are showing keen interest in the possibility, and Republicans are wondering just how to meet such a contingency, should it arise.

On Guard at Washington

SUFFRAGISTS all over the country grow mortally weary of the delay incident to the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the Senate. But suffragists over the country have, after all, the easy part of this waiting at the gates. It is upon the members of the Congressional Committee, the little band that keeps daily watch and ward at Washington, that the hard part devolves. And it is upon the two women, Maud Wood Park and Helen H. Gardener, who head the committee, that the hardest part of all devolves.

Suffragists all over the country go to conventions, foregather in this stimulating group and in that, inspire and are inspired. Not so lively a fate for the Washington leaders. The diplomatic corps which they head is in the most crucial position in the suffrage struggle. Argus had no eyes at all compared with the eyes needed to look after a legislative suffrage situation on the federal scale. The strain is incessant. The complications are endless. The diplomatic suffrage corps can never go anywhere, never relax its vigilance, never have any fun. What it has to do is stay on guard day in and day out.

The absence of Mrs. Park and Mrs. Gardener at the Indianapolis convention left a great hole in the meeting, a hole filled with resolutions of appreciation of their devotion to duty and expressions of warm confidence in their telling leadership. Meantime both women were at their Washington posts, their sagacity, their indomitability, their unremitting attention making it possible for the others to be at Indianapolis, passing resolutions of affectionate gratitude to them.

Hens and the Civic Conscience

THE Joneses are keeping hens. A nunnery for chaste White Leghorns in a model apartment house, to which the hens mount by a stairway, has been erected in their garden. The nunnery stands midway between the sun-dial and the stone garden seat and east by south of the rhubarb plants. It has a sleeping porch and a canvas drop curtain, a southern exposure and a play ground.

Up to the time of the war the Joneses would have been just as likely to build a baby shelter on their front lawn as to have desecrated their conventional garden with fowls, white, black or mottled. And the ordinances of the town would have discouraged them if they had tried; their city having decreed that a hen's place is on the farm, not in the middle of a suburban block. But nothing shows the changed status of the country's soul as does neighborhood reaction to the Jones's hens. Not once have the neighbors protested the raucous morning greeting of hens demanding breakfast, nor the boastful publicity given their egg-laying achievements. And yet a year ago the people on the Jones's block were of the sort to whom a hen would have been persona non grata, as non grata as a pig or a stable or a rubbish heap.

The other day a gentleman, a leading light in the medical profession, who lives on the hennery block, was seen to rush around

the corner of the street, dash through the Jones's Dutch door and burst in upon the astonished Jones housewife. He zipped through the kitchen, leaving the cook breathlessly going around in circles of amazement in his wake. From there he flew down the kitchen steps and out to the hen house, where he explained to the cook and the pursuing housewife that, having seen a black dog in the hen yard and one only hen in evidence, he had imagined the rest slaughtered. For himself, he had no intention of sitting calmly by and watching patriotic war hens fall a victim to canine frightfulness. As a matter of fact, all the hens were upstairs in their model tenement looking down with unconcern upon the swiftly routed dog. A fact which does not in the least minimize the social value of the doctor's act nor change the fact that a new civic soul has come to the city block. Before the war it had no civic soul. The doctor was deeply interested in collecting Aztec pottery and the Joneses ate, drank and had their being in pentatonic scales and the excursive musical theories of Busoni. And each one was highly bored with the useless remoteness of the other's cultural fad.

It is of some importance that, in common with all their neighbors, they have grown tolerant of each other's point of view. But it is of more interest still to note that they have all become alert to the fundamental elementary needs of life and that they have replaced individual pursuits with communal activities.

Food has ceased to be a personal concern. It has become a national concern, a world concern. A hen is no doubt a dull and plebeian creature. But even a hen can be a symbol of the new internationalism, which seeks to feed and preserve rather than exploit and destroy. Hens and war-bread recipes and knitting needles and Liberty motors are the present expressions of civics and sociology. And that is why the woman citizen, no more than the rest of the world, can ignore them.

What They Meant

SOME question having arisen as to the full purport of the language of the endorsement of woman suffrage by the state Republican Convention of North Carolina, Miss Clara B. Byrd, of the State Suffrage Association, wrote to Judge Wm. P. Bynum, chairman of the Platform Committee, to inquire particularly whether the convention by such endorsement meant to express its approval of woman suffrage by federal amendment, by state methods, or whether it was a general endorsement of the principle of woman suffrage by whatever method.

"As Chairman of the Committee on Platform Resolutions," answers Judge Bynum, "I presented to the committee the resolution substantially as it was adopted by the convention, and the committee unanimously approved it. The purpose of the committee and of the convention was to express its endorsement of woman suffrage by whatever method it could be most readily secured. If by federal amendment, we approve that; if it cannot be secured that way, then we are in favor of the state extending the right. In other words, we favor the extension to women of the right of suffrage by whatever legal and constitutional method it may be obtained."

Judge Walter Clark, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, a Democrat and a suffragist of national fame, prophesies that the endorsement of suffrage by the Greensboro Convention will have a very great effect in North Carolina.

"While our Democratic Convention here did not endorse suffrage, I am satisfied that the sentiment of the majority of the Convention was that it was a mistake not to do so. The discussion was of decided advantage to suffrage, for it identified many public men of influence as being committed to the proposition, and many members who had never before heard the matter clearly presented will carry the argument in its favor home with them. You are indeed to be congratulated at the great progress made in North Carolina in the last ten days for suffrage."

You and the Primaries

THE importance of getting women enrolled in the primaries in New York is breaking on politicians with a light so keen that it rather dazzles the woman on whom the light is turned. Republicans and Democrats alike are becoming urgent in their efforts to get New York women to make their party alignments, and to come early and avoid the rush, on enrollment days. No sort of stimulating device seems likely to be spared by the individual politician in his ambition to convince woman that she can save her country only by enrolling with his party. From different parts of the state come rumors that the name of this or that unlikely and undesirable candidate, national, state or local, is being trotted out, with the accompanying solemn injunction to the women that they must enroll in the party under whose banner this candidate may take his stand, in order to insure that his opponent may get the nomination in the primaries, so that the undesirable one may not come up as a candidate at the election.

But that is not going to work, even if it be attempted.

Suffragists are busy in New York, too. And offsetting any undue sporadic political pressure of this nature, if such there be, there comes from the state and city organizations not only the steady urge that women keep their heads and follow their consciences in this matter of enrollment, but, as well, an enlightening fund of information, analysis, and discussion, by means of which it is insured that the pros and cons of all appeals from political parties will be weighed on their merits.

Explained

THE reorganized New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, under the leadership of Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, wife of United States Senator James W. Wadsworth, proposes to launch a campaign this fall for the repeal of the suffrage amendment to the constitution of the state. This early and eager action backed by the Standpat faction of the Republican Party, is a plain indication that the political elements of standpatism, privilege and graft in this state see the end of their reign of power if the woman vote is to become a fixture of our elections."—*Saratoga Sun*.

Suffrage for Hawaii

(Special correspondence from Washington.)

THE hearing on April 29th before the House Committee on Woman Suffrage, on House Bill 4665, granting to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii the power to enfranchise the women of Hawaii, which was in charge of Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was so successful that the eight members of the Committee present voted favorably on the bill in record time.

The bill, which has already passed the Senate, vests in the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii the power to provide that in all elections, authorized to be held by the organic act of the Territory of Hawaii, female citizens possessing the same qualifications as male citizens shall be entitled to vote. The bill further provides that the Legislature be vested with the power to submit to the voters of the Territory of Hawaii the question whether or not the female citizens of the Territory shall be empowered to vote.

Since the Legislature of Hawaii has twice memorialized Congress to pass the bill vesting the Legislature with the power to enfranchise Hawaiian women, it is not probable that the question will again go to the people, who are anxious to have the bill pass Congress without further delay in order that the Legislature of Hawaii, which convenes in 1919, may act upon it.

SPEAKING for the bill, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Chairman of the Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense, who never fails to score for suffrage, called the attention of the Committee to the fact that the provisions of the bill were in line with those rights already possessed by state Legislatures. The right of states to pass upon the qualification of their own electors was endorsed by the two big political parties at their last national conventions and embodied in the suffrage planks in both platforms. The Hawaiian Legislature was asking only for powers similar to those granted our state Legislatures. The point left no room for argument—even from such a confirmed anti as Representative Meeker of Missouri, who recommended that the bill be reported favorably.

Dr. Shaw gave an inspiring history of the achievements of the Hawaiian women in war work, telling how, when at their solicitation, they had been made a unit of the Women's Committee of the National Council of Defense. They had immediately organized all their resources and were today one of the most effective units the Women's Committee had. Their *esprit de corps*, she said, was splendid.

MRS. BENJAMIN F. PITMAN contributed largely to the success of the hearing by giving valuable first hand information about Hawaiian women. When Mrs. Pitman was in Hawaii she had unusual opportunities for studying the Hawaiian women. Her husband is the son of Chiefess Kenole of Hilo, a woman who was of great influence among her people.

"Which apart from my deep interest in the enfranchisement of all women explains my interest in the Hawaiian suffrage bill," said Mrs.

Pitman. "When my husband's mother died many years ago he left his island home as a child, to return after fifty years of absence to find that in the eyes of his mother's people he occupied, and always had, the same position. I refer to this only to show you how it happened that I, a stranger and an American, am in a position to feel the pulse of the Hawaiian people in regard to the enfranchisement of their women.

"IT was known in Hawaii that I was greatly interested in this subject and almost immediately upon my arrival I was asked to hold suffrage meetings. I soon learned that I was in a suffrage country; that the suffrage bill had been voted upon favorably by both the Democratic and Republican parties. It was my privilege to be present at the opening of the Legislature, and I was able to interview members of both Houses. Every man to whom I spoke, including the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, expressed themselves in favor of suffrage. Hawaii had passed an overwhelming vote for it and the Delegate had been commissioned to lay the bill before Congress. There it had stopped, as far as they knew. Everyone was awaiting the outcome, and as the months went by without hearing one way or the other, I promised the women of Hawaii to inquire into the matter. I reported to my chief, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, with the result that the Senate has already passed the bill before the Committee. I promised to do all in my power to bring this matter before Congress, and I have traveled far to be present today in the hope that this message from the women of Hawaii may influence you to consider the matter favorably.

"IN the days of the monarchy Hawaiian women took great interest in politics and could be effectively active. The women are today, as heretofore, possessors of great wealth and hold a large share of the property. Their men fully appreciate the wisdom, public spirit and executive ability of their women, both of the native and missionary classes, but since the monarchy ceased to exist and Hawaii became a Territory of the United States, they have been obliged to take their place beside their American sisters of the unenfranchised states. The gallant men of Hawaii believe, with us, that the old cry of taxation without representation is tyranny, and have gone as far as they can to rectify the injustice. It now remains with you, Gentlemen of the Committee, to report favorably upon the bill which will give to the Legislature of Hawaii the power to include women in its electorate, and restore to them the rights of which they have been deprived."

Mrs. Cunningham, President of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, spoke briefly of the Texas victory and the impetus it had given Texas women in the fight for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The bill, which paves the way for the enfranchisement of Hawaiian women, passed the Senate some time ago without debate. The Federal Amendment, which paves the way for the enfranchisement of all American women, still languishes in the Senate.

Connecticut's Deputation to Senator McLean

MAY DAY was a memorable day for suffragists of Connecticut, and also for Senator George P. McLean. On that day a deputation of forty-four representative women of the state went to Washington to advise Senator McLean of the suffrage sentiment existing in the communities which they represent and of the sentiment in favor of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment which exists among his constituents. Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees, prominent in suffrage work in the state, headed the deputation.

The Connecticut deputation left the state on the Federal express on Tuesday evening, April 30, and returned on the evening of May first. Senator McLean received Miss Ruutz-Rees and the others of the deputation at 11 o'clock in his office and Miss Katherine Ludington, president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, spoke on behalf of the members of the Association which she represents. After the interview the deputies went to the New Willard Hotel for a "Hoover" luncheon.

An invitation was sent to Senator Frank B. Brandegee to be present at the interview. In bringing this deputation to Senator McLean the women felt that just before the vote is taken in the Senate on the Federal Suffrage Amendment he should be made aware of the existing suffrage sentiment, if he is not already aware of it.

As a May basket the deputation carried to Senator McLean petitions of men and women of the state of Connecticut urging the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the Senate of the United States.

Some of the Connecticut women who made up this memorable group were Miss Mary Bulkley of Hartford, Miss Mary Webster of Middletown, Mrs. Hiram Percy Maxim, Mrs. John T. Robinson, Mrs. William H. Deming of Hartford, Mrs. A. Barton Hepburn, Mrs. Grace Thompson Seton of New York and Connecticut, Miss Daphne Selden of Deep River, Mrs. Willis Austin of Norwich, Mrs. Herbert Benvie, Mrs. John Beatty of Meriden, Mrs. C. B. Wood, Miss Mary Morgan of Simsbury, Mrs. Richard Howell, Miss Edith Hastings of Stratford, Mrs. Samuel C. Shaw of Bridgeport, Mrs. Harry Montague of Riverside, Mrs. Whitney Blake, Mrs. Henry Townshend of New Haven, Miss Elizabeth Hooker of New Haven, Miss Adelaide Deming of Litchfield, Mrs. Samuel Russell, Jr., of Middletown, and Mrs. Frances Upton Johnson.

The Democratic State Central Committee of Connecticut endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment, when in session at New Haven on April 23. By a vote of 15 to 11 the following action was taken:

Resolved, That the Democratic Central Committee of Connecticut does hereby endorse the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Federal Constitution, enfranchising women in the United States, and urges favorable action thereon by the United States Senate.

There are now 200 women in the rural mail service and the Postoffice Department is asking for more.

A Liberty Sandwich

ABOUT 80 girl cigar makers from the largest factory in the District of Columbia, on strike for better wages, are picketing the factory and the retail store at its entrance, and selling thrift stamps as they picket. With the signs calling attention to their strike demands, the girls also wear the thrift stamp posters issued by the United States Treasury. The pickets have the fullest police protection, and not a single unpleasant episode has occurred along the picket line.

That is the picturesque side of a struggle which may seem minor in these days, but the issue of it is of great significance to women workers in the District of Columbia, where the prevailing wages for women are notoriously low. Henry T. Offerdinger, a life-long resident of Washington, owns and operates the largest cigar factory in the city, a plant employing about 100 people. He does a large jobbing trade in this section of the country, and a considerable retail business besides. "Deerhead," "La Anita," "Meditation" and "Ofty" are among his best known cigars.

Some ten years ago or more, Mr. Offerdinger had a small union shop, but when the employees struck for better pay at that time, he was able to break the strike and, in a city where competition then was slight and labor unions weak, he succeeded in building up a new business on a non-union basis. Since that time, the strikers say, although his business has more than doubled and his cigars have gone up in price, he has increased the pay of his workers very little and some of them not at all.

When the present strike began during the latter part of March, the girls were unorganized. Members of the Women's Trade Union League in Washington, and Miss Mary Anderson, national organizer, who fortunately arrived at the moment, therefore offered assistance. Mr. Julian Pierce, newspaper correspondent, offered his office to the strikers for their meetings, and together with Mr. Charles Kruse, president of the International Welfare Association of Migratory Workers, put himself in communication, on the girls' behalf, with A. F. of L. headquarters. They also began to solicit strike funds. Through Miss Anderson, connection was made with Mr. Joseph Dehan, representative of the Cigar Makers' International Union and President Gompers of the A. F. of L., who took steps at once to organize and to secure proper affiliation for the plucky, but thus far isolated, group of strikers. The situation is now considered well in hand, although no settlement with the employer is yet in sight.

In fact, the prospects are for a fight to the finish. Mr. Offerdinger has refused to concede a single point. The Cigar Makers' International has therefore declared that the war is on and promises to back the girls to the limit. The gauntlet was thrown down at the close of



WHILE the girl cigar makers of Washington were making a drive for one kind of liberty, they were not omitting to appeal for another kind. They were walking the streets bearing sandwich boards one side of which called attention to their industrial demands at home and the other asked the public to support the cause of liberty abroad.

an interview the other day between the manufacturer and a committee composed of Mr. Dehan, for the Cigar Makers' International, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot and Miss Ethel M. Smith of the Washington Committee of the National Women's Trade Union League. Mr. Offerdinger was asked to receive this committee and a committee of the strikers, but he refused to see the latter.

According to Mrs. Rebecca Perry, the girls' leader, strippers and banders in the Offerdinger factory earn \$5, \$6 and \$7 per week. Girl packers are paid by the week, men by the piece, and their earnings amount to 80 cents per thousand for the girls and \$1.25 for the men. On the best paid jobs, competent girl workers average \$11 and \$12 per week. The fastest girl roller in the shop was unable to make more than an average of \$15. The stock has been so poor that even the best workers have made considerably less than their normal wages, and according to bunchbreakers' statements they are paid 2 cents less per hundred on bad stock than on stock of even run.

According to Dr. Dehan, the wages in the Offerdinger factory run about 50 per cent be-

low the scale outside of Washington. During the interview between Mr. Offerdinger and the committee, however, Mr. Dehan, after securing the manufacturer's admission that the cost of living had risen enormously in the last ten years, asked him whether he would now pay his employees the union scale of ten years ago. "I will not answer that question," said Mr. Offerdinger, "because you would use it against me."

ETHEL M. SMITH.

Women's Overseas Hospital

(Continued from page 449)

"WE are now what is called an *equipe*—a unit—and have charge of the reception, sorting out and preparation of the patients for operation. The first days we did everything—undressed patients, put them to bed, did necessary dressing for wounds, assisted at operations and etherized. Now Dr. Povitsky and nine of the unit are on separate *equipes* with French doctors as anesthetists. I am on two shifts of eight hours, 5 a. m.—12 m. and 8 p. m.—5 a. m.; Dr. Povitsky on 24 hours, off 24 hours. Dr. Edward and the Misses Brown, Eastham and Hyde receive, sort out and dress patients, send on smaller wounds to other hospitals. Dr. Finley and the Misses Lanz, McKee and Wilbur clean and prepare patients for operation.

"The men have patience and fortitude which is beyond belief and all the doctors call them 'mon petit.' 'On les aura' seems to be a sort of watchword and we more than agree with them.

"The *medicin chef* today tells us he wants us permanently here. The 'dames Americaines' are in great demand, everybody wants to assist. We are to stay here if we keep busy.

All the hospitals to the north of us have been evacuated. If the front is pushed forward we go forward. The *medicin chef* promises us better and more interesting work as time goes on and we make good. When they heard that we were opening a hospital in the South, they went up in the air. They do not want us to leave. We are really having an exceptional opportunity, as we get the men straight from the front. We really have done a great service here—in the time of greatest need—the hospital was nothing the day before we came. We were the second *equipe* to arrive and we practically had nothing to work with, very few dressings and instruments, but it was wonderful how much we did with nothing. Now things are getting organized.

"We are fourteen to come here. Dr. Gregory did not come with us. She stayed to put through the other hospital for *repatriés* at Mont Macon, south of Bordeaux. We are to have barracks there. I forgot to tell you that we have barracks here for the patients. We sleep, at first, 14 in a room, now 7 in a room, at the chateau."

Heads Biggest Reportorial Staff in the World

THERE will be many landmarks in Washington after the war, but one little red brick house on Jackson Place will be among the most significant to women. On the door today is a plain neat sign:

"Clara S. Taylor
Division on
Woman's War Work"

A city editor with the biggest reportorial staff in the world—that is Mrs. Taylor's distinction. When, feeling the need of correlating the publicity on the war work of women, the Government turned to Mr. George Creel, Chairman of Committee on Public Information, to work out a publicity program whereby the Government could best bulletin the services of women during the war, Mr. Creel planned a woman's division with a woman at the head of it. There are men who believe that women are angels, and men who believe that women are devils, and a few men who believe that women are practical human beings, of which latter Mr. Creel is one.

Realizing that only a woman of wide experience and tried abilities could qualify for such a demanding job, he selected as director of the woman's division Mrs. Clara Sears Taylor, brilliant newspaper woman of New York and Denver, who, in her versatile career, had covered a range of news from social functions to murder trials.

Mrs. Taylor lost no time in demonstrating her fitness for the job. Her first idea was so big that while her chief was elated over it, he questioned her ability to put it into effect. It would require a large staff and a big fund, and all the space then available for the woman's division was occupied by Mrs. Taylor's desk.

"Do you think you can put it across?" he asked anxiously.

"I can try," said Mrs. Taylor.

WHEN one considers that Mrs. Taylor's big idea was no less than to keep the millions of women in the United States in close touch with each other through their war activities, it is not surprising that her chief gasped at her ambitions. Imagine the size of a staff which was to collate the war work of all the women of the country! But one satisfactory thing about Mrs. Taylor's ideas is the beautiful sequence in which they follow one another. Realizing the intense interest which women would feel for a department of their very own, she began a campaign for volunteer workers. Walking down the street with a friend, her attention was called to an alert young girl who, the friend said, wanted a job. Mrs. Taylor lost no time in connecting up with her. Telling her frankly that she could not offer her a salary at first, she began outlining her ambitions for the division on woman's war work. Mrs. Taylor's vivid personality goes far toward rousing enthusiasm in her hearers, and the young girl eagerly volunteered to work for a department essentially for women. She was the beginning of Mrs. Taylor's staff.

"And they have all been like that," said Mrs. Taylor. "The women will leave any department to come to work in their own division, for that is the way they feel about it. We are a democratic organization. We are a lot of women working to serve women and the re-



CLARA SEARS TAYLOR

sponse of the women has been splendid. The department has shot up like a mushroom. You see that little hall out there?" The pointing pencil indicated a little cranny about large enough for a good-sized desk. "Well, that was where my desk was when I first moved in. All the divisions were so crowded for space there wasn't enough room for any department. It didn't take us long to spill over that bit of room, and one day I maneuvered to have Mr. Creel come down stairs with me so that he couldn't avoid falling over the desks and the women. "My," he said, "you must have more room!" Then we got this front room and now we have spilled over into the next room and we are hoping to be permitted to spill over into the room beyond that—when we shall have this floor."

MRS. TAYLOR has practically every woman in America on her staff of reporters. Individually, or through organizations of which they are members, the women of the country are daily sending her news of their war activities. The department is run like a newspaper office. The staff in Washington is made up of trained newspaper women. They are given their assignments each morning and must have their stories ready for the newspaper correspondents who call several times a day. One has the Navy Department as her "beat," another the War Department, another the Labor Department, and so on. Every Government activity in the national capital and every national woman's organization is covered by Mrs. Taylor's staff. Only news that concerns women is handled by the department. News agencies represented in Washington receive news and disseminate it among the newspapers of the country. In addition, special articles are written for Sunday newspapers, material is furnished magazines, women editors and syndicates. Brochures on women's war work are compiled. There is not a newspaper in the country which does not receive the service of the Woman's Division. Speakers make use of the department to glean material for lec-

tures, proprietors of moving picture shows draw upon it for stories for films.

"It keeps the women in touch with the war and at the same time it keeps them informed of ways in which they may best serve the country at this time," said Mrs. Taylor. "You would be touched by some of the letters which come into this office, come in by the thousands. The women seem to feel that this being their department they can pour out their hearts to us, and we are brought into contact with many private tragedies which wring one's heart. Perhaps it is the personal touch which makes the women so eager to support the Division. In the office I literally have to drive the girls away from their desks in the evenings. Their help has been splendid."

At Suffrage House

WILL IRWIN, war correspondent, and one of the best known of the younger journalists, is to speak at the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, Wednesday evening, May 8th, at eight o'clock, for the benefit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, which is supported by the Association.

The patronesses are Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Louis B. Brandeis, Mrs. Gordon Auchincloss, Mrs. Richard Aldrich, Mrs. John Hays Hammond, Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, Mrs. V. Everit Macy, and Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip.

Mr. Irwin has been in Europe most of the time since the beginning of the war, and has had exceptional opportunities for gathering facts and gaining impressions, as he has been on the Belgian and Italian fronts and has spent much time in France and Switzerland. Several of Mr. Irwin's articles on the war have appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

War Work

MRS. MEDILL McCORMICK points out that "at present women are, naturally, allowing themselves to think chiefly of the work which has to do with the immediate necessities of war—with making surgical dressings, knitting, nursing and other like duties. We must not let these things blind us to the necessity of thinking in terms of the future—of the time when the actual hostilities shall have ceased and the work of reconstructing the civilization which has been so nearly demolished has come. It is the coming generation which must do this—the boys and girls of the present. For twenty-five years to come life must be lived at tension—humanity will be paying the price of this terrible conflict—life will not be normal. The women of the present must prepare the women of the future for the great burdens which will devolve upon them. We must train these girls to be more efficient, better poised and stronger than we have ever been. They will have the heaviest responsibility and the greatest opportunity that has ever come to any generation of women. Do not leave their training for this to chance—give them the best possible preparation for the work they must do. What 'war work' is more important than this?"

Have You Read "The Earthquake"?

THIS is the kind of book Mr. Arthur Train has just written, a book which will get on the end of everyone's tongue, just as "Have you read Mr. Britling?" became a form of salutation in England and America. There are critics who say of Mr. Train's book that it is the third, and not the least significant in the trilogy of war novels, the other two being, "Mr. Britling," and "The Tree of Heaven."

Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Hoover, Mr. John Jay Chapman, and others, look upon it as a clarion call to the civilian population to sustain to the end the conflict now raging between the principles of autocracy and democracy.

"You are absolutely right," writes Mr. Roosevelt to Mr. Train, "in what you say about our duty to put this war through to the end. You are exactly right in all that you say as to the mere materialism, partly sordid, partly pleasure-loving and frivolous, but wholly evil, into which four years ago we were tending to sink."

Has the war been a sort of regeneration to the people of America? This is one of the questions Mr. Train was called upon to answer by the *Woman Citizen's* interviewer. What the interviewer wanted to know was whether Mr. Train envisaged a nation whose interests in January, 1917, had been jazz bands, joy rides and esoteric discussions on the cosmic urge.

One remembers that May Sinclair paints something like this in "The Vortex," the middle section of her last war novel. But Mr. Train had not read "The Tree of Heaven" and therefore if he and Miss Sinclair have both seen in the immediate background of the war a sort of devil's dance, it must be due to the psychology of the situation.

In order to know the message of Mr. Train in "The Earthquake," it might be fair to glimpse the plot of this novel—not closely enough to spoil a good time reading it, but just enough to see where the author is driving.

THE story begins in the fall of 1917—late, one might say even for an American to begin to wake up to the tremendous upheaval in Europe. But Mr. Train's device for coming head-on to his problem without any lost motion is skillful. He doesn't begin with the grandparents and maiden aunts of his characters and let them meander into the war's mid-channel as May Sinclair does. The mechanism by which he leaps in *medias res* is—well, let that go; it isn't pertinent here, and Mr. Train has developed this mechanism as a part of his story. The main thing is that John Stanton, successful broker, gets back to New York city from an enforced saunter in foreign climes, just when the earth began to quake in America. He finds business toppling down, young men swept into the yawning jaws of war, and every single social relation in process of change. Coming back into the thick of it John Stanton sees it all more forcibly than if he had been here from the start. His partners have enlisted for service, his Harvard son is in camp, and as for the stock brokerage business—there is none.

The immediate readjustment of the Stantons, husband, wife and daughter, is therefore, financial. The selfish spendthrift luxury of 1916 is no more. Briskly and with the adaptability of American households, all the Stantons begin to cut down expenses. Their



MR. ARTHUR TRAIN, LAWYER, NOVELIST AND PATRIOT

world is that of the \$40,000 or \$50,000 a year people. None of the Stantons knows anything about the two- and four-thousand-dollar groups.

They learn how to do things. John Stanton makes a furnace fire for the first time since he was a clerk—or whatever a stock broker is, before his income leaves the four figure class and climbs to the five. His wife markets, his daughter dusts the furniture. They all cease being trundled about like so much perishable freight in upholstered motor cars. They walk more. They eat less. They begin to be a part of the world in which they move. These are all little things, but they are cogs in a wheel and fit the Stantons into the great, throbbing machine of human endeavor.

THUS far Mr. Train's idea seems but a loosely hung skeleton, cleverly articulated but lifeless. But he has given his creation a spirit, real and flaming. One feels that something sacred and impassioned has beckoned the author on to venture heights and depths unknown to the writer of "The Goldfish."

He, himself, would be the first to say so. In fact, he did say so in his law office looking over New York harbor. One can imagine how the daily sight of that harbor with its symbol of Liberty has inflamed an imaginative writer. How the thought of a world with liberty crushed or dead may have awakened Mr. Train to a forceful presentation of the cause of the Allies. And this he has done as a sacred trust, as his effort to "carry on."

When the dollar-a-year man began to be a very definite war contribution, Mr. Train took stock of what patriotic service he himself could give. He had a large public and a burning message to deliver. To unite his public and his message he mapped out a program covering the five forms of literary work in which he is at home. "I didn't try verse," said Mr. Train with a frank smile. He was determined to get his message across in all the ways at his command as his first patriotic service—what he calls his "temporary service." What he will do as his permanent service Mr. Train says is still on the knees of the gods.

As war psychology is as real as anything else—the laws of projectiles and explosives, for instance—Mr. Train opened his Pentateuch

—to steal a learned word for this quintuplet—by a novel, "The Earthquake."

IN addition he has already contributed a small tabloid essay to the National Security League's campaign, and more than 100,000 copies of it have been distributed in England. Two short stories, "All the Comrades are There" and "The Flag of His Country," together with a play, "The Hun," are also achieved. A longer essay will fill to good measure the quintuplet, Mr. Train's war service for six months.

But "The Earthquake" is not just a call to "carry on."

"What has the war done for you?" is the question Mr. Train asks. He sees a people lifting themselves out of selfishness and greed, a new manliness and womanliness, a nascent chivalry which the crudest put on with their khaki.

This new spirit of understanding is strengthening suffrage sympathy also, Mr. Train believes, not only in men but in women themselves. John Stanton's wife, Helen, had been of the "perfect lady" type before the war, and her circle was composed of "perfect ladies." Helen's world had consisted exclusively of rich women, upper servants, and high-class shopkeepers, John explained. "She had had no social relations with the kind of women who went to market in the morning. She had never seen the butcher, the groceryman, or her own kitchen-maid—except the day she engaged her. She had shrunk from any contact with people like street-car conductors, ticket-sellers, or taxicab drivers. She had been so protected all her life that it had caused her acute suffering to talk to anybody whose point of view wasn't perfectly familiar to her beforehand. She had viewed women who 'went in' for suffrage, temperance, or other movements as freakish or notoriety-seekers. She had held woman's place to be not so much in the home as in the drawing-room. Sometimes I have wondered if this war has not saved her from the guillotine. Anyhow, it has saved her from herself."

"HELEN had no sooner put her house in order than she became passionately interested in everything that other women were doing. A year ago she would have retired from the world in shame rather than have a 'Votes for Women' poster exhibited in our front window. It is there now, however, along with the sign manual of the Food Administration and a 'Service' placard showing the American woman as a modern Joan of Arc against a background of the Stars and Stripes. I'm proud of all those cards and posters. I'm proud of what Helen is doing and of the spirit that makes her want to make public declaration of her principles. But it is so sudden! Yet everything is sudden these days. I suppose the earthquake has simply shaken the frosting off the façade, leaving exposed the solid stone and cement of American womanhood."

"There's a new community spirit abroad."

"And the significant thing is that they are keeping it up. It was inspiring to see them go to it, but it is astounding to see them still at it. They have got their teeth in it and don't intend

(Continued on page 456)



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THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE
65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confering upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 26, 1887, yeas 16, nays 84.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 84.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays 136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.

Openings for Women

BACTERIOLOGY seems to be a field in which woman is destined for special distinction. A young girl of 21, Miss Margaret McCluer, has assumed the post of bacteriologist of Richmond, Virginia, releasing the former city bacteriologist for direct war service.

There is need for about 100 women bacteriologists to take the place of men in the cantonment laboratories, the Surgeon General's Office of the United States Army announces. The service of the men is demanded for the hospital units which are going abroad and their places at the home cantonments are to be filled by women. Applications are arriving from all the camps, some asking for as many as nine women.

A practical knowledge of clinical pathology and diagnostic bacteriology is required for the work. The present salary is \$720 with maintenance and \$1,200 without, with transportation furnished by the Government. Applications may be made at the Office of the Surgeon General, Washington, D. C.

Study Morse Telegraphy

RADIO inspectors of the Department of Commerce, stationed throughout the country, have been instructed to advise women who are ambitious to become radio telegraphers to study Morse telegraphy instead. Because of a great shortage of competent telegraphers at the present time the Western Union Telegraph Co. is so anxious to get operators that it undertakes their instruction and pays them while learning.

There is, however, practically no demand for the services of women as radio operators either in the Navy, on account of housing conditions on shipboard, or in commercial life. Although the Department of Commerce has licensed fifty women as radio operators, only one of these, as far as the knowledge of the Department goes, is actually employed on shipboard.

She is Miss Elizabeth Lansdale DuVal, of 2209 North Charles street, Baltimore, Md. Miss DuVal passed the examination required by the Department of Commerce and obtained a first grade commercial license September 27, 1918. She is employed on the "Howard" of the Merchants' and Miners' Line, having been assigned as junior operator December 4 last. During her first trip Miss DuVal was in sole charge of the wireless station from one until six o'clock every afternoon and on watch each night from half-past one until eight. She is the daughter of, Edmund Brice DuVal and the great-granddaughter of Judge Gabriel DuVal, one of the first justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Rank of the Woman Doctor

THE first woman to receive the relative rank of an officer in the U. S. Army during the present war is Dr. Kate B. Karpeles, a graduate of Johns Hopkins Medical Department, who will have the equivalent rank of first lieutenant.

Dr. Karpeles has been assigned as acting assistant surgeon to the Emergency Dispensary of the Medical Department, Washington, D. C. In addition to her regular duties as one of the staff assistants of the dispensary, Dr. Karpeles will be in charge of the physical examination of women employes of the War Department, in Washington. Dr. Karpeles is

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peculiarly fitted for the position assigned her because of high personal qualifications as well as her professional standing.

The Emergency Dispensary, for cases arising among civilian employes of the War Department, will be located in the same building as the General War Dispensary planned for officers and their families and enlisted men. Both dispensaries will work under the same direction and under the immediate supervision of the Medical Department of the U. S. Army. The building will contain an eye dispensary, dental clinic, surgical and x-ray equipment, and rooms for the observation of suspected cases of contagious disease.

One of the features of the Emergency Dispensary will be a rest room for women employes of the War Department.

Have You Read "The Earthquake?"

(Continued from page 455)

to let go until the struggle is over and won."

What war service did for Helen Stanton was to make her see human needs. Getting up at 4 A. M. to go to the Pennsylvania station and hand out hot coffee to a negro regiment may not seem a great service in comparison with what the women of Belgium and Serbia are rendering, but it means regeneration to such women.

Mr. Train himself sees woman suffrage and the war as interacting forces. For every one man working for the war, he believes there are five women. So the women are in it, and being in it, they have taken a new hold on public questions. "Why isn't anything that deepens and intensifies women's lives good?" he asks. The suffrage struggle has deepened their lives and war work is intensifying them. As to a belief in the principles of suffrage, Mr. Train answers that one might as well ask him if he believes in the sun's shining.

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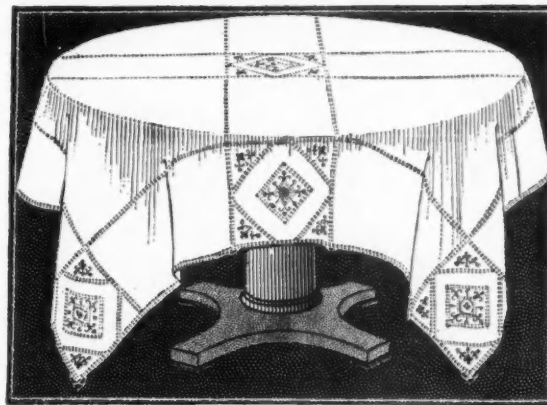
We are pleased to announce the recent arrival of several large shipments of Italian Art Embroidered Linens.

A notable feature of the goods is that they come largely from Art Needlework Schools which in normal times catered to an exclusive clientele, thus insuring originality of design and distinctiveness in workmanship. The following list will indicate some of the more popular sizes and prices:

Tea Cloths, 36x36 inches, 45x45 inches, and 54x54 inches. \$8.50 to 47.50 each.

Tea Napkins, \$17.50 to 42.50 dozen.

Luncheon Sets, square and oblong; 13 and 25 pieces. \$25.00 to 57.50 set. Several styles in the above sizes Embroidered in Tan and Blue at same price.



Tea Cloth of sheer Ecu Linen Embroidered in White, Blue, or Brown. 45x45 inches, \$25.00. Napkins to match, 14x14 inches, \$30.00 per dozen.

Sideboard Scarfs, Table Runners, Chiffonier, Dressing-table, Bureau Scarfs. \$8.50 to 35.00 each.

Library Table Covers. Ecu Embroidery. \$20.00 to 25.00 each.

Refectory Table Covers, 54x90 inches, and 54x108 inches. \$35.00, 40.00, 47.50, 57.50 to 90.00 each.

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When the Senate drops the other shoe—

Of course you know that famous story of the nervous man in the hotel: how he heard the thump of a discarded shoe in the bedroom above him and how he waited minute by minute, until, rigid with suspense, unable to sleep, think or act without having heard that reassuring second thump, he called out, "In heaven's name, man, why don't you drop the other shoe?"

More than three months ago the House of Representatives dropped the first shoe for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. *Don't be like the man in the story and wait, paralyzed, for the Senate to follow suit. Remember that on whichever side of the question the boot falls, the Woman Citizen is going to be your ablest ally. Begin at once to increase the circulation in your state.*

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May 11, 1918

THE **W**oman **C**itizen

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL POLITICAL WEEKLY



WIN-THE-WAR WOMEN

The Doctor

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VOL. II MAY 11, 1918 No. 24

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Florence E. Bate is the business manager.

Where Is Your State?

IF we are rather especially insistent on the merits of the *Woman Citizen* this week, blame Mrs. Isabelle Strong Allen for it. Mrs. Allen, who is superintendent of the Legislative Department of the Oshkosh W. C. T. U., has just written us as follows:

"I will not wait longer to tell you of our family's enjoyment of the splendid *Woman Citizen* of April 27th. When we four had read it, I gave it to a friend, with this message on the margin: 'Pass it on, please; too good to enjoy alone.'

"Among 'The fifty bests' that we first marked are:

"the Civil War argument for immediate war-time enfranchisement of women;

"sorrow and comradeship dynamic forces, united, will rend war machine;

"digest of the widely-quoted Bankers' Trust Company table on Liberty Loan.

"Italy swinging along;

"those funny, funny stories and cartoons:—how our boys in hospital, trench and ship, even the bird-men, will chuckle over the 'Rastus' mule and cavalry horses, the cow and the same old fight stories, and chortle over Mrs. J. W. W.'s untimely and pathetic disclosures to the enemy of the breaches in her fortress, and of Solons who talk without promising and promise only to think better of it;

"the pearls that fell, with diamonds and rubies, from the lips of the convention speakers and that gleam in the editorial notes. The glowing thoughts that breathe present a strong contrast to each unhappy utterance of the unfortunate quintet, two mentioned above, a Mrs. E. F. of Massachusetts, C. S. (un-) Fairchild and H. (un-) Wise W., whose minds drop blighting, ugly stinging things in the blundering effort to block and blacken the suffrage cause.

"Your Vote in the County' furnishes the reason for lending the *Woman Citizen* to a friend four miles out on the Inter-urban line.

"This local Union through its Legislative Department stands ready to help by the spoken and written word in bringing complete enfranchisement, under general outlines in the only suffrage publication available as a working guide."

If the *Woman Citizen* can be as helpful as that in one number, our circulation chairmen have a strong argument for the subscriber, who gets 52 such numbers for one dollar.

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,
National Circulation Chairman.

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2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
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To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

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1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Indiana
4. New Jersey
5. Minnesota
6. Iowa
7. Michigan
8. Ohio
9. New York
10. Alabama
11. Wisconsin, New Hampshire
12. Massachusetts
13. Virginia
14. Maine
15. Louisiana
16. Pennsylvania
17. Maryland
18. Texas, Connecticut
19. Kentucky
20. Rhode Island, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Dakota
21. Nebraska
22. Washington
23. Vermont, Tennessee

May 4th

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Indiana
4. New Jersey
5. Minnesota
6. Iowa
7. Michigan
8. Ohio
9. New York
10. New Hampshire
11. Alabama
12. Wisconsin
13. Virginia
14. Massachusetts
15. Maine
16. Louisiana
17. Maryland, Pennsylvania
18. Connecticut, Texas
19. West Virginia
20. Kentucky
21. South Carolina
22. Mississippi, Arkansas, North Dakota, Rhode Island
23. Nebraska
24. Washington
25. Tennessee, Vermont

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Monthly official organ of the INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE (Carrie Chapman Catt, President)

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"I intend to comply with the war order and observe Wheatless and Meatless Days, but I cannot, yet, give up the Woman Citizen."

This sentence is taken from a letter written by one of the *Woman Citizen* subscribers living in Detroit, Michigan. Do not let your subscription lapse. Your renewal is important to the success of the only Woman's National Political Weekly.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

May 11, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Forty Million Women Enfranchised in War Time

AS the *Woman Citizen* goes to press on Wednesday of this week *finis* is about to be written on the last page of the Book of Woman Suffrage in the Congress of the United States. That the vote in the Senate on the Federal Suffrage Amendment will be called within a few days from this writing is assured, unless some unforeseen complication develops. That the vote on the Amendment itself will score for it the necessary two-thirds majority, nobody really doubts. That the forty years' struggle for this measure should end in its acceptance as a feature of America's fighting program for world-wide democracy must come to women as a moving indication of the deep honesty of purpose behind that program.

Suffrage as a war measure.

Since the war began, we have said it unceasingly. Its unanswerable logic finds its best demonstration in the figures that cover the tremendous strides made by the cause throughout the world within the last three years.

Involved in a vast war and war-time problems, numerous states and nations have yet taken time to enfranchise approximately 40,000,000 women.

This does not include the vast number of American women, approximately 20,000,000, who are now assured full suffrage as a result of the tremendous wave of suffrage sentiment that is sweeping the world.

In each instance these victories have been gained, or initiated, within the period of the war, and they reflect the determination of leading statesmen and political leaders to regard woman suffrage as a genuine war measure.

Almost without exception it has been the sole political question, outside of those directly connected with the conduct and the management of the war, which has received serious attention in the world's legislative bodies.

Nine great states and nations have extended the suffrage to their women since 1915.

In point of numbers Russia heads the list with ap-

proximately 26,000,000 enfranchised women, Great Britain comes next with 6,000,000, and New York follows with practically 3,000,000 new citizens; other suffrage gains within the last three years have been: British Columbia, 81,727 women; Manitoba, 103,160; Alberta, 75,084; Saskatchewan, 96,751; Ontario, 718,543; Denmark, 803,986; an approximate total of 37,000,000.

Within the last year partial suffrage, ranging from presidential to municipal, has been granted to the women of the following states: Texas, 999,166; Michigan, 786,033; Arkansas, 351,994; Nebraska, 298,040; Rhode Island, 166,391; Vermont, 106,883; and North Dakota, 122,406.

A definite pledge of suffrage for the women of Italy has been voiced by Premier Orlando. Redeeming this pledge will add more than 10,000,000 to the number of eligible women voters.

The French government, also, has held out promise of the speedy emancipation of the women of that country as soon as the pressing problems of the conduct of the war can be settled.

King Albert of Belgium is reported to have said that one of the first reform measures to be taken up on the restoration of Belgium to the Belgian people will be the enfranchisement of the women of that country.

In Hungary woman suffrage is a live issue today, and important concessions have been promised by political leaders.

Rumania is another European country which has reached the stage of promise of suffrage for women.

It is since the war began that the campaign for the extension of full suffrage to women has gained its greatest impetus in America.

The war's end will see self-government an established fact in America as in Europe.

That three-fourths of the states stand ready to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment whenever the Senate passes it on to them does not admit of question.

Whyettes?

"OFFICERETTE."
"Conductorette."

"Yeomanette."

"Farmerette."

"Motorcyclette."

Whyettes?

Or, if we must have them, let's have, too, the stokerette, the longshoremanette, and the gunnerette.

Living down the diminutive is one of woman's war problems.

It's all very well to be an "ette" when one leads a doll's house existence of frills and fluffs and gay refrains.

But out as close to the firing line as women have to move today, being an "ette" is about as satisfying as being a war nurse without military rank.

Don't Talk Like a Prussian

THE place where opposition to suffrage centers is in Berlin. Not opposition to woman suffrage only, but to any suffrage at all. All the world around, save only in Germany, there has been an advance in human freedom since the war broke out. Definite electoral reforms among the Allied nations, extending the franchise to new groups of citizens, have been achieved already or are in process of achievement. In America also this is true. Since August, 1914, three states have granted full suffrage to women; two have granted primary suffrage; several others have made striking extensions in women's political voting power, and the House of Representatives has voted for the national enfranchisement of women. Germany out of all the world has locked its doors against human freedom.

A few days ago the lower House of the Prussian Diet rejected equal suffrage by a vote of 235 to 183. Equal suffrage in this instance did not mean and was never intended to mean equality between men and women, for the proposal of Herr Braun to permit "the right to vote to begin on the twentieth birthday without regard to sex" had been previously rejected.

The Prussian Electoral Reform Bill was intended to equalize the voting privileges of males only. Yet even so, it made no headway.

The Prussian government knows what it is about. It knows that on the basis of popular representation it could not carry on its slow and relentless domination of the many by the few. Electoral reform inside the Central Powers spells defeat for German pretensions to world power.

On the other hand, the Allies know what they are about. Making the world safe for democracy is a move of all the people for all the people.

They cannot expect to win their cause on one front if they lose it on another.

They cannot fight for and against democracy at the same moment any more than Germany can fight for and against autocracy at the same moment.

The Central Powers and the Allies are therefore each running

true to type. To which type do you belong? If you say the women of the United States should wait until after the war to seek their political freedom, you are making use of the identical argument used in the Prussian Diet in April against any electoral reform whatsoever.

At this juncture of the world's struggle for freedom can you afford to talk like a Prussian?

"Seeds of Dynamite"

REPUBLICS are less inclined than monarchies to make wars of aggression. In the discussion in the American press as to what will happen after the war it has repeatedly been suggested that the Allies, if they should be in a position to dictate the peace terms, ought to make Germany a republic. It has been objected that this would be interfering with another country's internal affairs; and in reply it has been stated that the Allies would only be following the precedent set by Germany herself, since she imposed a republican form of government on France after the Franco-Prussian War, believing that France would be less dangerous to Germany as a republic than as a monarchy.

This argument has been widely circulated in the press, and, as copied in the *Woman Citizen*, has been challenged by the opponents of suffrage.

At the close of the Franco-Prussian War the French Emperor was a prisoner in the hands of Germans. It was uncertain whether the French empire would be restored or a French republic established. "The Republic was preferable in German eyes." ("A Short History of Germany," by Ernest F. Henderson, the Macmillan Co., Volume II, page 446.) But on this occasion Prussia did not use compulsion. Free elections were held throughout France and a National Assembly was chosen. Various members were monarchists, but they could not agree on a candidate for the throne, so the country got along famously without a king, and the present republic was gradually evolved.

Long may it live and flourish!

Germany desired a republican form of government for France, but the initiative to establish that government was taken by France. This, however, in no way establishes the absurd claim of the anti-suffragists that the present French republic was "reborn" because the original French revolution had refused to let women vote.

In this connection it is amusing to recall the holy horror of the French revolution which used to be expressed by American anti-suffragists until quite recent times. Mrs. Caroline F. Corbin, the president of the now defunct "Illinois Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women," flooded the country with a printed circular declaring that the French revolution had scattered over the world the dynamite from which had sprung the seeds that gave birth to all the modern woman's movements. We made fun of her mixed metaphor, pointing out that dynamite does not bear seeds, neither do seeds give birth to movements. Today our anti-suffragists, though Tories to the marrow of their bones, sing the French revolution's praises. Verily the world moves!

A. S. B.

Are You for Suffrage?

IF you are, are you always on the job?

Do you make use of every chance that comes your way to make the case for suffrage?

If you don't, read this letter from Colonel W. O. Owen, Curator of the Army Medical Museum, and be ashamed of yourself.

The letter was written to Major William F. Snow, and it says:
MY DEAR SNOW:

I can only say that I hope and pray with you that the war will speed up your campaign, but do not forget, my dear fellow, that there are two large classes upon whom you lay the weight of carrying this burden that you have in hand. They, and they alone, can put it across; they, and they alone, can reach the great sisterhood of wives and mothers, and it is they who must, by the force of public opinion, accomplish these things that you have in view—they are the female practitioners and trained nurses; they know the truth in its broad nakedness, God bless them! I hope they will realize the enormous importance of woman suffrage, enabling them to carry this across. To my mind woman suffrage is the greatest factor that has appeared upon the horizon in my day for the improvement of the moral and physical welfare of mankind.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) W. O. OWEN.

In answer to a question about the letter, Colonel Snow said:

"It expresses only the thought that is in my own mind, the needs of which were sown in my mind by one of the greatest brains it has ever been my privilege to know—my own mother. I would not be true to myself if I felt or thought that my own brain was of better material than that of the woman who gave me birth, and made all that is good in me what it is."

Keeping the Antis Guessing

TIME was when the antis stock-in-trade was the dangerous fire-brand quality of woman. Then war came, and the fire-brandish lady seemed likely to become an asset. Far be it from antis to credit suffragists with explosive qualities when dynamics are in fashion.

Therefore the suffragists who had just adapted their minds to being terrorists were suddenly brought to book for being pacifists. It was now their sheeplike submission to their country's dangers which had become so intolerable.

Mr. Judson C. Welliver, newspaper writer, and for the past year special London correspondent for the *New York Sun*, has brought back a timely refutation of the anti-suffragists' war-time charge against the suffragists.

In an interview quoted in the *Washington Star*, Mr. Welliver recalls that it has been said that English women got the vote because the conservatives hoped they would fall in line with the early peace idea. "If so," says Mr. Welliver, "the conservatives must be sorely disappointed. The women are the radicals, they want the war pushed to a conclusion. Both in this respect and in their industrial part in the war, women have fully justified their demand for suffrage."

"One hears more talk here of British labor unrest than is heard in England. The demands of British labor are not for a premature peace, but for a rearrangement of things after peace comes which shall justify the war. In the making, right now in England, is a future genuine democracy—a democracy in which some radical experiments will be tried."

Mr. Welliver goes on to predict a long war, one that shall strain the resources of all the Allied countries. Women of Great Britain see far ahead. They too are bracing themselves for an intolerable strain and are thanking God that their men, with whom they are working shoulder to shoulder, have given them new political powers with which to meet the future.

Suffrage Briefs

THE WOMAN'S DIVISION of the New York County Republican Committee has inaugurated a drive for a record breaking enrollment of the Republican women in that county. May 25 is the day appointed by the board of elections for the enrollment of women in the primaries. It is expected that women Republican district leaders and helpers to the number of 4,000 will work on this enrollment campaign. The plan calls for a house to house canvass, thus establishing a personal acquaintance with the new voters. The county organization of women leaders is practically completed and the canvass under their direction will start at once. In some districts the work is already well under way, and seventy-five per cent. of the women have been personally interviewed by the Republican women captains.

TAMMANY wigwam has ceased being the home of the braves only. On Tuesday, May 7, all its traditions were shattered and for the first time in its history, women were elected to its Executive Committee.

There were thirty-two women in this distinguished first group and five more are to be elected. After this Tammany's organization will be a symbol of the new ideal in politics—absolute equality between the sexes. Thirty-seven men and thirty-seven women will make up its guiding force.

These women will serve until the fall primaries when they, or others, will be chosen from the duly elected women members of the General Committee of the Democratic Party for each of the assembly districts of the city.

The women are reported to have been quite at their ease and they even seized the opportunity to propose a measure characteristically high-minded, impersonal and pertinent to the country's needs. They moved that the committee go on record as favoring legislation in Washington which would put the "nurses of the Red Cross on the same footing as regards rank as the members of the military establishment."

This was the first motion ever put by a woman in the councils of the Tammany organization, and it was passed unanimously. Leader Charles E. Murphy is said to have beamed with smiles. He complimented the women on the place they are taking in politics. "I was very much impressed," said he. "These women are real leaders. They seemed earnest and very much interested."

Suffrage in the Senate

(Special to the Woman Citizen)

SUFFRAGISTS prepare to have your vocabulary deleted. "The suffrage situation in the Senate" is about to pass into the limbo of forgotten phrases. Day by day and inch by inch that situation has been moving forward to the point where it could be tipped over the edge, until now at last that delectable denouement is in sight. May even have come to pass before this is read.

Today, Monday, Senator Jones, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, moved to obtain consent to make the Federal Suffrage Amendment the special order of business on Friday of this week. Of the sixty-one Senators present, forty lined up in favor of the motion and twenty-one against it. As the Vice-President ruled that a two-thirds majority was required, the motion was lost by one vote. Senator Jones then announced that he would call up his motion again on Friday, and there the matter rests at the close of this the sixth day of May.

Whether the vote be called for Friday or a few days later, the point is, it is about to be called, and the suffragists' long tryst with anxiety will be over. Nobody has ever doubted the outcome in the Senate, but the unfortuitous and delaying circumstances that have punctuated the winter have been as unprecedented as that winter's snows. Of six Senators who have died during the year, five were suffragists. Of twenty-four Senators who were called out of Washington during one recent week, twenty were suffragists—and so it has gone, week by week, since January 10. Only women as wise and patient and capable as those at Suffrage House could have borne up under the insuperable strain of it all.

And today it is assumed to be as good as over. The outlook is too bright to countenance any thought of defeat. Besides, no suffragist knows the meaning of that word, anyway. Postponement? Just possibly. But defeat never.

Today's line-up was by no means complete, 35 Senators not being heard from. Nor was it an accurate test of the suffrage strength in the Senate, some opponents of immediate consideration being committed to the passage of the amendment whenever it comes to vote.

Those who voted to take up the resolution next Friday were: Democrats—Ashurst, Beckham, Chamberlain, Culberson, Gerry, Henderson, Hollis, Jones of New Mexico, Kirby, Lewis, McKellar, Nugent, Nolan, Pittman, Randell, Robinson, Shafroth, Sheppard, Thompson and Walsh—20.

Republicans—Calder, Colt, Curtis, France, Gallinger, Gronna, Johnson of California, Jones of Washington, Kenyon, Lenroot, New, Norris, Page, Poindexter, Sherman, Smoot, Sterling, Sutherland, Warren and Watson—20. Total, 40.

Those voting against were: Democrats—Bankhead, Fletcher, Hardwick, Martin, Pomerene, Read, Saulsbury, Shields, Simmonds, Smith of South Carolina, Swanson, Tillman, Trammell, Vardaman and Williams—16.

Republicans—Dillingham, Knox, Dodge, McLean and Weeks, 5. Total, 21.



The Voice of Millions of Women

AT the eleventh hour women of the country are massing their strength to urge the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. In Hot Springs, Arkansas, the biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, representing 2,500,000 women, sent a resolution to the Senate to act favorably on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The resolution, which was adopted unanimously and was sent to Washington, follows:

"The fourteenth biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs assembled at Hot Springs, Ark., representing 2,500,000 women of the United States, earnestly request your honorable body to take immediate favorable action on the pending resolution to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment to the several state legislatures that democracy in the United States may be complete."

At the Indianapolis Convention, in April, a similar resolution was sent to the Senate from the Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association speaking for 2,000,000 women in its organization.

New York City's 322 affiliated clubs, representing 125,000 women of the Greater City, have within the past few days also called upon the Senate to pass "at once" the Federal Suffrage Amendment enfranchising women of America and "establishing at home that democracy for which men of this country have been called to fight abroad."

This resolution from New York City woman voters was passed unanimously and ordered sent to President Wilson, Vice-President Marshall; to Senator Thomas Martin, Democratic leader; and to Senator Jacob H. Gallinger, Republican leader. It was also sent to New York's two Senators, William Calder and James Wadsworth, Jr. These women voters represent the largest organized group of women in the city.

What Florida Women Want

THE Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, representing 10,000 of the most intelligent women of the State, various local non-affiliated clubs, the Business Women's League, etc., has adopted the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, The women of the nation are being called upon to share the burdens and responsibilities incidental to our country's present crisis; and,

WHEREAS, Although they are responding patriotically to that call, we feel that their patriotism would be immensely more effective if they were made citizens of the United States; and,

WHEREAS, The Provinces of Canada and European countries, such as England, France and others, are enfranchising their women in war time; and,

WHEREAS, The war is being fought professedly to vindicate "the right of those who submit to authority to have voice in the government"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the President to use his power as President to assist in passing the amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women, as a war-measure; and that we appeal to the Congress of the United States to pass this amendment during the present session; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to President Wilson, to the leaders in the Senate, and to the United States Senators from Florida, Hon. Park Trammell and Hon. Duncan U. Fletcher.

By No Means Excluding Men

THE Democratic Executive Committee of Dade County, Florida, unanimously endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment at its recent session at Miami. They further called upon Senators Fletcher and Trammell of that state to vote "yes" when the Amendment should be before the Senate for a vote.

A Call to Women

MR. WILL H. HAYS, chairman of the Republican National Committee, is urging the participation of Republican women in national politics. Mr. Hays has been up and down the land to strengthen the Republican organization. He has seen women's work in suffrage states, systematically articulated in Colorado where "there is a woman for every man in every organization committee, from the State Committee right down to the Precinct Committee," more loosely organized in Wyoming, yet always a factor in state government. And Mr. Hays is urging women all over the nation to work shoulder to shoulder with men.

May 7 he said to New York Republicans:

"Political parties exist in order that men and women of certain well-defined political faiths should come together and impress that faith upon the Government. There should be no question of personal gain. Everything should be centred upon the advancement of the Government by the bettering of the laws and principles under which we live.

"With these conditions, there is no reason why women should not have the fullest participation in all affairs of the political parties."

Flood Tide in Woman's Favor

MRS. MINNIE FISHER CUNNINGHAM, president of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, in response to a wire from the suffragists of San Antonio, requesting that she tell her own story of the victory, told the following, forwarded to the *Woman Citizen* by Mrs. Helen Moore, vice-president of the state association:

"Once upon a time a very fair and beautiful mansion was built, the building of it covered many years and the laborers on it were legion.

"First there came those who cleared away the stones and bushes, and drained away the unhealthy waters on the site, and laid the foundation. They labored mightily and with no encouragement, because all who came by ridiculed them and jeered at them for wasting time on a building which could not stand even if they succeeded in clearing the ground for it; mostly those who jeered passed on, but here and there one remained to watch and later to help.

"These laborers, one by one, went to their long reward with nothing save their vision of the finished structure to cheer them. Then came others and builded the walls, and laid off the rooms, and many more stopped to help them as the building assumed shape and beauty, but these, too, mostly were gathered to their fathers before the building was complete, having given much of their lives to the work.

"A new generation took up the work, but these laborers, and there were many thousands of them, spent only a few years of their youth in crowning the walls with a roof.

"One day the people passing saw that a beautiful structure was nearing completion, a fair and stately mansion indeed. And they acclaimed the leader of the builders with shouts of joy and congratulations, saying, 'You have builded wisely and well, and many who shall rest in this house hereafter will call your name blessed.'

"But the builder was an honest workman and knew in his heart that to the vision of those who had cleared the rough ground and laid the foundation, and perished amid the ridicule of the unseeing public, honor and thanks were due, and that he had but followed teachably in the footsteps of those great ones who had seen, by the light of the spirit only, what it had been given him to see in actual form and color.

"And this is my story of the Suffrage Victory that we have won, not by the leadership of a few, but by the labor of many. And it is to these early builders who labored without reward I bring the laurel wreath of victory today and lay it at their feet with a heart overflowing with gratitude.

"For every honest workman among us must acknowledge that their task was a million times harder than ours, for the tide of public sentiment was set dead against them, and theirs was the task of turning it so that today it is almost a flood tide in our favor."

THE bill to permit the women of Great Britain to act as solicitors has passed its third reading in the House of Lords by a vote of 47 to 19, and at this writing is awaiting action by the House of Commons. This is one of the first steps in advance for women since the passage of the Representation of the People

Bill, and marks the end of one of the longest and hardest struggles for professional recognition ever waged by the women of any land.

LOUISIANA came very near being one of the first states in the Union to grant suffrage to women. This interesting bit of suffrage history is recalled in a recent interview with Mrs. Henry M. Youmans, president of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association, who has very recently returned from a stay in Louisiana.

"I was told by those familiar with the situation that Louisiana has long been tolerant toward the enfranchisement of women," said Mrs. Youmans, "and that it came near giving the women full franchise rights some twenty or more years ago when the new state constitution was under consideration. The question of woman suffrage was prominently heard in debates at that time and was favorably received by a large number of the delegates. It was killed by a politician, who had no reason to expect the favor of the women, but the taxpayers' right to vote on bond issues was bestowed upon the women and they still retain and exercise that measure of suffrage."

In spite of that setback, so long ago, suffrage has grown in popularity and strength in this very southern state until it is one of the live issues of the day.

Women Ask Vote in M. E. Church, South

TO any one who believes that Southern women do not want to vote, the story of the seethings and boilings of democracy in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South., held in Atlanta, Georgia, the first week in May, tells a tale.

Introduction of memorials and resolutions from the district conferences calling for important changes in the laws of the Church featured the second day's session of the conference. Several of these proposed measures, especially those asking laity rights for women, enlarged powers of laymen, the removal of the time limit on preachers and presiding elders, and the creation of episcopal districts, were taken to indicate that a spiritual fight would be made for the further democratization of Southern Methodism.

The memorial of the women's missionary council, headed by Miss Belle Bennett, of Richmond Ky., was presented by the Rev. C. O. Jones, of Atlanta, Ga. The paper declared that the hour had come when the women of the church be allowed all the privileges enjoyed by the men in the church. A strong plea was made asking that the discipline be amended to give women every right not only as members, but as officials in the church. Similar memorials were also presented by the north Texas conference, the Illinois conference, the Virginia conference and the Fort Worth, Texas, district conference.

What was considered a radical measure by many delegates was the memorial presented by the Texas conference asking that laymen be invited to sit with the presiding elders in the bishop's cabinet when making appointments of ministers.



A Ninety-Two Per Cent Poll

THE American Association of Engineers recently took a poll of its members, numbering several thousand in Chicago and vicinity, to ascertain their attitude on equal suffrage. The result was 92 per cent in favor, and 8 per cent opposed. "This vote represents the sentiment of the leading engineers and technical men who are today the principal figures in the world's war for democracy, which is based largely upon the engineering principles," said the secretary of the association in his letter to the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, reporting the result of the poll.

Women Experts Go to France

WITH Mrs. Raymond Brown, of New York City, who sailed this week for France in the interests of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., were three women experts, who are on their way to join the hospitals.

Miss Harriet Marple, of Columbus, Ohio, has recently served an apprenticeship of many months under Dr. Messinger in the Dakin-Carel paraffine treatment for cuts and burns. Miss Marple gained her experience in the Carnegie steel works, where there were often from fifteen to twenty cuts and burns a day. She has also specialized in the Ambrine treatment of wounds.

Miss Mary Quain had a successful sanitarium for children in Honolulu, Hawaii, before the war. She is now on the way to France to put her experience to the use of children in devastated districts.

Mrs. Sarah Olds, the third member of Mrs. Brown's group, gained her experience as a worker for children in the Department of Health of the City of New York.

The Varied Interests of



HON. MAGGIE SMITH HATHAWAY

THE LADY FROM RAVALLI

ONE of the two women first elected to the Montana Legislature and the first woman to preside over the House, is Mrs. Maggie Smith Hathaway, member from Ravalli. She conducted a personal campaign on a state wide prohibition platform as Democratic nominee for Legislature in a normally Republican county.

As a legislator, here are some of the things Mrs. Hathaway has stood for: She is state chairman of the Committee on Public Morals. She has introduced seven measures, five of which passed the House. She drafted Montana's first Mother's Pension Bill; introduced the prohibition memorial to Congress; made the speech that won the eight-hour law for women; fought for the Child Welfare division. She made an independent tour of her state for woman



HER OUT-OF-DOOR OFFICE

suffrage and prohibition in the suffrage campaign of 1914, which put Montana on the suffrage map.

Why shouldn't she do all of these things and do them well? She derives from the old Adams family of Massachusetts, who sent men to Congress and the White House. She is a real Yankee by way of Ohio and the Western Reserve. When a friend once said of her that she was lucky, she said, "No, not lucky, just persistent and insistent."

Yankee grit, maybe. But if she had stayed in Massachusetts her state would have voted her incompetent for the ballot—or to sit in the state legislature.

IN FEBRUARY, 1918, SHE CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF THE GRAIN FARMERS, OFFERING THE SERVICES OF THE WOMEN OF THE STATE TO SERVE IN THE FIELDS THIS FALL TO HARVEST THE CROPS IF NECESSARY



AND THIS WAS NO IDLE BOAST, FOR SHE CAN MAKE HER OFFER GOOD. SHE RUNS A MANLESS FARM UNDER THE SHADOWS OF THE BITTER ROOT MOUNTAINS, HITCHING HER TEAM OF HORSES TO HER OWN PLOW

s of a Woman Legislator



SORTING APPLES FOR MARKET

It takes some shrewdness to sort out good legislative measures that are worth working for, just as it does to sort and ship apples.

Mrs. Hathaway has been called the "Champion of Women," and the labor people and farmers pin their faith to her.

Men in the Montana legislature call her Mrs. Hathaway; but they say it is a good way.

"She is the biggest man in the House," said one legislator. "Yet she weighs but 115 pounds."

**WHEN HER PLACE IS
IN THE HOME, SHE
CAN CARE FOR THE
SICK, BAKE BREAD,
SERVE A GOOD MEAL,
RAISE HER OWN
POULTRY, MAKE A
GARDEN, MILK COWS,
DO HER OWN LAUN-
DRY WORK, SEW,
USE A HAMMER, SAW
AND PLANE**



HITTING THE NAIL ON THE HEAD EVERY TIME

Whether Mrs. Hathaway is driving home an argument for a legislative measure or merely putting together wooden boxes in which to ship her apples to market, she can nail the thing she is after with a sure blow.

Helena newspapers credit her with having made the "most forceful and eloquent talk of the special session when she was speaking on the seed grain bill."

It is hinted that Mrs. Hathaway, whose hair is really red, as she owns, stands a perfectly good chance of being another "lady from Montana" on the Democratic ticket if she wants to be.



**SHE CAN GATHER APPLES AS
WELL AS BALLOTS**



**SHE HAS TAKEN PREMIUMS AT STATE FAIRS ON HER
CANNED GOODS**

Notes and Comment

BY ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Have Women Time?

THIS war is bringing tremendous tasks to men—tasks that often occupy men in high positions all day, and far into the night. Yet every one of them if he is truly patriotic, is expected to find time to form an opinion and cast a vote. There would be general disapproval of the attitude of the Archbishop of Canterbury, if the story related of him is true—that he lately told a newspaper reporter he worked seventeen hours a day, and had no time to form an opinion on the labor question.

One of the stock objections to equal suffrage has always been that women would not have time to fit themselves to vote intelligently without neglecting their household duties. Few women have duties that take as much time as those of the heads of great industries, or of Government departments. Yet all these men carrying enormous responsibilities on their shoulders find time to vote—or can find it if they wish. Even President Wilson went back to New Jersey to cast his vote.

It is sometimes said that a man's business gives him the experience that shows him how to run the Government, while a woman's does not. But this is a delusion. The Archbishop of Canterbury did not feel that his ecclesiastical labors qualified him to solve the problems of a wholly different kind of labor. The surgeon does not learn from his work how to run a post office, nor the lawyer how to pave a street, nor the butcher how to select school teachers or policemen, or the baker how to equip an army or put out a fire. No man's daily work gives him an insight into more than one or two of the many matters with which government has to deal; and the average woman's work as mother and housekeeper gives her an insight into a few of the most important. Men and women together have more knowledge than either sex alone; and the combined wisdom of both will be needed for the arduous task of rebuilding the world after the war.

A Gold Brick for Germany

FRANCHISE reform is a burning question, even in militaristic Germany, and even in war time. The present system, under which about one-fourth of the men elect three-fourths of the Reichstag, has long been the object of strong protest; and the Kaiser had promised franchise reform, as a war measure. But, emboldened by recent military successes, the framers of the so-called reform bill have offered the German people a gold brick. It proposes to perpetuate plural voting, and most of the old abuses, with the smallest possible modicum of change. Dr. Dernburg himself is reported in the conservative *Frankfurter Zeitung* as saying, in a recent address in Frankfurt:

"We must fight against the foe within as well as against the foe without. The whole power of the Fatherland party is in the hands of reactionary despots, the very men who have upheld despotic government, unequal suffrage, and class privilege.

"This party has developed into a powerful weapon against progress, with the press of the

land-owners and the great interests as its organ. Witness the saying of the notorious Herr von Oldenburg-Janushau, 'If we get equal suffrage in Prussia, then we have lost the war.'"

By equal suffrage, he meant only equal suffrage for men—the principle of one man, one vote. But it is interesting to see the reactionaries in Germany using exactly the same argument against franchise reform for men that the reactionaries in America are using against the ballot for women. Toryism is of a piece, all the world over.

Count the Girls In

PERHAPS the most interesting and illuminating of the many books lately published about Russia is Ernest Poole's "The Dark People." It is a sympathetic study by a man who made his investigations on the spot, and it throws light upon many things that have been obscure to most Americans. Incidentally, it shows that woman suffrage does some good even when it is tried under the most disadvantageous circumstances—in this case, in a nation that has been kept for centuries in compulsory ignorance.

For many years, it has been the custom for the Russian village to apportion the communal land among the various peasant families. A new apportionment is made about once in twenty years. Mr. Poole says:

"Land is a passion with the Russian peasant. In a very literal sense, his life depends upon it. So it is, too, with the women. And when the revolution granted woman suffrage, all over Russia, the peasant women suddenly awoke to the fact, and used their new power to make one, and only one, demand—land for their daughters. Hitherto in the village divisions the land had been allotted according to the number of male children in each family. Now, declared the mothers, every girl must be counted in!"

This is clearly reasonable, since the girls as well as the boys have to be fed from the land; and it is doubly right, since the Russian peasant women have always worked on the land side by side with the men. Yet it took woman suffrage to open people's eyes to the need of this perfectly obvious piece of justice and fair play. In Russia, certainly, no peasant woman hereafter will ever say that the right to vote has nothing to do with the chance to earn a living!

Harder Still

WOMEN as well as men are getting many kinds of new experience by the war, which will be useful to them after the war is over. The same is true of the struggle for the ballot. It has taught many women how to pull together and do team play. At Indianapolis the other day, when Mrs. Catt said that Mrs. Maud Wood Park in her work at Washington for the Federal Amendment had won the good will and respect of all the Senators, even of those who are opposed to suffrage, Dr. Anna H. Shaw added, "And she has also won the confidence and respect of all the women who have worked with her—which was harder."

Women particularly need to learn team play, because that is the most effective way to get

things done, and because their isolated method of doing their work has not tended to prepare them to work together. The women's clubs, the reform movements, and now the great war, are making a revolution in women's thoughts and ways. The old wish to help their families and to do good to others will always be there, but it will be worked out more intelligently and on a broader scale.

Kindergarten Teachers

THERE are nearly four million small children in the United States who cannot receive the benefits of kindergarten teaching, because there are not enough kindergartens. The Council of National Defense has lately called attention to this fact, and to the importance of spreading kindergarten advantages more widely; and Congress has made an appropriation to promote kindergarten training. It is felt that we cannot begin too early to lay the foundations of good citizenship.

One vital point that should be borne in mind in this connection is the need of better pay for kindergarten teachers. It is a common belief that a teacher's salary ought to be in inverse ratio to the age of the pupils, those who train the little ones getting the least. But it is at this early age that the most lasting impressions are made. A really good kindergarten teacher probably does more to promote good citizenship than the average college president.

The shortage in the supply of teachers, due to poor pay, is especially acute in the kindergarten department. In at least one American city that prides itself upon being intellectual, so few girls are fitting themselves for kindergarten work that if a kindergarten teacher falls ill, it is almost impossible for her to get a substitute, and she often drags herself to school when quite unfit to go, because there is no one to take her place. The evils of overwork are thus added to those of underpay. If a wide extension of kindergarten training is desirable—and unquestionably it is—the Bureau of Education should do what it can to encourage liberal salaries for kindergartens.

It is of interest in this connection to remember that in our Western states the granting of equal suffrage gave an immediate and marked stimulus to the kindergarten movement. Women realize more keenly than most men the needs of the very little children.

"Seth Way"

AROMANCE of the New Harmony Community, by Caroline Dale Owen (Mrs. C. H. Snedeker), Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

This book is that rare product, a really good historical novel. It describes with ability, vividness and sympathy an interesting humanitarian experiment carried on in the early days of Indiana. The author assures us that everything which may seem improbable in the story is true, and that the strange adventures of its heroine were those of a good and beautiful woman who was really a member of the New Harmony settlement.

Shin Shin Fujin

BY MADAME KIMURA KOMAKO

MY fundamental demand for woman suffrage is based upon the differences between the sexes. The two different natures and energies of the masculine and feminine types are the two great symbols in the original creative power of the universe. In order to secure society and to establish its advancement this philosophy of sex differentiation is absolutely necessary.

参政權婦人

THE
JAPANESE
SUFFRAGIST

Under a supremely masculine policy, the laws of the country to which I belong are constructed so that no women have power to enter into the political circle. Yet any fundamental understanding of the duties and rights of our social existence cannot be had without political self-realization. In Japan, where I belong, though there are a few women who want to explain the rights and capacities of their sex, they must keep the mouth closed and remain dumb.

Such is my country.

I shall not criticize Europe now fighting for life, but here in this United States, where I am living and observing, the woman suffrage movement is successful almost everywhere, and is advancing with steady steps. In 1869 the state of Wyoming won the right of woman suffrage. And then, last year, in 1917, New York state brilliantly gained its right of suffrage. Even now in all the other states the fight is going steadily on, led by prominent suffragists.

It is really a wonder of wonders.

On the 27th of October, 1917, on the day of the great parade on Fifth Avenue, in New York, I marched with the women, and I beheld a systematic and magnificent sight. At that time I could not refrain from thinking about our lovely country and the condition of our sisters in Japan.

The secluded dream of the masculine policy of our country was awakened by the sound of bombardment from American Black Ships (we called Kuro Fune). This was more than fifty years ago, just about the time that the pioneer suffragists in the United States stood on the firm rock of political self-realization and beheld the dawn of the suffragist movement. There is no doubt but that in our country this movement has lingered far behind. Yet there, too, this atmosphere, the atmosphere of the suffragist movement, is undeniable. It is our social and evolutionary destiny. Woman suffrage is the high tide which is dashing toward yonder shore, rolling in on waves of good and evil.

The great conflict in Europe is giving strength to this movement and will carry forward its advancement. On the sixteenth of March, 1913, six years ago, I proclaimed woman suffrage in the midst of Tokio—this was the very first suffrage meeting in Japan—and organized Shin Shin Fujin Kai (The New True Woman Society), and published the magazine Shin Shin Fujin (The New True Woman) as the organ of this movement. But in no free way could I express my opinion in the paper nor even in public speech. I had to hide my thought in the sleeves of a literary garment and under the vague title of "the woman question." On such a vast topic I could scarcely spread my thought.



MME. KIMURA KOMAKO
(A New True Woman of Japan)

The sisters in the United States may laugh at the idea that I had no power to proclaim woman suffrage boldly, but let me quote here a few lines from the Japanese law: "Women and young men (young men under twenty years of age) are not allowed to come to political meetings; also not allowed to become organizers." My movement was absolutely forbidden under these few lines of our stony-hearted and fanatical old law. Before I started in Japan, at the time of the Okuma's Cabinet, an effort was made to send a plea to Congress to leave out the word "women" from this law. I met Mr. Yukio Ozaki, Minister of Justice, at that time, and a member of the House of Representatives, and Mr. Kenzo Adachi, a member of the House of Representatives and the leader of the Doshi Kai. (Now he is leader of the Ken Sei Kai.) This party was then the largest in numbers in the House of Representatives. I told them my opinion. Mr. Ozaki agreed to my idea, and Mr. Adachi is contemplating this movement with great interest.

Unrolling the scroll of the history of our country, tracing it up to the ancient time, one finds the ancestral goddess of our country to be Ama-Terasu-O-Mikami, "the Lady of the Light." She was the feminine element, the divine mistress of creation. One follows down to the era of Jin-go-ko-go, an empress who reigned over Corea. I behold her brave figure. So in the history of our country we can find the brilliant spirits of many females whose political activities were really great.

At present Japan is standing at its most important moment. She never before had such activity. The contact with the European war, the Siberian question, the Chinese question, and the question of the international relation with the United States, a relation which must be most friendly and needs our vital patriotic

emotion, all press for attention. So many affairs are longing and waiting the feminine hand to touch and heal them. Such a busy autumn approaching for us!

From the experience of my life, which is like unto the mounting waves on the stormy ocean, from my intellectual training, philosophic, religious and artistic, in which my external experience and internal intellect are humanized, I have dared formulate this one political opinion. Fervently I wish I could publish and spread this opinion. In this intention I will publish the magazine "The Japanese Suffragist" as my political organ. I am going to continue my work which I was obliged to stop in Japan. This magazine will be printed both in Japanese and English, and will be sent all over Japan, the United States and Europe. My supreme hope in proclaiming this declaration is that it will inspire better understanding and more friendship between the United States and Japan. It is also to be a prophetic cry foretelling the dawn of the peace of the world.

The sisters in the United States, the sisters in Japan and the sisters in the international suffrage movement, I trust, will all agree to my plan and aid me. I say again: the social philosophy which will bring forth the prosperity of society and the peace of the world must be based upon the recognition of the inherent differences and complementarity of the two sexes—male boldness, female pureness—masculine fortitude, feminine gentleness.

Brothers of the male nature, in Japan and the United States, who occupy governmental positions, I pray all of you do not let this policy—whereby a glorious guardianship of civilization by both sexes can be established on the earth—please do not let this policy stand so long in unmatred loneliness.



EAST MEETS WEST AND BOTH SMILE

Madame Kimura Komako, who was editor of a feminist journal in Japan for some time before coming to this country, and Miss Rose Young, editor-in-chief of the WOMAN CITIZEN.

Women's Wit in War Work

OHIO suffragists have found a specific field of war service in "maintaining school standards."

The Ohio Woman Suffrage Association had been active in war service work, co-operating with various committees, state and national, formed for that special purpose, but it wanted its own war work, and now it has found it. "The Maintenance of School Standards" is a special branch of the Department of Educational Propaganda, one of the important departments under the Woman's Committee of the Ohio Council of Defense.

The decision to adopt this special work was reached at a joint conference of a committee appointed from the suffrage association by Mrs. Harriett Taylor Upton, and Miss Belle Sherwin, who is head of the Woman's Committee and was recently appointed by the Governor a member of the Ohio Branch of the Council of National Defense. Mrs. Upton instigated the work and in a recent talk before the Woman's Committee, urged the necessity of looking closely to the welfare of the public schools.

AKILL-the-Rat campaign is on in Atlanta, Ga., and rat killing week was the big feature of the April calendar in that city. This novel campaign was started by the Atlanta Equal Suffrage Association and is being waged from patriotic motives. The suffragists are hoping the movement will be statewide and they are encouraged to believe that it will extend beyond the state borders, Birmingham, Ala., papers having complimented the women highly upon their campaign. Suffragists point to statistics to prove that rats have destroyed more human lives than all the wars waged since history began, and that they consume enough food to feed the Allies. It is a campaign for the conservation of life, health and food, the suffragists maintain.

IF large farm crops are needed to win the war, Iowa's 16,000 women farm owners and managers, together with the hundreds of wives and daughters of farmers engaged in farm work, propose to do their share. Under the leadership of Mrs. John Rutledge of Fort Dodge, recently appointed agricultural chairman for Iowa under the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and president of the Iowa Association of Women Farmers, the farm women of the state are planning an extraordinary drive for the banner farm and garden crops in the history of the state. The Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, of which Miss Anna B. Lawther, of Dubuque, is president, from the very beginning has taken an aggressive stand for food conservation and increased crops and is this year enlarging its scope of war-time activities to include an even more active participation in the food production work.

Mrs. Rutledge, a woman farmer of high standing, whose knowledge of suffrage is as thorough as her knowledge of farming, is giving the farm women of the state the benefit of her practical experience in organizing the campaign for larger crops. "As Iowa is practically one big farm, I do not expect to recommend any radical changes," said Mrs. Rutledge in outlining her plans for the summer's work.

"I would not suggest that the women attempt any new line of agricultural assistance to the Government except in those particulars recommended by the Government in its food conservation campaign. I shall urge that the women give attention to the usual lines of farm work, such as the testing of seed corn, ordering garden seeds early and with forethought, enlarging of gardens, canning more vegetables and fruit, gathering the eggs more carefully to prevent waste, raising more chickens and eliminating waste from the kitchens. I would like to see an army of College Agricultural recruits organized among our college women who would be willing to help the farm women raise chickens, care for their gardens and can their fruits and vegetables. I believe that this work is just as patriotic as any in which the young women could possibly engage, although it may not be as romantic as some lines of work, and that it will have tremendous value in the winning of the war."

IOWA suffragists plan to turn to the farm also to aid them in raising funds for the Women's Oversea Hospitals. The idea was suggested at the meeting of the First Congressional District, at Fairfield, following an address by Miss Lawther on war work and the Oversea Hospitals. The plan calls for women living in towns to work certain days a week for farm women for definite wages, the wages to be turned over to the Fund for the Oversea Hospitals. The idea is considered entirely feasible for many parts of the state and the matter will be taken up in the counties at once. Iowa recommends the idea to other agricultural states.

The launching of the Third Liberty Loan campaign found the women of Iowa well prepared to do their share of the work. Mrs. W. W. Marsh, a prominent suffragist, was in charge of this work, and organized her workers in every county and district.

KENTUCKY suffragists took an active part in the third Liberty Loan drive of that state. Under the leadership of Mrs. Samuel T. Castleman, president of the Louisville Woman Suffrage Association, who was appointed chairman of the speakers' division of the Women's Liberty Loan Committee, "three-minute speakers" were placed in factories, community gatherings, clubs, theaters and all large meeting places. Some thirty-two prominent suffragists were on the list to speak in the theaters and equally as active a campaign was carried on throughout the different parts of the city.

IT was evident from the solid negative vote cast by the Louisiana Congressmen on January 10 that they had neglected to study the suffrage situation in New Orleans and acquaint themselves with the suffrage sentiment in their own state. About a year ago the Louisiana League for Suffrage came into being at the home of Mrs. William J. O'Donnell and now, domiciled in a beautiful southern mansion, is waging a campaign for 1,000 members.

In addition to doing this big work the members of the League have raised close to \$900 for patriotic war service work. Within

a fortnight the League members finished 200 garments for the Red Cross. They have supplied 600 books and magazines to Camp Nicholls and such acceptable articles as ice cream, eggs, sugar fruit, ice chests and tables to the boys in camp, and the Red Cross was well remembered from the patriotic fund.

It was through Mrs. O'Donnell, president of the League, that the various suffrage associations came together and unified the activities of the state under the organization known as The Woman Suffrage Party of Louisiana.

Suffrage House is being put to many good uses and makes a delightful gathering place for the New Orleans women who are pushing forward and making progress in suffrage fields, even though they must go unaided by their congressional delegation.

THE Baltimore suffragists are calling out to the suffragists of that state to be of good cheer, despite the recent unfavorable action of the Legislature on the question of woman suffrage. Possibly to allay any disappointment that may have arisen in the minds and the hearts of the women and to prove their gallantry, the Legislature decided to permit women to vote for church vestrymen in Allegany County. The bill has been signed by the governor and has now become a law.

Calling attention to the fact that our Allies are confronted by a serious shortage of food and conservation must be carried on in every way, the Baltimore suffragists are urging all their members to sign the little green cards by which they pledge themselves to have war gardens this summer. The women are also urged to join the Land Army and have a suffrage unit. And then for good measure all who can are asked to give their services on behalf of a community kitchen to be "manned, managed and administered by suffragists."

The drive for \$1,000, Maryland's share of the fund necessary to maintain the Women's Oversea Hospitals, goes steadily forward, the completion of the quota being not far distant.

The Woman Suffrage League of Maryland will hold its annual convention the latter part of May.

THE Kenton County Equal Franchise Association of Covington, Kentucky, was hostess at a brilliant military ball in April in honor of the officers and men stationed at Fort Thomas, Kentucky. The proceeds from the affair went to the Laura Clay Ambulance Fund, which is a special war service contribution of the Kentucky suffragists, named in honor of Kentucky's famous suffrage leader.

SIXTY consecutive Wheatless Days will be observed by the Equal Suffrage League of Lynchburg, Virginia. The members of the League have pledged themselves neither to purchase nor use wheat for a period of two months and the hope is expressed by the suffragists that the movement will grow to be state-wide. The chairman of the Red Cross Auxiliary of the Equal Suffrage League of Richmond has made a personal pledge to eat no wheat for the duration of the war and is urging others to take a similar stand.

What You Can Do With Your Vote in the City

"THE scientific administration of the city is an achievement for the Twentieth Century," says Charles Zueblin, writing on municipal administration in 1916.

"There is no denying," James Bryce had said of American city government twenty years earlier, "that city government is a conspicuous failure in the United States."

Thus two authorities bear witness to the fact that the modern city, unprepared for, undreamt of, by the founders of American government is still in the experimental stage. Bryce wrote when all was chaos and corruption, and Zueblin when constructive criticism and experimentation were beginning to bring order.

In the Revolutionary period there were only five places in the United States with a population of over 8,000. Philadelphia, the largest of these, had 42,000; New York, 33,000. Today there are more than 700 places with a population of over 8,000. New York has 5,602,841; Philadelphia, 1,709,518, and Chicago and San Francisco, which were not in existence in 1787, have respectively 2,497,722 and 463,516. The latter is about an average population among our 50 cities of 100,000 and over.

In 1787, nine-tenths of the people were rural. Today more than one-third live in cities of 8,000 and over, and so manifold and so complex are the collective activities of these municipalities that their total annual governmental expense is estimated at least half a billion dollars. New York alone spent in 1915 \$200,000,000, and Chicago \$86,000,000. The average city employs many more officials than the national government did in 1787. New York employs 100,000, 85,000 of them steadily, a total in this one city one-fifth as great as the number employed by the national government today.

The city of the early republic was the village of today. There was nothing in the experience of the Fathers to tell them how to plan for the government of these villages grown mammoth. So as they grew they got along as best they might and gradually settled down, the majority of them, into a form of government modeled on the federal government.

WHATEVER its size, the city, like the village, the county and the town, exists by the grace of the state, from which it has a charter, like the village, as an incorporated place. Its function is, first, like the other local units, to carry out state law, and, second, to perform its own business. The *Evening Mail* gives the following partial list of state laws which affect the city of New York:

"The metropolitan election district law affects this city. The tax laws and civil service rules also apply. Of very large importance, as affecting the physical needs of our millions of citizens, are the health laws. The Tenement House Act affects the greater part of this population. The Municipal Court Act defines the procedure for the municipal courts of this city and the codes of civil and of criminal procedure."

Some of these laws apply to all local units in the state; others, like the Municipal Court Act and the Tenement House Law, to the city alone.

The city charter itself is a state law, a state law especially designed to fit a particular city

or group of cities. Most states have three classes of charter, those for cities of 100,000 and over; those for cities of 25,000 to 100,000, and those for cities of less than 25,000. A few states have no such general laws, but pass the charter of each city as a law by itself fitted to the special needs of that city. The charter is the frame of government, the organic law of the city. It covers, or attempts to cover, every aspect of city government, and its provisions are made effective by city laws or ordinances. The charter is to the city what the constitution is to the state and federal government, and the ordinances are parallel to state and federal laws. Most cities are so dependent on the state that if any condition arises not specifically provided for in the charter they have to go to the state Legislature for special legislation, often on the smallest matters. Thus the city of Chicago had to apply to the Illinois Legislature for legislation allowing her to regulate the width of cartwheels to be used on her streets. Saratoga had to put a law through the New York Legislature in order to be able to license dogs.

NOT all charter laws are as rigid as this; some states so frame city charters as to give the citizens wide leeway in the passage of local ordinances not specifically provided for at the time the charter was drawn up.

Some state charter laws are broader still. They allow localities which decide to incorporate to make their own charters, which may be voted on by the citizens without submission to the Legislature, provided the provisions are not in conflict with state law. The states which have this city "Home Rule" in respect to charter making are Missouri, California, Oregon, Washington, Minnesota, Colorado, Oklahoma, Michigan, Wisconsin, Texas, Ohio, Nebraska, Arizona and Connecticut.

Roughly classified, the forms of city government provided for in American city charters are the so-called "federal" type—the older and commoner type characteristic of the 19th century—the Short Ballot, the Commission and the Commission-City Manager types, as worked out in the 20th century.

The federal form is the outgrowth of that early period when cities were not understood, or their later growth anticipated. It provides a government of three parts, legislative, executive and judicial.

THE legislative body is the common council or board of aldermen elected generally by wards and varying in number of members from 9 in Boston to 138 in Philadelphia. In many cities aldermen or councilmen receive no pay, but in cities like New York their salaries are fairly large. In about one-quarter of our cities the council has an upper and a lower house, but in the rest the two-chamber system has been abandoned. The powers of the legislative body cover the passing of city ordinances, care of city buildings, issuing of franchises and licenses, and city finance, though in most cities the mayor and financial officials share control in matters of taxation and appropriation with the council. The period of office of aldermen or councilmen is in the various cities from one to four years.

Of city officials there are many. New York city elects no less than 93 local or central city officials, and this, considering its size, is not a large number.

The chief municipal executive is the mayor. He is responsible for the execution of the laws; he appoints many city officials and he can veto any ordinance of the council, which must then be repassed by a two-thirds vote—often three-fourths in case of financial measures—if it is to become law over his veto. He is practically the head of the police, is responsible for the peace, and has power to call out the local militia to suppress riot. He is elected in most cities for two years; in Boston, New York and Chicago for four years.

Besides the mayor there are many other officials, some elected, but the greater number appointed. Among the officials generally elected are auditor, treasurer, engineer, assessor, tax collector. The school board is often elected. Heads of the various departments (health, police, etc.) are generally appointed.

OUR three largest cities are of the Federal type, Philadelphia and Chicago the straight federal type, New York a somewhat modified type. Chicago has a city council of 70 aldermen elected and the following elective executive officials: mayor, treasurer, clerk, chief and 30 associate justices. The heads of 21 departments and 23 boards are appointed by the mayor with the consent of the city council.

In all cities, side by side with the city government the county government persists. In Chicago this county government adds an element of great complexity to the city administration.

Philadelphia has a two-chambered legislative body, 48 members in the upper, or select, council, 90 in the common council. These are elected by wards. The mayor, receiver of taxes and city solicitor are elected at large. The city treasurer and city controller are, through a technicality, classed among elective county employees.

The mayor of Philadelphia appoints, with the approval of the council, the heads of nine departments, which are, like those of most great cities, subdivided into bureaus whose heads are appointed by the department head. Salaries of aldermen and officials in these great cities are comparatively large; the mayors of Chicago and Philadelphia receive respectively \$18,000 and \$12,000.

M. S. B.

Settled in Arkinda

Arkinda Correspondence, Foreman Sun

THE subject of "Woman Suffrage" was discussed by all the distinguished preachers, lawyers and teachers of this vicinity last Wednesday night. The discussion ranged from Adam and Eve, through both Old and New Testament, including Revelation, thence through following decades to the present highly enlightened age. It ranged in time from 8 o'clock p. m. to 10 o'clock a. m. Through this long and heated discussion the question was forever settled that women have an absolute right to vote.

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Democratic Ideals

A SKETCH OF CLARA BEWICK COLBY
By Olympia Brown

Woman's Suffrage is now so nearly an accomplished fact that people are realizing the value of the work that has been done in its behalf and are reading the lives of those who have worked for woman's emancipation with renewed interest. Mrs. Colby was one of the most loyal and faithful of the early workers. The story of her life is most interesting.

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THESE poems are truly Oriental in the fire of their passion and the splendor of their imagery. We can better understand the Song of Solomon after reading such verses as these. —Christian Work.

After the Vote Is Won

THE New York City Woman Suffrage Party has voted to turn its entire borough organization into war service committees. To this end, a change has been made from a Central War Service Committee to five war committees, corresponding to the five borough organizations. The Central War Service Committee, under the chairmanship of Mrs. F. Louis Slade, has made a record for service which will act as a spur to the Boroughs. A brief summary of this work shows 32,000 recruiting posters placed about the city; bureau of enrollment for women seeking to do war work established; \$10,000 donated for a Y. M. C. A. Unit for colored troops at Camp Upton; \$12,000 for a Y. M. C. A. Unit for white troops at Plattsburgh; \$500 to Knights of Columbus for camp centers; a war garden in the Bronx; over \$170,000 raised for the Red Cross; \$956,600 worth of Liberty Bonds sold in the first and second issues; Naval Unit to furnish knitted garments for men of the battleship Missouri; through its knitting bureau 1,219 garments furnished to the Red Cross; 11,700 women supplied to act as registrars in the taking of State Military Census; house to house canvass and 100,000 Hoover Pledge Cards distributed; Food Conservation lectures and food exhibits; help in selection of women to serve in France and to city officials and military officers in many emergencies, such as addressing thousands of envelopes, and other clerical work.

WHILE the City Party is pursuing its war service program and sending its sale of War Saving Stamps well past the \$20,000 mark, the Party is not unmindful of the near approach of Enrollment Day—May 25. Thousands of leaflets will be distributed in the assembly districts, acquainting the new voters with the intricacies of enrollment and registration. Mass meetings will be held and prominent men of all political faiths will be invited to speak.

It is estimated that 75,000 women voters in Greater New York have been reached through the classes in civics and citizenship, which have been held under the auspices of the Woman Voter's Council of the City Party. This work will be carried on with increased vigor in preparation for Enrollment Day.

TWO events of more than usual significance mark the Brooklyn suffrage calendar for the month of May. The first will be a farewell luncheon given by the Brooklyn Woman Suffrage Association which will feature the disbanding of this organization. Founded in 1869, this association at one time had Henry Ward Beecher in the presidential chair and its career has been one of wide service to the cause.

The second event will be the Prohibition luncheon given by the Brooklyn Woman Suffrage Party. Believing that the ratification of the Federal Prohibition Amendment will be one of the most important measures that will come before the next Legislature, the Brooklyn Suffrage Party feels the new voters should be fully informed upon the question, especially as candidates for the Legislature will be determined at the primary elections in September, and will be voted upon at the regular election in November. Speakers will be present to give both sides of the question.

The New York City Woman Suffrage Party is constantly enrolling new members. "We have much to offer them," says Miss Mary Garrett Hay, the party chairman. "We can give civic instruction on a broad, impartial scale, we can help them to size up men and measures in a less biased way than can a political club, we can give them association with a body of women noted for their democratic spirit, their ability to work ardently for practical results, their devotion to high ideals for their sex, all of which is stimulating and uplifting."

Learning How

DURING the first two weeks in May, a series of lectures was held before the women of Best & Co., upon matters of voting, the Woman Voters Council co-operating with the firm of Best & Co. in the interest of all women employed in that establishment. Two lectures, "Why You Should Vote," and "When and How to Vote," were given by Mrs. Louise Fowler Gignoux to the Best & Co. women in three different groups, between 8.30 and 9 a. m. In the language of one who attended: "Most interesting and significant were the enthusiasm and appreciation, and the attendance was most satisfying."

Republicans to Enroll Women

NEW YORK CITY Republicans, with the aid of the Republican women leaders, are rapidly completing arrangements for an aggressive campaign to enroll as many Republican women voters as possible on May 25, the registration date. The woman's division of the Republican county party has completed its organization in all election districts, and a house-to-house canvass of the women voters is now under way. At least 4,000 women will be engaged in this work before the campaign is completed.

The Governor Appoints

GOVERNOR WHITMAN has appointed Mrs. Nina T. L'Hommedieu de Medina, New York, as a member of the Board of Managers of the Western House of Refuge at Albion. This appointment places the control of the board in the hands of women.

May Be New York's First Woman Legislator

ROCKLAND COUNTY voters are booming Mrs. William A. Serven of Pearl River, Rockland County, to represent the county in the New York Assembly. Several county papers have editorially endorsed her, and the women and many Republican men are backing her.

Mrs. Serven was the chairman of Rockland County for the New York State Woman Suffrage Party in the 1917 suffrage campaign. In the last six weeks she made forty-five political speeches in her county and brought it into the fold with a majority of 500.

She can start into her own campaign with a speaking acquaintance with almost every one in Rockland County, having personally canvassed most of the 11,384 men voters last year and having interviewed most of their wives, as well, on the suffrage question.

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WHAT does the woman citizen know about investments? Does she know as much as the man citizen? Having asked the question, we will try to answer it.

Frequently the man citizen knows just as little about investments as the woman citizen, except the investment of life insurance. It is unusual to find a man who does not carry insurance as present protection to his family and as future income to himself when his earning capacity will be on the decrease; but the woman citizen is a step behind the man citizen—not because she would not be as open to the value of insurance as protection and investment, but simply because men prefer to sell to men, and so she has not had the opportunity to learn the facts. Only when you have trained expert women salesmen to present the facts will you have a proportionate number of women appreciating the value of insurance as protection and investment.

There are many uses to which insurance can be put: the professional woman needs it as a protection and as the only way of creating an estate, as her estate so definitely depends upon her mental ability; the business woman needs insurance to increase her credit; the young mother can guarantee a college education for her child by taking out insurance on herself in favor of the daughter; the independent woman needs insurance to protect herself against her decreasing earning capacity. Insurance guarantees her present protection

and a future monthly income for life. The independent business women that have never realized the value of saving a cent in their lives would do well to look into insurance, for they will find in it an answer to the problem of economic equality. It is the duty of every progressive woman to create an independent estate for herself just as it is the duty of every man to create an estate for himself.

Ninety-seven per cent of the persons who reach the age of 55 are either wholly or partly dependent upon charity. Only 5 per cent of our population reach old age in a position of financial independence. This would not be so if the message and the facts of insurance could be delivered to the woman citizen. The economic stability of the country depends upon scientific saving. The best earner, if she be a careless spender, is a detriment to the community. Insurance is the most scientific method of saving.

Insurance in the form of an endowment is something which every thinking independent woman should consider seriously. Consider it seriously and then investigate the fact, if for no other reason than to be informed as a citizen in regard to the business which is one of the largest branches of the financial business of the world.

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JEAN CORTHALS, Soldat Belge, Burgerbuurt, Amersfoort, Holland, wants used stamps. Here is his postal-card received by the *Woman Citizen*:

MR. EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:—

Forgive me my daring in writing you these few words. I am a Belgian interned soldier and should like very much collecting used postage stamps to pass the longness of my captivity.

I dare hope, Mr. Editor-in-Chief, you will be so kind as to insert in your esteemed paper of advertisement, for which I thank you very much beforehand.

With all my kindest regards I remain, sir,

Yours respectfully, J. CORTHALS.

North Carolina Makes History

FOR the first time in the history of North Carolina a woman stood before the Supreme Court of that state, on April 24, and argued in the capacity of attorney-at-law. Miss Lucy Alexander of Charlotte was the attorney, and so well did she present her case that the Chief Justice presiding came down from the bench and complimented her. The press refers to the matter as an "historical occasion."

Suffragetting in Texas



MRS. NONIE B. MAHONEY

THE annual report of the Dallas, Texas, Equal Suffrage Association is now out, and it leaves small room for wonder as to why Texas women have won primary suffrage.

"If all the suffrage clubs in the United States were to keep up to the record of work set last year by the Dallas Association, the cause of suffrage would go over the top with a victory drive that would end the struggle for all the country," said a National American Woman Suffrage Association official when she read the report.

Here are some of the activities of the association as a whole:

During the year the city has been divided into "precincts" and each precinct organized for suffrage work. Twelve regular, five called, and two mass meetings were held. Two banquets and two large luncheons were given. Members have taken part in three parades and one Red Cross rally.

As an association, Dallas suffragists have supported the \$1,000,000 Road Bond issue; the Dallas County Women's Free Rest Room; prohibition as a war measure, and every phase of conservation and war relief. It has sent messages of protest against closing the University of Texas and against immoral conditions in the training camps, among other protests.

It has not merely condemned, it has commended. It commended the Executive Board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association for its offer of 2,000,000 members for war work, and Hon. Champ Clark for his assistance in the committee on suffrage.

And it has not only endorsed and protested and commended, thus showing the awareness of the Texans on every public movement, but how it has worked!

The association served lunches to the men at registration booths; last summer they did mending for soldiers stationed at the Fair Grounds, and furnished them reading matter and delicacies. The members distributed 450

Hoover pledge cards, sold 285 Red Cross picture tickets; \$400 worth of Red Cross benefit tickets, and managed a Red Cross Steer auction and raffle, netting about \$10,000. And they have been continuously active at the recreational canteen for private soldiers.

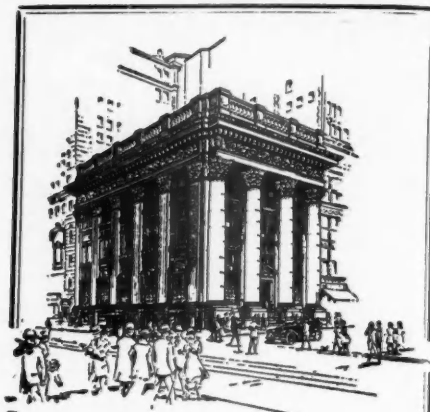
The suffrage "team" won a \$25 and a \$10 prize for securing pledges for the Federated Charities Finance Campaign. Strong committees were active in the anti-vice crusade, and were responsible for evolving a plan for establishing fourteen community markets during 1917 whereby hundreds of dollars' worth of green vegetables were conserved. The association adopted a baby, Mattie Lee Wilson, and saved her life, by furnishing her with good milk all summer. "Food for thought" was also furnished their "adopted" Congressman, Hon. Hatton W. Summers, to whom the *Woman Citizen* has been sent each month, "with the hope," says the Association's recording secretary, "of saving a good man's vote."

The suffragists of Dallas have the distinction of forming the first auxiliary of the Dallas chapter of the American Red Cross and of having seen its output grow steadily every month since it was organized on May 1, 1917. Besides contributing in membership fees and benefit *Dance Revue* funds of \$350, it has sent in, since the first of January, 1918, 27,433 finished articles from its work rooms. The association is furnishing a state field secretary and a county chairman for the War Saving and Thrift Stamp Societies, and a chairman of the Reserve Woman's Liberty Loan Committee of the 11th Federal District whose systematic work resulted in collecting \$13,000,000 of the \$76,000,000 quota for the district.

These are things done by the association collectively. Now, hark to the saga of individuals, the achievements performed by the officers.

Having been launched into leadership, just as the United States entered into the world war, the president, Mrs. I. Jalonick, and her force of co-laborers, have carried on almost every kind of enterprise. Mrs. Jalonick's personal achievements have been wide-ranging and have included marching at the head of the suffrage column in the Patriotic Parade; making a food survey and distributing Hoover cards; presiding at a banquet.

Satisfactory headquarters for the association were provided for a brief period by Mrs. Nonie B. Mahoney, the first vice-president, who has attended state and national conventions as delegate. She has organized the work and has visited the state legislature and the Congress of the United States. At the National American Woman Suffrage Association Convention in December, Mrs. Mahoney was elected a national director. She assisted in procuring the endorsement of every convention held in Dallas during the year and directed the most stupendous endorsement campaign in the suffrage history of Texas. One of the state's brainiest men, Hon. Barry Miller, promised her his vote and loyalty, if he could be assured that 5,000 women of Texas wanted the vote. Inside of three days she secured a petition containing the names of 10,000 women who want the ballot. The climax of her work was the presentation of this petition and its acceptance by Mr. Miller



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before the legislature and the passage by the legislature of the bill granting women the vote in primary elections.

The legislative committee, Mrs. E. B. Reppert, chairman, has sent out more than 200 letters, 100 telegrams and night letters to members of federal and state legislatures. She has a record of 60 messages, at a cost of \$82, relative to the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

To Mrs. Reppert's committee also belongs the credit of securing the endorsement of suffrage by the General Assembly of Presbyterians and of the Southern Baptist Convention at their session in November, and of the National Letter Carriers' Convention.

"Perhaps in years to come, under a different administration," modestly adds the official recorder of this series of achievements, "a more successful year's work may be registered. But a year of more varied interests, efforts and achievements than that of 1917-1918 is an impossibility."

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May has come to be regarded as the special month for the purchasing of Lingerie, and we have provided an unusually full supply not only of French and Philippine goods but also of the best American makes.

We are placing on sale at this time a few cases of French Lingerie of the more simple and staple designs ordered at the prices prevailing more than two years ago. This enables us to offer these garments at much below present day values. They are all new and fresh goods in the latest styles.

Hand-made Gowns, simple scallops and dainty fine Hand-Embroidery on Nainsook, \$1.95, 2.50, 2.95, 3.75 to 37.50.

Envelope Chemises, Hand-Embroidered, \$1.75, 2.25, 3.75 to 7.75.

Regular Chemises, Hand-Embroidered, \$1.50, 1.75, 2.25, 3.75, and up.

French Drawers, Hand-Embroidered, \$1.10, 1.25, 1.75, 2.25 to 6.75.

American-made Gowns, Tailored and Embroidery-trimmed, \$1.00, 1.50, 1.95, 2.25. Cotton Crepe, \$1.45.

Envelope Chemises, Lace and Embroidery-trimmed, \$1.50, 1.75, 2.25.

Corset Covers, 55c, 85, \$1.00.

Muslin Skirts, \$1.50, 3.25, 3.75 and 4.95.

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May 18, 1918

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL POLITICAL WEEKLY



WIN-THE-WAR WOMEN

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and

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

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VOL. II MAY 18, 1918 No. 25

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Florence E. Bate is the business manager.

Where Is Your State?

NEWS from the suffrage front shows steady gains, and a successful continuation of the offensive on behalf of the cause of democracy in the *Woman's Citizen's* circulation contest. States that have occupied rear, or reserve positions, in the big drive, are advancing toward the front line trenches to assume their full share of the responsibility, and threaten to make big inroads upon the honors gained and held so successfully by Georgia, the ranking state in the contest.

Suffrage workers realize quite as well as the fighters abroad that an army cannot win without ammunition, and they are showing a determination to supply the rank and file of the big suffrage army with the proper supplies and ammunition for the winning of the big battle for complete enfranchisement NOW. The best ammunition, they know, is to be found in the official organ of the suffragist body—their own magazine.

That the various units of the suffrage field army are of one and the same mind is indicated by the many requests for subscription blanks and material which have poured in upon headquarters this week, each accompanied by enthusiastic reports. The morale of the subscription army was never better, as the definite promises of big victories to come show.

The Indiana field captain is about ready to launch a new offensive, and Massachusetts sees a big improvement in the position now held by the Bay State in the circulation contest. New York city is asking every reader of the City Woman Suffrage Party bulletin to get one or more subscribers. "An easy matter to do," says the bulletin.

Minnesota was another state to make a big advance last week, which will improve its position in the 100,000 drive. Similar encouraging reports come in from many quarters.

With the third Liberty Loan drive closed there has come a brief breathing spell in the intensive work which the suffragists the country over have been doing in behalf of the loan drive. This comparative lull will be used to good effect by the circulation captains. Something of the heavy demands made upon our circulation chairman during the past few weeks is shown in a letter from Mrs. Jessie Fremont Croan, who leads the Indiana forces.

"I have been state organizer for the Third Liberty Loan," writes Mrs. Croan, "and have spoken thirty-five times

over the state. The women who reported to me sold almost \$6,000,000 in bonds. I sometimes spoke three times in one day, sometimes went to two towns a day. I have also been district chairman for Americanization for the federated clubs. This while we carried forward our first effort in the *Woman Citizen* campaign."

Let us hear from the state leaders in this subscription drive regarding their experiences.

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,

National Circulation Chairman.

State Circulation Chairmen

Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell of Richmond
Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott of Milwaukee
Iowa: Dr. Effie M. Jones of Webster City
Louisiana: Mrs. Sherrard Brisbane of New Orleans

Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York of Augusta

New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin of East Orange

New Hampshire: Mrs. Mary Post of Portsmouth

Rhode Island: Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt of Bristol

Kentucky: Mrs. Charles Firth of Covington

Massachusetts: Mrs. R. L. DeNormandie of Boston

Texas: Mrs. Helen Moore of Galveston

South Carolina: Mrs. J. T. Gittman of Columbia

Alabama: Miss Mary P. London of Birmingham

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

May 4th

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Indiana
4. New Jersey
5. Minnesota
6. Iowa
7. Michigan
8. Ohio
9. New York
10. New Hampshire
11. Alabama
12. Wisconsin
13. Virginia
14. Massachusetts
15. Maine
16. Louisiana
17. Maryland, Pennsylvania
18. Connecticut, Texas
19. West Virginia
20. Kentucky
21. South Carolina
22. Mississippi, Arkansas, North Dakota, Rhode Island
23. Nebraska
24. Washington
25. Tennessee, Vermont

May 11th

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Indiana
4. Minnesota
5. New Jersey
6. Iowa
7. Michigan
8. Ohio
9. New York
10. Virginia
11. New Hampshire
12. Alabama
13. Wisconsin
14. Massachusetts
15. Maine
16. Pennsylvania
17. Louisiana
18. Maryland
19. Connecticut
20. Texas
21. West Virginia
22. Kentucky
23. South Carolina
24. Mississippi, Arkansas, North Dakota, Rhode Island
25. Nebraska
26. Washington
27. Missouri
28. Vermont, Tennessee

Indiana: Mrs. Jessie Fremont Croan of Anderson

Michigan: Mrs. John Waite of Ann Arbor

North Dakota: Mrs. Katherine L. Brainerd of Hebron

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium

FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

May 18, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Holding the World Back

THE Federal Suffrage Amendment was not voted on by the United States Senate last week.

Some pro-suffrage men were absent. Some disadvantages in pairing were at the moment insurmountable.

But the real, the monumental reason was that there are in the United States Senate a group of men, of both parties, determined to hold the world back from complete democracy as long as they can.

They hear the world's impassioned cry for democracy, they see the world aflame for democracy.

But they thoughtfully bite their finger nails and say that neither the cry nor the flame is any concern of woman's.

And they withstand the Federal Suffrage Amendment and will withstand it as long as a much-tried public can bear it.

On the Democratic side there are the ha'nted men. Men who think provincially, put section before country, individual advantage before party advantage and a local prejudice before a world-wide principle.

Their number is considerable and the Democratic party has before now had to recognize them as a load to be carried—with grave menace to party prestige.

On the Republican side there are the stand-pat men, reactionaries, capitalistic in persuasion, conservatives in the world of political economy. Men whose thought and feeling and ambition are bound up in the fortunes of the so-called "interests," men who want things to stay as they are, men who fear change.

Their number is relatively small, but theirs is the tenacity of the old order in the death grapple with the new.

And then there is the man who strikes the individualistic attitude, who won't because he won't, who tells you that he is heart and soul for suffrage, but by some other

way than the only economic and sensible way to get it.

It is not likely that he fools himself.

Certainly he fools no one else.

And these three kinds of men together have formed a combine which is temporarily interposing between the world and the world's progress. For when the sphere of action is limited, as in the Senate, there is an actual locking of the wheels and the world is literally held back.

Loosely speaking, these men can be called Democrats or Republicans.

Accurately speaking, they are men without a party. As parties Democrats and Republicans are both committed to the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The Administration is committed to it.

Independent Republican leaders are committed to it.

The Lower House of Congress is committed to it.

It is a sort of sabotage that the combination of Senatorial obstructionists is perpetrating within the political machinery of both parties.

It has somehow to be stopped.

If not from the inside, then from the outside. Suffragists have seen the passage of the Amendment delayed by these tactics as long as is compatible with that calm supposed to be essential to woman's spiritual development.

It is up to Democrats and Republicans to find a safe conduct for the measure by changing the minds of some of the Senators.

Failing that it is up to suffragists to change the Senators.

It may be a large order for the suffragists.

It is not so large an order for them as holding the world back is for the Senators.

A Notable Literary Adventure

FOR generations it has been stylish among the detractors of women to invite attention to the pages whereon history has written large the achievements of men—in Science, War, Art, Invention, Statecraft, Literature. And to follow with this thrust:

"Where are your women Websters? Your women Napoleons? Your women Michael Angelos, Shakespeares, Galileos? Where's your woman Columbus, and where your woman Wagner?"

And echo has disconsolately answered "Where?"

Certainly they are not down in the books.

Indeed, they are so certainly not down in the books that a serpentine sort of question has latterly arisen to plague the peace of just minds and true.

Can there have been discrimination, conscious, unconscious and sub, in the booking of achievement?

Has it happened that it was made easy for men to get on the record with their great thoughts and great deeds, and was it made stressful for women?

Has that practice in itself worked as an inhibition in woman's case?

And has she, in spite of the inhibition, just possibly achieved a little more than has gotten into the books?

It isn't necessary to maintain that she has achieved as much as man, or that she could have done so with a man's chance.

The mere admission that she may have been achieving and that the achieving has somehow failed of comprehensive record, opens up a field of research which inevitably has to be explored.

It is Messrs. Harper and Bros. who announce that the exploration is imminent. In full the announcement reads:

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Featured like that, it will be seen at a glance that it is no ordinary adventure with which this famous house of famous literature has commissioned itself.

Talent will have to be massed for it in prodigal array. It will consume time. It will make vast inroads on patient scholarship. It will eat up money.

Perfunctorily done, it will be a bitter waste. Rightly done, it will be epochal. The fact that the work is to be directed by that well-known savant, Dr. Isidor Singer, of Jewish Encyclopedia fame, is a tremendous asset toward success. He is assembling an editorial board of men and women of many lands to serve with him in advisory capacity and the immediate working staff is to be a highly competent one.

With a rare sense of the eternal fitness of things, Dr. Singer announces that the "admiral of the flag-ship" will be a woman of international reputation. Himself he dubs "chief engineer in the firing room."

The *Woman Citizen* commends this colossal undertaking to the interest of its readers. From time to time reports on the progress of the work will appear in our pages.

Coördination Wanted

AT the convention of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, held in Washington last week, an urgent plea was made for a clearer definition of the Committee's relation to other bodies of women organized for Liberty Loan and Red Cross drives, Food Conservation programs, etc.

Dr. Shaw pointed out frankly some of the disadvantages under which the Committee works.

"We were authorized to appoint state chairmen for each branch of war work. In case of the Liberty Loan our chairman was appointed before the national committee of the Liberty Loan was completed. The understanding was that the Liberty Loan work should be done through these women, but it is not so done. Our women complain they have no authority and receive no reports from the Liberty Loan women appointed by the Government."

It made for dissatisfaction, she said, and the Government's plan of coming in, looking over the local personnel of the Woman's Committee and taking away the best women to set them at special tasks did not make for efficiency.

Printed pamphlets were distributed showing how much each state has accomplished in the way of organization and what degree of co-operation they have had from their local councils of national defense. In fifteen states the women have had no financial backing whatever from the state, and in only six have there been appropriations for anything more than office expenses.

That the Woman's Committee should have to work against a lack of governmental coordination is as unfair to the women as to the government. It is earnestly hoped that a program of intensive coordination will be one of the results of the convention.

How Congress Is Divided

"WHO makes the laws?" asked the teacher.

"Congress," answered the class.

"And how is Congress divided?"

There was dead silence. Then a little girl eagerly flourished her hand. "Civilized, half civilized and savage!" she announced triumphantly.

The criterion of a country's civilization is said to be the position of women. The parliaments of one country after another have proved themselves to be civilized by adopting woman suffrage—New Zealand, Australia, Denmark, Canada, England. Women all over the United States are waiting eagerly to see how soon our own Congress will stamp itself with this proud mark of an advanced civilization.

A. S. B.

Let Them Decide

BOARDS of everything are talking, as usual, about what women should do in the present industrial crisis. The statistician of the Bureau of Labor says, for example, that street car operating "is one of the last occupations into which women should be lured or forced."

A girl working on a New York, Sixth Avenue Line doesn't think as this statistician thinks.

On a bright May morning recently she smiled back in answer to the question of a passenger who asked her how she liked her work. "Gee, I'm glad I have an outdoor job," she said. "I've been here seven weeks and I've gained twelve pounds."

Perhaps women ought not to be conductors, but if not they are the ones to say so. If there are compensating circumstances which fit some women to thrive as conductors, why not see to it that wages are not "prevented from rising?"

Conditions which the labor statisticians complain of as not "even tolerably endurable" can be changed, if there is a proper social attitude towards them. Night work can be given to women with discrimination or not given them at all.

In fact why not give women a chance to decide for themselves? Why continue to regulate women's lives by masculine generalizations?

Gad! They'd Better

NEW YORK anti-suffragists have decided in solemn conclave to accept woman suffrage for their state as a fact.

It makes one think of a time when Margaret Fuller Ossoli decided in a philosophical debate that she "would concede the Universe."

"Gad! She'd better," said Thomas Carlyle with a grin when someone told him of it.

About 700,000 voters of New York state had registered it as their sovereign will last November that their sisters should have an equal right, it has taken the Association Opposed to Woman suffrage just six months to gulp down the unpalatable truth. They have at last conceded New York women's right to vote.

Gad! They'd better.

This present world of tenseness and of woe has been lightened for a moment by the flaring humor of their act. They disbanded their previous association and went into new formation under the astounding title of the "Women Voters' Anti-Suffrage Party." It is not recorded that an expected hilarity greeted the announcement of this name, which seems to have been perpetrated without merriment. It announces that women who have been handed a weapon they did nothing to earn have banded together to make use of that weapon to keep other women from ever getting it. And it reminds one of the gruesome records of shipwrecked voyagers who, safe in their lifeboats, beat off the hands of swimmers clutching at them for safety.

The method is suggestive.

The ideals of freedom conveyed in the intention are revealing. They might have been made in Potsdam.

Let Us Have More Food

THE immense importance of preventing Germany from winning this war grows clearer day by day.

It has been said again and again that food will win the war; and in a few weeks the season of planting will be over. Yet we do not see in the press a twentieth part of the exhortations to increased food production that were published on all sides last year. If this meant that all the cultivation possible were already being done it would be encouraging; but, unfortunately, such is not the case.

Every woman who can possibly have a garden should have one. Every woman who can increase her area of cultivated ground should increase it. Those who have no land themselves should try to stir up their friends.

The bravest troops cannot fight unless they are fed; and the most patriotic civilian population cannot be relied upon to back up a war for an indefinite length of time if they get too hungry. Those men and women who really have it at heart to win the war should do their utmost both to produce more food and to curb the food profiteers.

A. S. B.

Better Not Talk At All

"WE can't win this war by talking about Woman Suffrage and Prohibition," says Senator Brandegee, "so the Senator is trying to win it by talking about nothing in particular," says the *New York World*.

As a sample of the nothings talked by Senator Brandegee, take this: "We won every war we ever were in without woman suffrage and prohibition. We won the War of 1776, and 1812, and the Mexican war and the War of 1861, and Spanish-American war."

Yes, Senator Brandegee, we did. We won the Revolutionary war without submarines, and the Civil war without Browning guns, and the Spanish-American war without aeroplanes. Shall we go over and fight Germany with all these things left out of our equipment?

But the real reason for Mr. Brandegee's talking about nothing in particular is because he has got his eyes hermetically sealed to what is happening in the world. He calls the war contribution of the womanhood of the world "a pink tea party talking about putting pink chemises on the men and Plymouth Rock pants on the women."

Says Mr. Brandegee: "The women do not propose to go over in the trenches abroad and do the fighting. It is the men who will have to do that. Instead of bleating around here about their saving democracy by forcing their way into caucuses and conventions, they had better go home and knit bandages and pick lint and get ready to take care of their brothers, and sons, and fathers, who are going to be shot to pieces in the trenches abroad."

The trouble with this nothing-in-particular kind of talk is that it belongs to the period of blunderbusses.

And Bowie-knives.

And tomahawks.

Democracy in the Senate

Special Washington Correspondence to the Woman Citizen

LAST week saw another postponement of action on the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the United States Senate. As was set forth in this column in the issue of May 11, Senator Jones, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee in the Senate, had set Friday, May 10, as a likely day for calling the vote. There was confidence that by that date pro-suffrage absentees could be rounded in, pro-suffrage men who had applied for the pair right on account of illness in their families, or for other personal reasons, could arrange to be present, and some on the doubtful list would be ready to cast their votes affirmatively. To list the contingencies is to indicate how hard it is to secure the combination of circumstances necessary for the successful securing of the two-thirds vote. Needless to say there was not last week, and there isn't this week, and there won't be next week, any intention to place the amendment in jeopardy by going to vote inopportunely. In all likelihood Congress is entering upon the beginning of the end of the present session, adjournment being already tentatively set for July, but it is still early and many things may happen before the adjournment.

THAT the measure is to be voted on at this session both Republicans and Democrats concede. From the suffragists' viewpoint the vote at this session is essential. It is true that there will be another session of this Congress, the short session, which lasts from the reconvention in December, 1918, to the seating of the new Congress, the 66th, in March of 1919. It is just as true that the same men who are sitting in this session will be occupying their same old seats in the short session. Although the congressional elections intervene this autumn, and although there are 36 Senatorial seats to be filled, whatever new incumbents there are will not take their places until March, 1919. If the necessary two-thirds majority cannot be had at the present session, it can hardly be expected at the short session, the Senate's personnel remaining the same. The further fortunes of the amendment will depend, therefore, upon the personnel of the 1919 Congress, and with the autumn elections comes the suffragists' opportunity to help determine the personnel of that Congress. It is an opportunity to which the National American Woman Suffrage Association is committed by specific resolution. The specific resolution is one that was adopted in convention in December, 1917, and reads:

"That if the 65th Congress fails to submit the Federal Amendment before the next Congressional election this Association shall select and enter into such a number of Senatorial and Congressional campaigns as will effect a change in both houses of Congress sufficient to insure the passage of the Federal Amendment, and that the selection of candidates to be opposed be left to the National Board and the Board of the State in question. States in which these campaigns ought to be carried on shall work in co-operation with the National Association to this end. In our opposition to individual candidates, loyalty to the Federal Amendment shall not take precedence over loyalty to the country."

Beyond re-affirming the certainty that the vote on the amendment will be asked for during the present session, it is not now possible to prophesy with any accuracy as to the date. That it will be at the earliest possible moment, suffragists all over the country can rest assured.

THE announcement by Senator Jones that he would not ask for a vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment made the opponents of the measure so brave that they scrambled out of the trenches and stood to attention with as interesting a collection of antique firearms as ever escaped a museum. There was, for instance, Senator Hoke Smith, leaning heavily on that grand old back-action-shoulder-kicking argument, "when the women of my state want the vote the men of my state will give it to them." And there was the majority leader, Senator Martin of Virginia sighting cautiously along the barrel of that trusty blunderbuss, "a referendum to the women regardless of the men." And there was Senator Weeks of Massachusetts trying to shoot holes into democracy with that little squirrel-gun of a masculine conviction that government is sacred to men only, and if a vote were taken, could he be reassured that the Senators would no longer be harassed by the evidence that women will not stop fighting for democracy until woman is admitted to a place in the government which she must help support side by side with men? In a word, would the corridors be cleared of the attractive women lobbyists!

He had every appearance of a man gassed when Senator Jones expressed the hope that his harassment would continue not only in the Senate corridors and Senate offices, but back home where woman will be massing from now on in ever increasing numbers for the purpose of putting democracy over the top.

Back Numbers

David Lawrence in the Washington Times

BUT if there is any one thing that indicates clearly that Congress—and particularly a large part of the Senate—is not in tune with the liberalism that is sweeping the United States as well as the world, it is the indifferent and somewhat contemptuous attitude which so many Senators are displaying toward woman suffrage.

When the subject of a vote was mentioned the other day, some Senators actually twitted the women about it, and treated it very much as a joke. Hundreds of thousands of women are doing valiant service in the war, and they resent such tactics.

There is no question but that the manner in which the Senate has handled the woman suffrage question has already disturbed the morale of women workers. If any proof were needed, it can be seen in the series of statements being issued by the heads of women's bureaus of various kinds related to the conduct of the war. Women leaders who are the heads of the industrial, nursing, and food conservation work, all unite in asserting that the grant by the Senate to the states of the country of the opportunity to vote on the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage would be a stimulus of incalculable value.

Except for a few reactionary members of the Cabinet, the Democratic Administration is pretty solidly for suffrage. What the women did to put the Liberty loan over has produced a feeling of profound gratitude in executive quarters, and more than ever is it realized that to win the war the wholehearted co-operation is necessary not only of the mothers and sisters and wives of the men in the new army and navy, but the millions of others who believe that out of this great period of sacrifice will come new opportunities for the individual and a recognition of the political rights of women the world over.

Great Britain's action in enfranchising the women has made the proponents of suffrage in this country feel all the more disappointed at the treatment received in the Senate.

The situation in that body is this: A majority of the Senate is in favor of the Federal Amendment, but it is necessary to have two-thirds in order to submit an amendment to the Federal Constitution to the states for ratification. Less than three votes are needed to get the necessary two-thirds. Thus far the leaders have not been anxious for a vote, feeling that it would be hurtful to have a defeat.

But it is rapidly being borne in on them that there can be no humiliation in defeat by a narrow margin. In fact, there is every advantage in having the vote, so that the country may be able to distinguish between the progressive and forward-looking men of both parties, who are willing that their own mothers and sisters and wives shall be permitted to participate in the government of the American democracy, and the old-fashioned politicians of a bygone day who still believe that the enfranchisement of women means prohibition and national flabbiness.

The activity of American women in the war is the answer which the leaders of suffrage give to any question of the earnestness of the women of the country in seeing the war through to a successful conclusion. In fact, the opposition to woman suffrage is not really based upon any apprehensions of that character, but simply on the political side. Some of the men now in the Senate know they would never be elected by a popular vote if the discriminating judgment of the women of the states from which they come could be applied. Some of the men from wet states interested in defending the liquor traffic are fighting hard against woman suffrage. All the forces of reaction are combined against the amendment.

A few Senators hold the balance of power. They can swing the vote and vindicate the progressivism of the Senate. If the amendment fails, the women will undoubtedly renew their fight with vigor. They must get it through the Senate at this session or the whole fight must be begun anew next December. The amendment must then be voted on again in the House. A vote, therefore, of a few Senators can undo the work of years and the vote of a few Senators—less than three—can put the Senate alongside the House and the American Congress alongside the British Parliament and other liberal governments in advancing the cause of democracy at home.

The Legion of Loyal Women is supplying the Red Cross Hospital at Neuilly with feather pillows made by the wives, widows and daughters of civil war veterans. Some of these women are eighty years old.

Your Vote in the 20th Century City

By Mary Sumner Boyd

THE charter of New York which was drawn up in 1901 is of the federal form, but in two respects it represents a transition from what I have called the 19th Century frame of city government to the 20th. It has the "short ballot" or few elective officials, the theory of the short ballot being that the fewer the elective officials the more intelligently the electors can choose them.

For many of the city's appointive officials the mayor of New York is held directly and solely responsible as he does not share their appointment with the council. The council has legislative power subject to the mayor's veto, but much financial legislation is put in the hands of a board of estimate and apportionment of which the mayor is chairman, and a finance department of which the comptroller is chairman. This is a definite step toward centralization of authority.

Elective officials are the mayor, comptroller and president of the board of aldermen, all elected at large by the whole city, 78 aldermen, elected by boroughs or districts, and a few judicial officers. Thus the ballot is not ideally short, but it is a short ballot relative to the size of New York City, and to the number of elected officials in the much smaller cities of Philadelphia (141) and Chicago (104). The Mayor of New York has, to quote a succinct summary from the *Evening Mail*, "the power to appoint and remove at pleasure the heads of twenty-seven administrative departments, six of the ten members of the Art Commission, and the appointed members of the Board of Standards and Appeals. He appoints, and has power to remove, on charges after a hearing, the trustees of Bellevue and Allied Hospitals, the members of the Board of Education, Commissioners of Police and Health, the trustees of the College of the City of New York, the trustees of Hunter College, the commissioners of the Board of Water Supply, the commissioners of the Courthouse Board, three members of the Parole Commission, members of the Child Welfare Board, and city marshals. He also appoints the city magistrates, the justices of the Court of Special Sessions, and certain other officials, including some of the trustees of the Brooklyn and Queens Borough public libraries."

THE government of New York is very imperfect; it is not free from political corruption and it is cumbersome, but it is a step ahead of Philadelphia and Chicago in some respects. Short ballot, increase of the mayor's power with direct responsibility for appointments, and the union of executive and administrative powers in the two financial boards—these are all principles recognized in one or another of the newer forms of city government, and these are all in some degree to be found in the government of New York.

In 1913 the voters of Cleveland, a city of almost 700,000, adopted, under the Home Rule provision in force in that state, a charter providing a short ballot—mayor and councillors only—full responsibility of the mayor for appointments and the non-partisan nomination of candidates by petition signed by a certain number of voters. The charter contained also still newer elements—the proposal of legislation by

"*WOMAN must take to her soul a purpose and then make circumstances conform to this purpose, instead of forever singing the refrain, 'if and if and if.'*"

S. B. A.

petition of the voters (the so-called initiative); the referendum, by which an ordinance rejected by the council could be passed over its head by vote of the people, or conversely, an ordinance passed by the council and disapproved by the people could be repealed by their vote; and the recall, by which the voters could remove officials whose conduct in office they disapproved.

NON-PARTISAN government and popular control of legislation and officials as exemplified in Cleveland are features not seen in any of the other city governments, I have outlined. Popular control is one main element in city government of the 20th Century type; it is an element which was avoided and distrusted by the federal type of government in which the voter's function was limited to electing officials, and, in some cities, voting on certain financial matters. Direct legislation and control by the initiative, referendum and recall is indeed, in both city and state government, the characteristic contribution to democracy of the 20th Century. It supplants by democratic control the threefold representative system in which executive, legislative and judicial departments are supposed to check each other.

It would be possible to go on forever outlining individual charters of the federal type which have nevertheless some advanced features.

In 1900 the accident of the Galveston flood introduced a form of city government fundamentally different from any of these. This was government by a commission of five men, to whom were given both legislative and executive

powers. To this commission form of government, Des Moines in 1908 added the initiative, referendum and recall. Today between 250 and 300 cities, 80 of them with a population 30,000 or over, have this form of government which strikes away all the complexity of the older city governments, provides a short ballot made up of the 3 or 5 members of the city commission—often misleadingly called, like the federal board of aldermen, a council—who are elected at large, given large powers of appointment, and held directly responsible to the people, who can by their votes recall them or recall any of their acts.

ACTING altogether the commissioners have legislative powers and general executive power to enforce the laws. They also appoint the city officials—clerk, solicitor, assessor, treasurer, auditor, chief of fire, health, etc. Acting separately each is the head of an administrative department. One is mayor or head of the department of public affairs without veto power; another head of the department of accounts and finance, another of public safety (health, police, fire, etc.), another of streets and public improvements, and another of parks and public property. Since all sit on the commission they are able to secure a cooperation between these departments which does not exist under the old style government.

In 1914 a committee chosen by the National Municipal Review investigated the 200 and odd commission government cities of that day. It found commission government a "relative success" compared to the old forms because it was "more sensitive to public opinion through unification of powers with no evasion of responsibility."

As time went on, however, some cities found that demands were made on the commissioner too varied and expert for this form of government to be a hundred per cent efficient. The commission at Sumter, N. C., used its power of appointment to call in a business manager from without to whom a large salary was paid for his expert services. Under this system, now in force in 64 cities, the commission has legislative power and general power to enforce the laws. The manager runs the business of the city, and like a business man "hires and fires" city officers and heads of administrative departments who work under him. The commission can hire and fire him, but the voters can do the same to the commission.

In 1916 *Equity Magazine* compared the business records of some of these cities before and after the manager was installed. The experience of Springfield, Ohio, is typical. In the first year of commission city manager government it saved \$50,000, wiped out a floating debt of \$100,000, extended its street cleaning work 25 per cent and its garbage collection from a very small section to the whole city.

Dayton, Ohio, was the first large city to install commission-city-manager government. On the basis of its experience Dayton claims that this form is simple, efficient, economical, business-like, prompt and expert in doing the city's work; that it gets better men on the city's staff, centralizes authority, fixes responsibility, does away with political partisanship and leaves the government always under the people's control.



SOMEBODY IS DUE FOR A WASH



MRS. ROBERT STRAWBRIDGE,
CHAIRMAN OF
CHILDREN'S
ENTERTAIN-
MENT.



MRS. GIFFORD
PINCHOT, WHO
WAS CHAIRMAN
OF THE FÊTE

Fête au Profit d'Outre-mer



MRS. LEWIS L. SMITH,
Acting President, Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, and one of the Committee in Charge of the Fête

From her
"I take
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Women's
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ly to Mrs.
H
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Pennsylvania Women a

THE Women's Oversea Hospitals provided the picturesque background for the pre-tentious fête held on Thursday last, May 16, on the beautiful country estate of Mrs. Charles A. Munn, at Radnor, Pa., under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association. The "Fête au profit des Hôpitaux d'Outre-mer" was to enable the suffragists of Philadelphia and five adjacent counties to raise their portion of the sum of \$125,000 pledged by the National Suffrage Association to maintain the hospitals in the battle-torn areas of France.

It will be remembered that New York city raised its first quota with a Grand Military and Naval Meet at Madison Square Garden. Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, had a successful tag-day; Buffalo, New York, a pageant; Boston, Massachusetts, Albany, New York, Providence, Rhode Island, and Washington, D. C., have all been successful in fund raising schemes. For the third unit of the Oversea Hospitals which is to be entirely supported by business women in the Women's Apparel trades, more than \$13,000 was raised at one booth in the New York City Textile Show early in May.

Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, secretary of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association was chairman of the fête at Radnor which was the joint enterprise of five counties—Philadelphia, Montgomery, Delaware, Bucks and Chester, although Lancaster also helped her neighbors.

The estate on which the affair was staged is

Prof des Hopitaux Ore-mer

From the Wilson
I take opportunity to
express my interest in
and appreciation of the work
which is done for the
Women's Oversea Hospitals.
From a letter recently
to Mrs. H. Gardener,
(Wilson)



MRS. RAYMOND BROWN,
*Sent to France as Emissary from National
American Woman Suffrage Association to
Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A.*

**MRS. CHAS. A.
MUNN, AT
WHOSE ESTATE,
WOODCREST,
RADNOR, THE
FÊTE WAS
HELD**



Women at the Hospitals Fund

one of the show places of the Philadelphia Main Line District and was tendered in a patriotic spirit to Mrs. Pinchot and Mrs. George A. Dunning, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of Philadelphia, by Mrs. Munn, who before her marriage was Mary Astor Paul.

In the same spirit of patriotism it was but natural that the program should relate largely to war and what women are doing in connection with war. A food demonstration and exhibition was given under the direction of Mrs. Charles M. Lea, General Director of the Food Conservation and Economics Division of the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defence, assisted by members of the Defence Council from the five counties, in conjunction with the Department of Domestic Science of Drexel Institute.

The Philadelphia Division and Drexel Institute demonstrated the making of such war foods as meatless meat; wheatless bread and flourless cakes. Chester County gave a demonstration of fruit and vegetable canning; Delaware of canned soups and chicken; Montgomery and Lancaster Counties gave a dehydrating demonstration, while Bucks County showed various kinds of war bread in the making. Four demonstrators from State College gave expert advice on food values, and Mrs. Herbert Hoover, the wife of the United States Food Administrator was on hand with a direct

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**MRS. J. CLAUDE
BEDFORD,
LEGISLA-
TIVE CHAIR-
MAN, PENN.
WOMAN SUFF-
RAGE ASSO-
CIATION**



Femininizing the Railways

WHY don't we hear that wail? Seems to us we used to hear it—all the way from grumbling bass to querulous falsetto—when the question was one, say, of schools in piping times of peace.

It growled along like a lost dog side by side with the fear of de-feminizing woman.

To-day, wail and fear seem to have dropped off the boards together.

Conducting a street car has become so common a business for a woman to be about that the woman in khaki, taking fares at the street-car entrance, not only arouses no hostility; she no longer attracts even the mild stare of astonishment. Not in New York at least. Perhaps it was because she was begged to take the job that the public easily, even gratefully, makes room for her. From New York she is pioneering into other cities and her adaptability to the work seems to assure her permanence. As time passes she improves in appearance and the quality of her service grows better.

In Germany women were pressed into the transit service as far back as 1914. In a survey of the great army of women conductors now in charge of Germany's transit system a writer in the *Norddeutsche-Allgemeine Zeitung* dilates upon the women conductors thus:

"Soon after the opening of the war there began what might be called the campaign of women for the conquest of the masculine field of labor. The change was most perceptible to the street-car public. Before the end of October 1914, the first conductorettes were to be seen, and what at that time was remarkable and even almost sensational has long ago become the most natural sight in the world. The great Berlin street railway recruited its band of Amazons with military rapidity and on a large scale. In December the chief contingent of conductorettes were already on their legs—not in this case a mere figure of speech, but a very strenuous truth—and so we can now hold another war celebration, i. e., the third triennial of the feminized street railway.

"During this long and distressingly trying period, all sorts of opinions have been formed in regard to the lady conductors. Two main groups have been formed, the ayes and the noes; but to be just, one must find a middle way. For one thing, it will not do to pass a single and final judgment upon the conductorettes as a whole, for we must distinguish among the most diverse types and opposing temperaments. And so in reviewing the situation let us pick out the most striking types in the hope of obtaining a composite and fairly accurate portrait.

"*The Choleric Woman.* In this group we must make a purely external distinction between two extremes; the big, fat, ruddy woman and the little, thin, pale woman. Between the two there are degrees of difference, but they all have a strong inclination towards violent outbursts, which is closely bound up with impatience and irascibility. When the fates decree that you are to encounter a choleric conductorette keep your mouth shut and your change handy. If you fancy you can get her to change a mark-piece, you may bring down upon your head a philippic which will delight the public, but will not give an exactly flattering idea of your character. Speak softly, and

have the exact fare ready if you want to live happily in the trolley.

"*Frau 'Step-Forward.'* This conductorette might well be called the fanatic for space. In studying her service-rules, she has apparently seized upon the regulations concerning space as the most important of them all; she studies this one problem uninterruptedly and entertains a really morbid dread of letting the car become crowded, a thought that haunts her like a ghost. Even before the car comes to a stop or anybody has found time to go in or out, she shouts inexorably, 'Car full!' little caring whether this declaration corresponds to the fact. And if you succeed in getting on the platform, you immediately get the order, 'Move forward! Plenty of room in the middle of the car.' To a conductorette of this type, it makes little difference how you behave. Whether you obey her or not, whether the car be full or empty, whether you sit or stand, you are ordered to 'Move forward!' It is a fixed idea, an obsession, in the face of which nothing can be done.

"*The Good-Natured Woman.* This type is also—fortunately—pretty common. It is mostly to be recognized by a certain comfortable air that inspires confidence. The good-natured conductorette goes on the cheering principle that 'It'll be all right.' She usually lets things take their course, and when two passengers get into an angry dispute she stands there laughing. In the matter of overcrowding, she is the exact opposite of 'Frau Step-Forward.' She is of the opinion that the car is not full until not another soul can crowd in, and consequently she is beloved by those who have been waiting for a car and criticized as often by those who are already on board.

"*The Facetious Conductorette.* A decided Berlin type. Generally small, a little sly, very spry, always flying from one end of the car to the other. If luck sends you to her car, you have drawn a prize. She disarms every desire to be quarrelsome; she is a master of folk psychology, a practical philosopher, she cannot be confused or rattled. If French were not banned, she might be termed the trolley *enfant terrible*, though we ought to emphasize the point that her apparent superiority to the literal interpretation of rules is the very thing that keeps the crowd moving easily.

"*The Mother.* You can recognize her at once from her behavior toward the children. She lifts the little ones over the step on to the platform; she is conveniently blind when a child kneels on the seat, and she finds time to give a smile to a youthful passenger. She is thinking of her own children while she works. Often, and alas, not seldom, she wears a black band on her sleeve. Be polite to her and follow orders. She is a standing reminder to us of the sacrifices that she and her colleagues are making in this war, sacrifices which demand the deepest recognition.

"All these types, different as they may be in other respects, present a class of women who are doing their bit to enable us to hold out. Very few people realize the enormous strain of a conductor's life. But hardly anybody remembers that passengers are often anything but obliging and especially that the choleric are steadily increasing in number."

Hospital Fête

(Continued from page 491)

message from the United States Food Department.

In another section of the grounds there was a demonstration by six women of tractor plowing. Mrs. J. Claude Bedford, of Media, who had charge of this feature, gave one of the demonstrations and all the women wore farm-ette costumes.

A stirring feature was the war hospital with ambulances shown in action. The Women's Medical College and the Women's Hospital of Philadelphia gave a war field hospital exhibit, and in co-operation with the Red Cross Emergency Corps, under the direction of Dr. Mercedes A. Roberts, drills and emergency aid were shown. With no sign of a hospital, field tent, or ambulance in sight, the corps burst upon the scene and within six minutes, a tent was erected, a temporary hospital established and the emergency treatment of the wounded demonstrated.

What women are doing in ways less closely related to war were evidenced by swimming and diving exhibitions in the beautiful pool on the estate in which a famous swimmer, Miss Olga Dorfner, the national woman swimming champion, took part; by a French play, an exhibition of athletic dancing, and just a plain outdoor moving war picture. A feature which attracted much attention was a dramatic presentation of the Marseillaise by Miss Mildred Faas jointly with Mr. Philip Goepp, known in musical and art circles of the East. Miss Faas was soloist at the Bach Festival in Bethlehem last year, and has again been selected for the solo part. Other entertainers at the Fête were from the Philadelphia theatres.

Among the patronesses and managers of this Fête to raise money for the "War Baby" of the N. A. W. S. A. were:

Mrs. Thomas Ashton, Mrs. J. Claude Bedford, Mrs. Edward W. Biddle, Mrs. Ferree Brinton, Mrs. George Burnham, Jr., Mrs. A. J. Dallas Dixon, Mrs. George A. Dunning, Mrs. Henry C. Earnshaw, Mrs. Thomas Elwyn, Miss Mary K. Gibson, Mrs. Frank T. Griswold, Mrs. T. Truxton Hare, Mrs. J. S. C. Harvey, Mrs. Francis B. Jacobs, Mrs. Charles M. Lea, Mrs. Norman MacLeod, Mrs. John Markoe, Mrs. John H. Mason, Mrs. Edward S. Mead, Mrs. Benjamin Miller, Mrs. Paul Denckla Mills, Mrs. Reed A. Morgan, Mrs. Charles A. Munn, Mrs. A. Edward Newton, Mrs. H. Prentiss Nichols, Mrs. A. J. Drexel Paul, Mrs. George Wharton Pepper, Mrs. George A. Piersol, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Mrs. William Potts, Mrs. Lewis Lawrence Smith, Mrs. Marshall H. Smith, Mrs. Joseph N. Snellenburg, Mrs. A. M. Snyder, Mrs. Robert E. Strawbridge, Mrs. Walter S. Thomson, Dr. Martha Tracy, Mrs. Robert von Moschzisker, Mrs. Barclay H. Warburton, Mrs. William Ward, Jr., Miss Margaret McK. Wilcox, Mrs. H. E. Yarnell.

THE Women's Oversea Hospitals fund was netted a substantial increase as the result of the concert given under the auspices of the suffragists of Oshkosh on May 2. The contributing artists, who gave their services, were Mrs. Lorna Hooper Warfield of Milwaukee, formerly of Oshkosh, Mrs. Georgia Hall Quick and Mrs. Frederick Wergin, both of Milwaukee.

Alice Stone Blackwell: Liberator and Poet

An Appreciation

By Bertha Sullivan Papazian



Alice Stone Blackwell

NOW when, through a horrible war of world-wide dimensions, even the least generous minds are being shocked into the conviction that universal freedom is a practical necessity, is it not well to pay our tribute to one who held out-of-season views with regard to this great issue, and who, while it was yet day, strove by constructive and beautiful means to realize the vision?—ED.

SHORTLY after the massacre by the Turks of 200,000 Armenians, there was issued by a Boston publishing house, a slim red volume decorated with the scarlet, gold, and blue of the old Armenian coat-of-arms, and containing translations of sixty Armenian poems. Many were modern, some dated from ancient and mediæval days, and all were introduced to the English-speaking public for the first time. It was Miss Alice Stone Blackwell's way of throwing down the gage of moral and intellectual battle on behalf of this tragically situated race, so pathetically unknown in their historical and cultural aspects to the people of America and of the world. That was in 1896. Characteristically, it was chiefly to help them to a place among the free peoples that Miss Blackwell sought to make known their place in the republic of thought and letters, for the poet in her always has been made to serve the liberator; and the service was the more remarkable because at that time we were not so generally aware of the persuasive power of a noble racial culture in the promotion of interracial amities. Remembering the part played by the "soul" of France in creating the flood of sympathy which has swept to her from every quarter of the world, one the better recognizes in Miss Blackwell's literary championship a fundamental and far-sighted statesmanship. The translations and the historical preface which accompanied the poems were indisputable proof that the Armenians were not only a people of high ancient culture, but that they were still, after a history extending over

twenty-five centuries, and in spite of severe persecution, a people vigorous in physique, and of a moral and intellectual power strikingly dynamic.

OF another friend of Armenia, Viscount, then the Honorable James Bryce, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe once said: "He is the friend of those who need friends, most friendly when most needed,—a defender of the faith of nations, an exemplar of Christian chivalry." These words have admirable fitness when applied to Miss Blackwell. Suffragists will think at once of her life-long allegiance to the cause of woman and all that it has meant in the way of chivalrous effort. But few even of the suffragists realize the extent of her active allegiance to the general cause of human liberty everywhere, nor how greatly her main preoccupation has been enriched by being part of a symmetrical world concept. Surely, with respect to liberty, she has "seen life steadily and seen it whole."

If, aside from her suffrage interest, she has been "most friendly" to the Armenian cause, it has been because there her services were "most needed." When she began her work of making known Armenian literature to Americans she had no forerunner in this field, with the exception of an Armenian monk, Father Leo Alishan, of the Convent of St. Lazar at Venice, who had translated into English, thirty or more years before, a few of the folk songs of his people with the avowed hope that others of English race would follow in his footsteps. But the yearning, liberty-loving soul of Hungary, of revolutionary Russia, the Yiddish world of dreams and strivings, these too, although already somewhat known, have received additional illumination through the efforts of Miss Blackwell's laborious and gifted pen.

"Songs of Russia" and "Songs of Grief and Gladness" from the Hebrew and Yiddish followed the "Armenian Poems"; steadily in newspapers and magazines her translations from the Spanish and Yiddish, and further translations from the Armenian, have appeared; and then, immediately upon the dethronement of the Czar, came with especial timeliness that great book "The Little Grandmother," gotten out in addition to suffrage and other labor for the express purpose of interpreting the event by means of the life and character of one of the Revolution's noblest apostles.

WE turn from Miss Blackwell's more apparent liberty-promoting services to what, as is the case with her Spanish-American translations, might appear a work undertaken for purely artistic ends, but it is only to be met again with this same radiant motive of world advancement. About a year ago, the writer of this article had the happiness to be introduced to the graceful and exquisite world opened by Miss Blackwell's translations from the poets of Mexico, Nicaragua, Chile, Argentina, and Peru,—a world so romantic, so langourous, so tropical, and yet, oddly, so American,—so great-



ANDRIK AHARONIAN, AUTHOR AND POET, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARMENIANS IN THE CAUCASUS

ly in contrast with the homely, vigorous songs of Hungary, or with the profoundly poignant, throbbing song which breaks from the soul of Armenia. Here, it seemed, might be a clue to what had been a fascinating speculation, for it had been apparent to me that if only all the dragons of unrighteousness could be slain the world would have in her not only an inspired translator but a poet able to carry on creatively the New England poetic tradition of Emerson, Lowell, and Longfellow. Might it not be that it was, at last, to satisfy a more strictly artistic necessity that she had turned to the poetry of the politically free peoples of the South American republics?

But questioning revealed the fact that the preponderating motive had been the desirability of bringing our southern neighbors to public attention not as *markets* but as *souls*.

WITH her own Hungarian Petöfi well might she say:

"Among your warriors, O my Time,
I combat as I can.
'Tis by my poems I contend;
Each is a fighting man."

So, in spite of their inherent artistic power and beauty, it is as knightly exploits, as battles waged for human emancipation that we must first of all regard Miss Blackwell's literary accomplishments. Like a Galahad she has been led on her quest by a single aim. It has meant, of course, in addition to the original gift and consecration, a long succession of toilsome efforts of many kinds; for to be really a "friend to those who need friends" with her was not only to work in art forms but to do the thousand "little kindnesses which most leave undone or despise." It is in this way that knightly poets become also saints. Inevitably the refugees, leaders, students, workers, of all these races have turned to her for help and

(Continued on page 494)



SIAMANTO, POET, KILLED IN THE
MASSACRES of 1915

(Continued from page 494)

inspiration, assured from wide report that they would find in her an exemplar of the old classic Christian chivalry. Letters, errands, petitions, contributions, translations, special articles, addresses, advice, hospitality,—services such as these she has humbly and tirelessly bestowed.

HER home has been both refuge and shrine. I know of this more intimately with regard to her Armenian connection. Poets, patriots, editors, bishops, musicians, students, all upon their arrival in America eagerly seek her out to pay to her their grateful homage. For she is known on the other side wherever there are Armenians or Armenophiles. In France, in England, in Switzerland, in Egypt, in Turkey, and in Russia, even to Etchmiadzin, the Armenian See at the foot of Mount Ararat, her name is loved and exalted.

One learns, indirectly, that she has received the Order of Melusina from Prince Guy de Lusignan, a descendant of the last Armenian dynasty, in recognition of her distinguished work. He was especially grateful for her translations of his brother's poems. One knows, too, that she has received the apostolic blessing of the Catholicos, the head of the Armenian National Church, and that it was accompanied, not by a decoration, but, symbolically, by an Armenian rosary of glowing amber. One knows this because on great occasions when she is the guest of the Armenian colony she carries this rosary which she regards as a greater treasure than her Phi Beta Kappa pin. But to know these things implies a special research, as it were, because she carries modesty to a disconcerting point and inclines to obscure all her many claims to distinction.

MISS BLACKWELL'S latest effort for Armenia has been the publication at her own expense, for the benefit of the Relief Fund, of a third and much enlarged edition of the "Armenian Poems." It is a collection of individuality and



KRIMIAN HAIRIK, LATE CATHOLICOS OF
ALL ARMENIANS

charm and has made of her in a very real sense ambassador for the race of which it is the voice. In this dire time of crisis, advocates of the Armenian cause turn to its noble pages in vindication of their claims. Recently in Congress, during his notable speech on behalf of Armenia, Representative Edward C. Little of Kansas read from it twice, unconsciously honoring the translator when he said, "Let their poet speak for them a moment in the halls of the American Congress."

They Will Not Know

AS the train pulled out of the station she walked away and stopped smiling; she didn't need to smile now—he had gone.

Somehow, it seemed as if it wouldn't have been so hard if he had gone with the army. His being in a sailor-suit had made it so unbearable! He looked so dear in it; just as he had looked seventeen years ago when he first "went into" them. She could feel his dear little warm body as she had felt it hugged to her that first "grown up" night when she put him to bed. He had begged her to let him sleep in his suit. Oh, why hadn't she let him?

He had wanted to go in the Navy; he always loved boats. He had wanted to go to the war from the first. No matter what came, she could remember that. He had gone away to do what he wanted to do most in the world. If only she could be as sure as he that he would come back. Anyhow, she had kept smiling as long as he was there to see. She was thankful for that.

There were lots of things to be thankful for, if you could only put your mind on them. But these days your mind had a way of refusing to stay where you put it—it kept coming back, back to the unspoken dread. If only her imagination wasn't so vivid! She could so horribly see it all. It was like the day he had cut his head so badly. Then he had yellow curls—only now, if it came, she wouldn't be there—

She pulled herself together and turned back; she hadn't noticed where she was going.

Was there anything in the whole world so tragic as a mother these days? She remembered the first time he had said "Mother"; not the baby way, the real way. What a darling he had been! Everybody thought so. Of course he hadn't been easy to bring up, but then, who wants a goody boy? And they had been such close friends. She didn't see how she was going to live without him all these weeks and months; years, perhaps—or perhaps—no, she wouldn't let herself think of that! How brave all those mothers in Europe were. But no one had such a son as hers. Of course she knew they all thought the same thing, but she knew. Her love for him had filled her life full for twenty-one years. Yes, and now—being a mother was too hard; yes, it was the hardest of all!

AS she turned the corner she passed two girls whom they both knew. They were young and pretty and they were laughing and chatting as if the world was made for their joy and happiness; lighthearted, as if the world was not full of mothers with breaking hearts, mothers who had just said good-bye to their sons! Mothers of sons—

Why!—She hadn't thought of that! Why, thousands and thousands of girls—girls like those two—were going to have to go through life unloved, alone and childless. That's what the war would do for them; cheat them of their great adventure. Come what might, the boys were going to have theirs. War has ever

been man's great adventure, as bringing a child into the world has ever been woman's.

Poor little things! Deprived of the joy of knowing of their baby's coming; deprived of holding it in their arms; deprived of days and nights of anxiety; deprived of putting their little boys into sailor suits—yes, and deprived of the agony of seeing them go forth to war.

All unconsciously the mother drew herself up straighter, and smiled. Then her eyes filled with tears, for again she thought, "Poor little things! Unrealizing it, perhaps the girls will have to bear the greatest tragedy of all. They will not know."

Statement by Frank O. Lowden, Governor of Illinois

"I HAVE been asked how I stand on the question of woman suffrage. In my judgment, woman suffrage is an accomplished fact in Illinois, or so near an accomplished fact, that it is hardly worth while to discuss it. I know no reason why the women of Illinois should not have full suffrage. It is absurd that they should have the right to vote for electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, and not have the right to vote for Governor and other officers of their own state. The last state platform of the Republican party adopted in 1914 declared in favor of unlimited suffrage to women."

Correspondence

In Answer to Mr. Blanton

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS L. BLANTON wrote to the *Woman Citizen* because he "must dissent from the position taken by Miss Blackwell in her article entitled 'That Zone System.'"

Politely, even deferentially, Mr. Blanton excuses Miss Blackwell because he has the utmost consideration for her ignorance of the facts. For he says: "Miss Blackwell probably did not have the same opportunity to study the question as was afforded our able Ways and Means Committee that framed this legislation."

Representative Blanton ignores—he may be unconscious of it—the important principle that overshadows all other phases involved in the zone system controversy which is that his statistics are inaccurate because there is no authoritative foundation for his basic figures, and that his deductions are guess work that oppose the evidence; otherwise no one can find fault with his letter.

The vital principle involved in the zone system is this:

Is the Post Office Department maintained as a commercial enterprise, whose only object it is to make money, to show a profit on its daily operations?—or is its function that of performing a public service whose benefit to the people is so great that it cannot be measured in any terms with which we are familiar—certainly not in money terms?

NOTHING is more firmly established than the principle that the Post Office Department was organized and maintained to encourage the greatest freedom of communication and that newspapers and periodicals now and always have been big factors in the development of nationalism.

George Washington realized this. In his Fifth Message to Congress in 1793 he urged the repeal of the tax on the transportation of public prints.

The United States Postal Commission in 1884 reaffirmed the principle that the postal function was primarily and fundamentally a service to the people.

Abraham Lincoln abolished the zone system. Practically all the postal commissions, postal experts and scientific men—except, of course, the able Ways and Means Committee—have pronounced it unsound.

President Woodrow Wilson said: "This proposed new postal rate would be a direct tax, and a very serious one, upon the formation and expression of opinion—its more deliberate formation and expression—just at a time when opinion is concerning itself actively and effectively with the deepest problems of our politics and our social life."

Former Ambassador Gerard has said: "I am against this postal zone law because it will help German propaganda. Fortunately, the Germans cannot propagate this country as they did Russia because we have great publications that go all over the country and have unified the whole country and the whole continent."

Perhaps Representative Blanton and the able Ways and Means Committee can measure the value of this work of unification—of nationalism—in dollars and cents.

The accomplishment of this nationalism—making a united homogeneous people—is so tremendously important that it may be that what Mr. Blanton calls the sub-sedition to further it may be called sub-sedition when this unifying work is opposed.

But if the Post Office Department is put on a commercial basis, there is no reason why the other departments of the government should not be self-supporting. They should not give away service. The Department of Agriculture, the Department of Interior, the State Departments, the Department of Justice should be reorganized so that they shall pay a profit, or at least be self-supporting. Possibly this would be found somewhat difficult when it comes to the War and Navy Departments.

The acceptance of the principle that the Post Office Department is maintained for public service—that is for the public good—and not as a money-making enterprise, does not carry with it the assumption that it shall be conducted recklessly and extravagantly because Congress has played politics in all of the Federal Departments for so many years that some of us have wondered if congressmen do not regard these departments as intended for personal and party exploitations.

No one, unless he be a politician, fails to recognize that, once accepting public service as the primary function and purpose of the Post Office Department, it should be made to execute this function as economically as possible.

The Post Office Department can be so run that it would make a profit without any increase in rates—in fact, it did show a profit last year.

The statement that the government now carries second class matter at a loss of \$90,000,000 a year is an absurdity. It is only a statement and it cannot be established as a fact—at least it hasn't been.

Mr. Blanton blithely accepts these figures and proceeds with naive statistics based on this supposed deficit.

AS a matter of fact nobody knows what it costs the government to transport newspapers and periodicals. The Post Office Department has never issued a financial statement that would stand analysis. It has never established a cost accounting system.

The official document entitled "Opinions of Postmasters General as to Mail Cost of Second Class Matter," says frankly that the estimates regarding second class mail matter are opinions based upon general experience in the service and not upon scientific ascertaining of costs.

In plain words, this loss of \$90,000,000, apparently accepted by Mr. Blanton and the able Ways and Means Committee as a proved incontrovertible fact, is purely guess work.

If it does cost nine cents a pound to handle newspapers and periodicals, something is wrong.

The Wells Fargo Express Company can collect, transport and deliver farm products, and pay a profit to their stockholders, at from twenty to thirty per cent less than the zone system law proposes to charge for clean, neat, easily handled periodicals, of which between four and five thousand car loads a year are sent by freight. The second class postage rate in Canada is just one-half our present rate and eighteen hundred per cent less than the highest rate under the zone system.

In closing, Mr. Blanton says: "I want to assure Miss Blackwell that the people will have plenty of reading matter and that no publication worth while will discontinue."

It might be wise for Mr. Blanton, and the able Ways and Means Committee to make a test, taking the Congressional Record, for instance. Suppose that every copy distributed was compelled to pay the regular rate under the zone system, and that no copy would be distributed unless it was paid for at a price that would make the Congressional Record self-supporting.

About the only point that Mr. Blanton makes is that some publishers make a great deal of money. This is true—but they are painfully few.

There are not as many multi-millionaire publishers as there are multi-millionaire congressmen, for instance.

But the individual profits of publishers have no significance in comparison with the tremendous, necessary work performed by the publications in keeping open the avenues of communication—of thought—and making the people of this country a united nation through ideas, convictions and purposes in common, and not groups of isolated communities concerned only in their local affairs.

Federal action aimed at decreasing the number of publications, the number of copies of publications distributed, and therefore decreasing the number of readers, has about as much sense in it as would a law taxing eye-glasses on the grounds that there are enough people who do not need eye-glasses in order to read, and there are enough people able to pay an exorbitant price for eye-glasses to keep up a comfortable reading public.

The *Woman Citizen* is to be commended for its good work in bringing up this discussion. The new zone system will have an inevitable tendency to disunite the United States.

New York City.

S. KEITH EVANS.

We Are Fair Enough

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

In the May 11 issue of the *Woman Citizen*, under the caption "May Be New York's First Woman Legislator," there appears a news item to the effect that Mrs. William A. Serven of Pearl River is being boomed by Rockland County Republicans to represent them in the New York Assembly. Which is all very well and good, but in vain have I been watching the columns of your paper for an announcement of the fact that Mrs. Olive M. Johnson was nominated recently by the Socialist Labor Party for governor of New York. I thought the *Woman Citizen* would be fair enough to report the news of this interesting event just for the mere sake of keeping its readers informed of what is occurring in its particular sphere of activity. An obligation, it seems to me, it is in duty bound to perform. I see now that I was mistaken. When class interests conflict even those who profess to be fair-minded suppress the truth. Of course the Socialist Labor Party did not make the nomination with the expectation of getting any support whatever from the National American Woman Suffrage Association. It knows better.

ARTHUR A. PRUSSAK.

West Hoboken, N. J.

Correspondence

Recent Legislation in Texas

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

Texas is to be congratulated both on her Governor and the members of the 35th Legislature. The recent called session passed in 30 days more progressive legislation than had been passed by any general session for many years. Among the laws enacted are the following:

Primary suffrage, which permits women of 21 years and over who possess the qualifications required of male voters to participate in all primary elections. The law requires registration of such voters, but no charges or fees of any kind this year. As we have only one party in Texas—the Democratic—the privilege of participating in the primary election is equivalent to voting in the general election.

The Alien Act, which requires that any one voting in the primary election must be an American citizen. The constitution of Texas permits those who have taken out first papers to vote after living in the state one year and the county six months. The Legislature passed the Alien act to take care of the present situation and prevent participation in the primaries by any except American citizens.

The Literacy Law: This law requires that the voter make out his ballot without assistance. This law was very much needed. A like bill was passed by the 33rd Legislature known as the Boehmer Bill and vetoed by Governor Colquit. This will do much to improve political conditions in Texas.

Zone Law: Prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor within ten miles of any training camp, landing station or wherever United States soldiers are encamped or Government work is in progress; the latter was added especially to take care of the shipbuilding plants.

Statutory Prohibition: Making the whole state dry. Effective June 26th, 1918.

Road House Bill: Providing that no liquor licenses can be issued except in incorporated towns and villages.

Drought Act: Permitting the state through the counties to loan to inhabitants of drought stricken counties sums of money under certain conditions—not to exceed in the aggregate two million dollars.

Raising Age of Consent. Raised from 15 to 18 years.

Delinquency Act. Making it a misdemeanor to contribute in any way to the delinquency of a juvenile. This includes girls to the age of 18 years and boys to 17 years.

The Legislature also passed several laws pertaining to schools and educational matters, one among them requiring that all primary grades be taught in the English language. Another permitting incorporated towns and cities to raise their tax rate in order to take care of schools within their limits.

There were many other laws passed, but the above are those that stand out and will mean most to those who have worked for educational and political advancement of the human race.

HORTENSE WARD.

Houston, Texas.

The Rule Works Both Ways

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

Madam:

In your issue of April 27th, referring to the recent meeting in this city of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, you quote me as saying:

"War work must diminish for a while till we overcome the danger of a woman's vote."

I desire to say that this is wholly untrue; that at no time have I made any statement of the kind, or any statement which might be so interpreted. One of my objections to the woman suffrage movement has been that in the hour of national emergency it has made the interests of a little sex class paramount to those of the nation; that in fact it has been doing war work with one hand and pushing the Federal Amendment with the other, when it should have been doing war work with both hands, and with all its heart.

Will you not kindly print this and oblige.

HENRY A. WISE WOOD.

New York City.

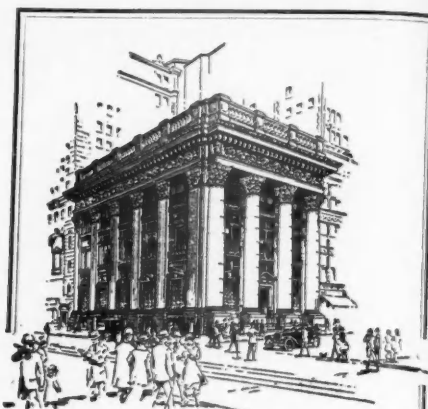
[The quotation from Mr. Wood, cited in the Woman Citizen, was taken verbatim from the daily press of January 29, which reported an anti-suffrage meeting in New York City. At this meeting Mr. Charles S. Fairchild and Mr. Henry Wise Wood were speakers. Both were said to have called upon the women to drop some of their war work and fight suffrage. The account from which the Citizen got its information stated: "Mr. Wood adjured the women who were knitting in the audience to drop their needles and take up the fight against suffrage. 'War work must diminish for a time until we overcome the danger of woman's vote,' he cried."

The last sentence was quoted editorially in the Citizen, which gave its authority. The press reports from which these words were taken occurred more than three months ago. They went unchallenged by Mr. Wood at the time they were made, so far as is known in this office. Mr. Wood cannot certainly claim that anti-suffragists, either women or men, are giving an undivided allegiance to the war if they are "doing war work with one hand" and hindering "the Federal Amendment with the other."—Ed.]

Why?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

The "No-Waste League," a federation of women's organizations in the city of Superior, is generally given credit for the vote by which Superior went dry April 2, 1918. The city, which is second in size in Wisconsin and is an important port at the head of Lake Superior, has been vibrating between a wet and dry condition for several years. Two years ago it went dry, one year ago it went wet. Meanwhile the food conservation campaign came on and those circulating the food pledge card sometimes met with objection. "Why should I save a little sugar and flour when the breweries are not limited as to the grain they can consume and when men drink up more than we can possibly save?" These comments were fre-



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Mrs. Nanette B. Paul, LL. B., President,
Author of "Paul's Parliamentary Law"
and "The Heart of Blackstone"

quent, and they set the canvassers to thinking. It also set them to working. Forty women's organizations of all kinds came together March 10 to form the No-Waste League. Later, ten more organizations were enrolled, 3,000 women in organized bodies being represented. Each organization had its place in the no-waste campaign. Speakers were sent to the ship-yards, docks, mills, round houses, factories, trades union meetings. The absent soldier voter received a personal letter asking him to help save the grain. Drafted men were asked for as-

"Dead Broke" on \$2000 a Year

And the Discovery Which Enabled Howard Lindsay to Save \$800 Out of His Income and Later Made Him President of a Large Corporation.

By Peter Rhodes

Who should walk into the room but Howard Lindsay! Of all men perhaps the last I had expected to find as the president of this great new company. They had told me that Mr. Lindsay, of the Consolidated, was looking for a fine country home and was interested in buying the Dollard Place in Englewood; so as executor of the Dollard estate, I had come to discuss the terms with him.

But Lindsay! Surely some miracle had happened. For it was the very man who had come to me "dead broke" about four years back and had asked me to help him get a new job. But how he had changed! The man I remembered was down at the heel, and timid and ill-kept. The man now facing me was keen-eyed, alert, confident and well-groomed.

"You are surprised, Mr. Rhodes. I can see that without your telling me. I was a pretty sorry object the last time we met—and you may be sure I have not forgotten the good turn you did me when I needed it so badly.

"Let that real estate matter rest for a moment while I tell you how the miracle happened. It won't take five minutes. It all seems simple as A B C as I look back on it now. And come to think of it, it was simple and perfectly natural.

"My new life began when I discovered how to save money. That happened soon after I started in the new job, and it all came about right in my own home. Our family cash account was in terrible shape at that time. Both my wife and I had been used to luxuries at home and 'charge it to Dad' had been our easy way out of any money problem.

"But it was different now and our sole source of supply was my salary of \$2000. We never went to the theatre that we didn't have the unpleasant feeling that we were using money that ought to go for coal or clothes or food. We seldom bought anything without feeling as though we were cheating ourselves out of something else.

"That year we didn't save one cent. Besides that, we woke up on New Year's Day to find a big bunch of unpaid bills to be taken care of somehow or other out of future salary checks.

"When I asked myself the reason for all this I found that I did not know the reason, and no more did my wife, because we hadn't the faintest idea what our money had been spent for.

"Then I looked around among our friends and learned a great lesson.

"The Weeds, I knew, were getting more than \$5,000 a year. They lived in a modest apartment, did not wear fine clothes, seldom went to the theatre, did little entertaining, yet we knew they barely had enough money to pay current bills. They found it out of the question to save any money and found themselves, so Weed told me, in the same predicament that we had faced on New Year's Day.

"In the case of the Wells I found a very different story and one that set me thinking hard. Their income was \$2,000 a year, yet, to my amusement, they confided to Mrs. Brown that they had saved \$600 a year ever since they were married. They didn't have any grand opera in their program—except on their little Victrola—but they did go to the theatre regularly, they wore good clothes, entertained their friends Sunday evenings and were about the happiest and most contented couple of all our married friends.

"Then I discovered the magic secret. The Weeds never knew whether they could afford to make a given expenditure or not,

theirs, like ours, was a sloppy, happy-go-lucky existence with the happiness cut out because they were always worried about money matters. They kept no accounts and just trusted to luck—and so had had luck all the time.

"The Wells, on the other hand, were getting more real enjoyment out of life than people with five times their income—simply because they knew what they could afford to spend.

"The difference between these two families was that in one case the expenditures were made without any plan—while in the other the income was regulated on a weekly budget system.

"Right there I got my Big Idea and my key to success and happiness.

"We sat down that evening and made up a budget of all our expenses for the next fifty-two weeks. We discovered leaks galore. We found a hundred ways where little amounts could be saved.

"And in no time we were engaged in the most fascinating game either of us had ever played—the game of 'Money Saving.'

"In one short month we had a 'strangle hold' on our expenses and knew just where we were going. In one year my wife proudly produced a bank book showing a tidy savings account of \$800.

"In the meantime an extraordinary change had come over me in business because of my not having to worry about my personal affairs. I was able to give my employer's affairs my full, undivided attention during business hours instead of being harassed and worried as I had always been before.

"I didn't fully realize this until the president called me in one day and said, 'Lindsay, you have been doing exceptionally well. I have been studying your work for the last year and you have saved the company a lot of money. We have decided to give you an interest in the business.' And with that he doubled my salary. I never told him what had worked the change, but my wife and I know well.

"When you consider what my income is now, all that I have told you seems funny, doesn't it? But I am still working on the same plan. Result, I know just what I can subscribe to Liberty Bonds and the Red Cross and all the other war funds, and I never have to wonder whether I can afford to have a new motor car, because my budget tells me—to a penny.

"It all began when we got a grip on our family expenses. So there you are. It is wonderful, isn't it? I often wish I might tell my story to the thousands of young married couples who are having the hardest time of their lives just when they ought to be having the best time.

"If you ever get a chance, do pass this message on, for there are thousands who don't know what the trouble is, who would give everything to know 'the secret of the fat bank balance.'"

"So now I have the opportunity and you are lucky, if only you will act on the wonderful message this story contains.

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Now you will not worry about the money you spend for clothes, food, rent or the theatre. You will spend it freely and have the time of your life because you will know how much you can afford to spend.

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See how magically the Ferrin Book works. We know what you will think of it when you see it. So we are willing to send you the book without your sending us any money in advance. Just mail the coupon, and back will come the book by return mail. When you have seen what big returns the Ferrin System will pay you, send us only \$2. If you feel that you can afford not to have it, return the book and owe us nothing. Act now, for the sake of your bank account and your future.

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Correspondence

(Continued from preceding page)

sistance. Open letters were sent to the Commercial Club, the Merchants' Association, and the Registered Voters. On election day, which was bitterly cold, 130 women were at the polls in relays from 6 in the morning to 8 in the evening. Superior went dry by 34 votes. The woman at the head of the No-Waste League was Mrs. Mary Scott Johnson, President of the Douglas County Woman Suffrage Association.

THEODORA YOUMANS.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Men as Knitters

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

Katharine Dooris Sharp has almost contradicted me, so I must almost reply to her. She says, "It is no evidence of the subjection of women that they occupy their leisure time in work." Of course not. I do it too, when I feel like it. The evidence is the fact that women are, and have been to a much greater extent in the past, expected to do it, and men are not. That she agrees with me in this is shown by her own statement, "When women come into their kingdom . . . let us hope that this will be one of the first improvements they will tackle—the instruction of children, regardless of sex, in the useful occupation of their hands." As Mrs. Sharp expects this

double standard to be abolished as one of the first fruits of sex equality, it is plain that she, too, looks upon it as important evidence of the subjection of women.

I look upon this matter of men knitting for the soldiers as of great importance, for there are not enough women to do all the knitting that ought to be done, most of the women do not know how to knit, and it is as easy for a man to learn as for a woman. I hope that the experience of the soldiers in the field will soon be available to tell us just what kind of socks, and what sizes—for the Red Cross seems to have only one size—will give the best service.

ARCHIBALD CRAIG.

Jersey City, N. J.

Is It Strange?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

The German Kultur declares as one of its fundamental principles that women should concern themselves only with Kuchen, Kinder and Kirche.

Is it not strange that with this for a foundation for womanhood, that the offspring of these women should be rapists, murderers of born and unborn babes, and bombers of Kinder and Kirche?

ANNA HESLET JENKS.

Avoca, Iowa.

The Especial Brand

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

My communication of March 30 was intended as a protest against the brand of chivalry which is toying with the Woman Suffrage Amendment.

ISABEL A. MACPHERSON.

Lake Placid, N. Y.

Last Laughs

The aviator kissed his sweetheart and groaned intermittently while the steady whirling of his motor blurred the sound of both.

"I have broken all records for altitude," he said, "and yet—" his tone became bitter, "I can not seem to top that thing there."

"And what is that?" asked his bride-to-be, as she strained her eyes to see a tiny speck far above them.

"That," replied the dauntless airman as he chipped frozen tear-drops from the corners of both eyes, "is the High Cost of Living."—*Judge*.

The poor cripple thumped his crutch on the ground and said to his lawyer:

"Merciful heavens, man, your bill is outrageous! You are taking four-fifths of my damages!"

"I furnished," said the lawyer, coldly, "the skill, the eloquence, and the legal learning for your case."

"Yes, but I," said the client, ruefully glancing at his injuries, "I furnished the case itself."

"Bosh," answered the lawyer. "Anybody can fall down a coal-hole."—*Mere Play*.



FACTS AND INFORMATION
RELATIVE TO
THE ENFRANCHISEMENT
OF WOMEN

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Rural and City Child

NEITHER the rural child nor the city child has any advantage over the other in the matter of health, according to the February *Child Labor Bulletin*, published by the National Child Labor Committee. In an article on "The Draft as a Test of the Nation's Physical Stamina," by Edward N. Clopper, an analysis of the per cent of men rejected for physical reasons in the draft shows that exactly the same per cent (26.6) were rejected from rural and from urban districts. Recent studies of rural school children have tended to prove that the country child is not as healthy and robust as the city child, due largely to the fact that more measures have been taken by the cities for the preservation of children's health. The draft figures show that the country boy is still holding his own but that he has no margin and that unless the rural districts follow the example of the cities in taking care of their children, the cities will soon outdistance them.

The Latest for Soldiers

"SPIRAL SOCKS" are the latest comfort for the soldiers. Their chief advantage is that they are knitted without any heel. The "spirals" are somewhat shapeless, but soft and clinging and have been enthusiastically praised by the men. They are said to outwear three pairs of socks knitted in the other style. The sock is the invention of Australian women and has been introduced to Washington by the local branch of the British-American War Relief Fund.

Contributions Received in April, 1918

Reported for the N. A. W. S. A. by Emma W. Rogers, Treas.

ANNUAL PLEDGES	
Mary and Nannie Lee.....	\$100.00
Alabama Equal Suffrage Association.....	62.50
Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey.....	150.00
Rose Young.....	100.00
Carrie C. Catt.....	500.00
Sarah Wambaugh.....	5.00
Chicago Equal Suffrage Association.....	312.50
Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association.....	50.00
Marion Patterson.....	10.00
Mrs. D. O. Ives.....	25.00
Iowa Equal Suffrage Association.....	125.00
Mrs. Samuel Castleman.....	100.00
Mrs. Wilber Brotherton.....	100.00
Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission.....	10,000.00
Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw.....	200.00
Mrs. Francis P. Magoun.....	10.00
North Dakota Votes for Women League.....	112.50
Mrs. George P. Miller.....	100.00
Mrs. Leslie Warner.....	200.00
Mrs. John D. South.....	100.00
Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany.....	250.00
Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.....	375.00
Woman Suffrage Society County of Philadelphia.....	81.25
	\$13,068.75
GENERAL DONATIONS	
Mrs. Horace Stillwell.....	45.50
Carrie C. Catt.....	79.83
Fannie Brugman.....	10.00
Amy Grace Maher.....	2.00
	\$137.33
DUES	
Kansas Equal Suffrage Association.....	20.00
Suffrage Amendment Alliance.....	30.00
Indiana Equal Suffrage Association.....	50.00
	100.00
	\$13,306.08

Conference Postponed

THE Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference has been postponed until the fall. According to present schedule, it will meet the first three days in September, at Sioux Falls, South Dakota. The conference was first set for the latter part of May, but the Mississippi Valley leaders have determined now upon the September date.

Specials in Women's Apparel at McCutcheon's



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Crisp, new Summer models in Women's and Misses' Frocks, Wraps, Skirts, and Blouses are offered at reduced prices.

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On the War

	Published Price of Book	Combination: Subscription and Book	Amount Saved on Combination
THE PAN-GERMAN PLOT UNMASKED: André Chéradame.....	\$1.25	\$1.85	\$.40
"OVER THERE": Captain R. Hugh Knyvett.....	1.50	2.00	.50
FIGHTING FOR PEACE: Henry van Dyke.....	1.25	1.85	.40
WHY WE ARE AT WAR: Woodrow Wilson.....	.50	1.35	.15
IN OUR FIRST YEAR OF WAR: Woodrow Wilson.....	1.00	1.65	.35
FIGHTING FRANCE: Edith Wharton.....	1.00	1.65	.35
THE UNITED STATES AND PAN-GERMANIA: André Chéradame..	1.00	1.65	.35
GENERAL JOFFRE AND HIS BATTLES: Raymond Recouly (Captain X)	1.25	1.85	.40
ON THE RIGHT OF THE BRITISH LINE: Captain Gilbert Nobbs...	1.25	1.85	.40
WHITE NIGHTS AND OTHER RUSSIAN IMPRESSIONS: Arthur Ruhl	2.00	2.35	.65
A WAR NURSE'S DIARY.....	1.25	1.85	.40
MY WAR DIARY: Madame Waddington.....	1.50	2.00	.50
WITH THE ALLIES: Richard Harding Davis.....	1.25	1.85	.40
THE DESERTER: Richard Harding Davis.....	.50	1.35	.15
PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY: John Bassett Moore...	2.00	2.35	.65

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CHRISTINE: Alice Cholmondeley.....	1.25	1.85	.40
HIS FAMILY: Ernest Poole.....	1.50	2.00	.50
THE TREE OF HEAVEN: May Sinclair.....	1.60	2.00	.60

Miscellaneous

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THE WOMAN VOTER'S MANUAL: S. E. Forman and Marjorie Shuler..	1.00	1.65	.35
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THE HIGH COST OF LIVING: Frederic C. Howe.....	1.50	2.00	.50
THE FOOD PROBLEM: Kellogg and Taylor.....	1.25	1.85	.40
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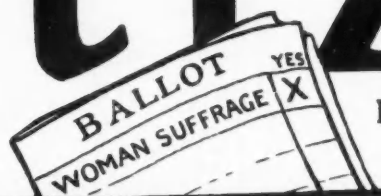
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New York City

CONTINUING the Woman's Journal, founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, as a weekly newspaper devoted to winning equal rights and especially to winning equal suffrage for women, and published weekly in Boston, Massachusetts, from 1870 to 1917. Continuing also the Woman Voter, and the National Suffrage News. In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen became the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such tries to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

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VOL. II

MAY 25, 1918

No. 26

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Florence E. Bate is the business manager.

Where Is Your State?



MISS EMMA MAY

"WE dare you—we dare you—to take our *Woman Citizen* banners from us! Come on and try!" This is the cry that is going up from two of the Indiana suffrage leagues in challenge to the hundred or more other leagues in the state. These banners were awarded the leagues at the Indiana State Convention in April. The Terre Haute League, with Mrs. Benjamin B. White as president, and Miss Emma May as chairman of the *Woman Citizen* Subscription Committee, carried off the honor banner for the largest number of subscriptions obtained by any Indiana league up to that time, and to the Hartford City league, Miss Elizabeth Smith president, was awarded the banner for the largest percentage of subscriptions. A lively skirmish is now on among the leagues to carry off the trophies in answer to the challenge. Just as soon as this rivalry puts Indiana at the top of the contest list she will probably challenge other states to take away these banners—if they can.

If all the plans projected in the many letters received from circulation chairmen bring commensurate results the 100,000 goal will soon be so close that we shall be able to reach right out and touch it. This past week, Baltimore—shall we say with true knowledge of feminine frailties—has started an intensive subscription campaign with a bargain offer. In order to disseminate national suffrage news more widely and at the same time keep the Maryland suffragists in closer touch with city activities, a combination offer of the *Woman Citizen* and the local suffrage Bulletin is made.

Wisconsin is starting the plan of having the president of every suffrage league appoint a special solicitor for the *Woman Citizen*. "It is the best helper you can have in suffrage work," is the word that is going forth from Wisconsin state headquarters. Very much the same word regarding the magazine comes from Mrs. Mary Post, who has charge of the work in New Hampshire. "The magazine speaks for itself," says

Mrs. Post, as she tells of how she is sending it out to prospective subscribers.

Missouri had a state convention this month and unanimously endorsed a strong resolution pledging active work and support to the *Woman Citizen* in the 100,000 drive.

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,
National Circulation Chairman.

State Circulation Chairmen

Alabama: Miss Mary P. London, Birmingham
Indiana: Mrs. Jessie Fremont Croan, Anderson
Iowa: Dr. Effie McCollum Jones, Webster City
Kentucky: Mrs. Charles Firth, Covington
Louisiana: Mrs. Sherard Brisbane, Baton Rouge
Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York, Augusta
Massachusetts: Mrs. R. L. DeNormandie, Boston
Michigan: Mrs. John Waite, Ann Arbor
Minnesota: Mrs. I. E. Rose, St. Paul
Missouri: Mrs. Jules C. Rosenberger, Kansas City
New Hampshire: Mrs. Mary Post, Portsmouth
New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin, East Orange
North Dakota: Mrs. Katherine L. Brainerd, Hebron
Rhode Island: Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt, Bristol
South Carolina: Mrs. J. T. Gittman, Columbia
Texas: Mrs. Helen Moore, Galveston
Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell, Richmond
West Virginia: Mrs. P. C. McBee, Morgantown
Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott, Milwaukee

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.



MRS. B. B. WHITE

First Cash Premium FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

May 11th

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Indiana
4. Minnesota
5. New Jersey
6. Iowa
7. Michigan
8. Ohio
9. New York
10. Virginia
11. New Hampshire
12. Alabama
13. Wisconsin
14. Massachusetts
15. Maine
16. Pennsylvania
17. Louisiana
18. Maryland
19. Connecticut
20. Texas
21. West Virginia
22. Kentucky
23. South Carolina
24. Mississippi, Arkansas, North Dakota, Rhode Island
25. Nebraska
26. Washington
27. Missouri
28. Vermont, Tennessee

May 18th

1. Georgia
2. South Dakota
3. Indiana
4. Minnesota
5. New Jersey
6. Iowa
7. Michigan
8. Ohio
9. Virginia
10. New York, Wisconsin
11. Alabama
12. New Hampshire
13. Massachusetts
14. Maine
15. Pennsylvania
16. Louisiana
17. Maryland, Texas
18. Connecticut
19. West Virginia
20. Kentucky, North Dakota
21. Missouri, South Carolina
22. Mississippi, Arkansas, Rhode Island
23. Nebraska
24. Washington
25. Vermont, Tennessee

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The Question of Clothes

is infinitely more momentous in times of war than in times of peace. Selections must be made with more forethought, with more discrimination, with more regard for suitability and wearing quality.

With this in mind B. Altman & Co. have given more than ordinary care to the assembling of the new things. Clothes are, if anything, rather smarter this season than last; and the smartest of them all are ready for selection here.

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Mrs. Farnam has devoted her time, her strength and her fortune to the aid and succor of stricken Serbia, and her remarkable book—"A Nation at Bay"—recounts in graphic terms her astonishing experiences, culminating in No Man's Land, where she went with the Commanding Officers, was under fire and was made a Sergeant in the First Cavalry Regiment of the Royal Serbian Army.

The Woman Citizen donates this space for the express purpose of urging its readers and their friends to buy Sergeant Farnam's book. Her closing words in an address before the Woman Book-sellers Association were: "For God's sake buy this book and help me to help these starving people. Every penny of profit I receive from it goes to aid these brave people."

The New York Times has said this of Sergeant Farnam's lecture: "Her talk was one of the most interesting made here by any from the warring countries."

RED CROSS WEEK

has two more days to run

GIVE GIVE GIVE

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

May 25, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The Soldier and the Senate

WHAT the fighting man needs "over there," and what he thinks of things back home are matters of supreme concern to the American people today.

Money and energy are not, and must not be, spared in the effort to secure his physical comfort, to feed and clothe and nurse and tend him.

Time and technique must be mastered in securing for him the mental serenity that comes with the conviction that the democracy for which he is fighting is as real a thing to the people back home as it is to him in the trenches.

While he is making his supreme stand for America out on the firing line it is for America to close in behind him with every possible succor.

At every turn he must feel America "backing him up" physically and financially, and at every turn he must sense the spiritual oneness that he believes possesses America with regard to that question of democracy.

What would be the sensations of the American soldier in France who should suddenly find that America was going to fail him on food-stuffs, on ammunition, on aeroplanes, on clothes, on ambulances?

And what the sensations of the same soldier who finds that America is somehow failing him in the matter of her own application of that great and shining ideal for which he is laying down his life?

Ever since America went into the war American soldiers have been giving evidence of a wide-spread conviction among them that the democracy for which they are fighting includes women as well as men.

Wherever they have been able to go on record to prove the strength of that conviction they have done so, individually and collectively.

Last autumn they made themselves heard in Pittsburgh in burning protest at having to receive a United States flag from an anti-suffrage source.

By the companyful they blistered the "swivel-chair

men" of anti persuasion who last autumn urged them to vote no on the woman suffrage amendment in New York State.

Best of all, they sent back their votes in overwhelming numbers for the November elections in New York, in testimony of their desire to have their mothers, wives, sisters, sweethearts take up at the ballot box the civic responsibility which they themselves had to lay down in order to shoulder the musket.

That was as strong collective testimony as could be assembled, and it was strong enough.

The *Woman Citizen* is now in receipt of some added individual testimony that is commended to the attention of every United States Senator who is standing out against the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

This testimony comes in the form of a letter from Lieut. Thomas Leighton Sharp to his mother, Mrs. Katherine Dooris Sharp, of Ohio. In it he says:

"The American women have equalled the men in patriotism and work in every way.

"They have come up to all the requirements of this war splendidly.

"They are as willing to give their lives for their country as the men are.

"The English women have equal political rights with their men.

"It is up to the United States Senate to give the women of the U. S. A. the same recognition.

"I am so far away, and the news comes to me so slowly, that maybe I am behind the times.

"Only, that news, I guess, would be cabled.

"And wouldn't we soldiers from America be proud!"

What can the United States Senators who are obstructing the Federal Suffrage Amendment say to the soldiers who are waiting to be made proud by their country's full commitment to the meaning of democracy?

Baptists Forge Ahead

IT is regrettable that the College of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church South should have exercised their right of veto on the action of the general conference of the church which gave full lay membership to the women of the church at the General Conference in Atlanta this month. The conference's action marked the end of forty years of effort and was heralded far and wide as reflecting great credit upon the church's progressiveness.

The bishops held the action unconstitutional and the effect is to hold the measure over for submission to the annual conferences. When two-thirds of these conferences shall have voted for the change, the action of the General Conference will be held constitutional.

Meantime women of the Southern Baptist Churches have been granted full and equal rights with men. These rights were secured by an overwhelming vote at the 63rd session of the Southern Baptist Convention held in Hot Springs, Arkansas, the middle of May.

By the action taken women are entitled not only to represent their churches in the conventions, but also to hold any office in the convention, the highest administration organization in the denomination.

The Procedure

NOT only the enfranchised New York women themselves, but the women awaiting enfranchisement the country over are showing keen interest in the procedure whereby New York women are to be invested with the political rights which they won last November. Today, May 25, New York women resident in cities of 5,000 or more are having their first official experience with the technique of voting. It is the experience of personal enrollment under the banner of a political party.

Under the law electors enroll for an ensuing year at the time they register for the annual election. But as the women were not entitled to vote last fall a law was passed for a special enrollment for them, in order that they might take part in this year's primaries.

Women who live outside of a city having 5,000 inhabitants or more have been enrolling since May 15 by signing a blank and sending it in to the proper election officials. They can continue to do so until June 15. Women who live in cities or villages of 5,000 or more must enroll personally, if at all, and their only chance is today. Women must enroll in the election district in which they live.

The New York primaries this year come on September 3.

No woman can vote at these primaries unless she has enrolled.

At the primaries each party puts up the candidates from among whom it wants to choose one to run against the candidates of the other parties at the general election.

If you can't vote at the primaries you can't help choose the candidates for election.

Many women are asking the question: If women fail to enroll and, therefore, lose their chance to vote at the primaries, do they

also lose their chance to vote at the general elections that follow in the fall?

They do not.

What they lose is that chance to help pick the party candidates who will run in those elections.

In October there will be registration days for men and women both and every one who wants to vote at the general elections must register.

It Pays to Give Women Power

THE National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee's report of the first and second Liberty Loan campaigns is prefaced significantly. The committee takes occasion to express to the Secretary of the Treasury its "grateful appreciation of the opportunity for unhampered constructive work that he has given the women in the United States. It is the first time in the history of the country," says this committee, "that a member of the Cabinet of the United States has appointed a national woman's committee, giving it the *same recognition* and privilege as other committees of his department. It is the first time in the history of the world's greatest democracy that women have been recognized as potential factors in influencing public opinion and have been empowered to give, through their united efforts, aid to the Government."

The memorial further reports the committee's pleasure in its success, and gladly pledges itself and the "women in their organization to loyal and devoted service so long as the country shall need it and so long as the Secretary of the Treasury shall call for it." This significant statement is signed by Mrs. A. S. Baldwin, Mrs. George Bass, Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank, Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Mrs. George Thatcher Guernsey, Mrs. F. L. Higginson, Mrs. J. O. Miller, Miss Mary Symon, Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip and Mrs. Ella Flagg Young.

Results produced by this committee prove that freedom to use their own initiative stimulated efficiency. As a result of this autonomy consider what women accomplished in the Third Liberty Loan campaign. According to a report from the Committee on Public Information, the final returns of the Third Loan show that at least 50 per cent. of the subscriptions came in through women. The women of Delaware led all the states with 120 per cent. of the quota subscribed through their committees. Women of West Virginia, Virginia and New Mexico each raised one third of their state's quota. In some counties of West Virginia the men's committees asked the women's committees to restrain their efforts for a time in order to give them the opportunity of catching up. Two-fifths of Wyoming's subscriptions were brought in by women. Philadelphia women led all the committees of women in cities, raising \$52,000,000. Pittsburgh women raised \$35,500,000. In San Francisco, Los Angeles and Sacramento women's work for the loan ran high.

These figures are taken from the direct statement of Mrs. Antoinette Funk, one of the signers of the Liberty Loan's Memorial to Secretary McAdoo. More than half of these women signers have been and are suffrage leaders, appealing for years for po-

litical and civic equality between men and women on the ground that only on this basis can the best efficiency for the country be achieved.

A. S. B.

How Long?

A BOOK that enjoyed a high reputation among parents in the last century was Jacob Abbott's "Gentle Measures in the Training of the Young." It contains a great deal of good sense. The author lays down four rules to be observed in dealing with children:

1. When you consent, consent cordially.
2. When you refuse, refuse finally.
3. When you punish, punish good naturedly.
4. Praise often. Never scold.

Most of these rules apply just as well to men and women. The first of the four applies in the present case. A wise mother, if she means to grant a request in the end, will not make her child ask, and ask, and whine and cry for hours, before giving her consent. In that way the boon comes as something extorted, lessening the child's respect for the mother, and leaving a resentful feeling, even after the long pleading has been crowned with success. It is good psychology to consent promptly and cheerfully, if consent is to be given at all. Then the outcome is happiness and gratitude.

A large majority of the Senators favor submitting the suffrage amendment. Even the minority who are opposed know that it is bound to come, but a few of them seem bent on staving it off till the last possible moment, rendering the women's path as thorny as they can, and finally making the inevitable concession in the most grudging and ungracious way. Such an attitude is unworthy of statesmen, and short sighted for politicians. It is a case where he gives twice who gives quickly. He certainly gets twice as much gratitude.

A. S. B.

That Unanimous Vote

MORE than a passing interest attaches to the unanimous vote for woman suffrage recorded at the recent Biennial of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

It was the more significant because the meeting was held in Arkansas, and hence there was a large representation from the Southern clubs. But the thing of special point and moment was the unanimity of the vote. At the Biennial six years ago it was impossible to get such a resolution adopted. Most of the delegates were suffragists, but it was feared that a formal endorsement would split the Federation. At the Chicago Biennial, when suffrage was endorsed for the first time, there was an intense though not a numerous opposition. Although all the Chicago press reports agreed that the opponents were overwhelmingly outnumbered, a prominent anti-suffragist in an address made not long ago before the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention claimed that it was quite uncertain whether in Chicago the suffrage resolution actually had a majority. She intimated that the president said the ayes had it when it was really in doubt. This was a wild

suggestion, for if they had had any doubt in the matter the antis would certainly have called for a count. The unanimous vote at Hot Springs ought to put a final quietus on any such talk. No doubt there were a few antis there, but the general sentiment was so overwhelmingly against them that they did not wish to go on record.

Another interesting point is that it was the great Illinois delegation, more than a hundred strong, that took the lead in urging that no anti-suffragist ought to be elected to office in the Federation. One lone anti was a candidate—Miss Georgie Bacon—and although she had the powerful backing of the Federation's president, and although the prominent suffragist who was urged to run against her refused, nevertheless, so many state delegations followed the example of Illinois that Miss Bacon's vote was very seriously cut down.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs, with its huge membership, ramifying throughout the whole country, is the most representative organization of women in the United States. Moreover, it represents a great number of women who have worked for legislative reforms—women most of whom began by being antis or indifferent, but who are now convinced that they want to vote. The success of the Illinois club women in securing legislation without the ballot was for years one of the stock arguments of the antis in other states. And now these very Illinois club women take a particularly emphatic stand on the suffrage question, showing how strongly (after five years' experience) they believe in the value of a vote.

It is cold weather in these days for the anti-suffragists.

A. S. B.

Zeal Not Enough

ONE very hot summer day a mother was unexpectedly obliged to go away from the house for an hour on important business. She had no one to leave in charge of the baby except her young nephew; but he promised to take good care of it, and he tried to keep his word.

On her return he met her with a face of self-congratulation. "Aunt Mary," he said, "the baby was taken quite faint, but I found his medicine in the closet."

"Good heavens!" cried Aunt Mary. "What have you been giving the child? There wasn't any medicine in that closet!"

"Why, yes, there was," insisted the youth. "Look here!" And he held up with pride a bottle labelled "Kid Reviver."

Some of the conditions that have been revealed during the campaign now going on for saving the babies recall that incident. They point powerfully to the wisdom of taking women into counsel on questions of child welfare.

A. S. B.

The Country is Ready

"SUFFRAGE is coming, coming by Federal Amendment and coming soon. The country is ready for it. By voting in favor of the Amendment the Democratic State Central Committee keeps step with the party."—Hartford Post.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE
65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
AND HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Confering upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.

March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

January 10, 1918, yeas 274, nays 136.

Victory!

Present Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

On the calendar. Date for vote not fixed.

Illinois Federated Club Women Implore Senate

AT their annual meeting in May the Federated Clubs of the Twenty-fifth Congressional District of Illinois went on record as follows:

"Recognizing the economic and political place of woman in the world today, to say nothing of the divine right accorded her in the home, does it not seem that the time for her emancipation is now?

"In view of this situation, BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the women of the Federated Clubs of the Twenty-fifth Congressional District of Illinois, in annual session at Murphysboro, Ill., May 15, do implore the United States Senate to speedily pass the Federal Amendment granting to the woman of America equal suffrage."

That Voteless Voter

*We're reconciled to meatless stews,
To Hoover's rules and McAdoo's;
We do not mind our cotton duds
And bravely face our daily spuds!
We've learned to make a seamless seam
And get along with creamless cream.
The wheatless cake is orthodox,
We've lately camouflaged our clocks!
Near-leather goes into our shoes,
And oft we scan the newsless news!
The heatless, lightless war regime
Is part of each domestic scheme.
Just one thing we can't understand—
The voteless voter in the land!*

—MABEL DUNLAP CURRY.

His Bourbon Tendencies

MISS KATHERINE LUDINGTON, President of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, takes issue with Senator Brandegee's brand

of chivalry and choice of language displayed in recent Senate utterances. In a letter to the New Haven *Courier-Journal*, she calls attention to the fact that—

"Mr. Brandegee is opposed to woman suffrage as he is to practically all progressive legislation, has been well known to his constituents. Many have deplored his Bourbon tendencies, but there has been a certain respect for the outspoken frankness of his position. But the recent manner of his opposition to all liberal measures creates a situation which should not be ignored by Connecticut citizens. It would seem as if these four years of desperate war for justice, and especially now the thought of our own men, carrying our hopes and faith into the trenches, might sober even politicians into some realization of the gravity and dignity of the struggle, but the manner of Mr. Brandegee's speeches is habitually either violent or flippant."

LAST week's *Woman Citizen* quoted Senator Brandegee's manner of speech, in which he set forth his opinion about "pink tea parties that put pink chemises on the men and Plymouth Rock pants on the women," and delivered his edict to the effect that the women, "instead of bleating around here about saving democracy had better go home and knit (sic!) bandages and pick lint."

As a companion piece to this exalted valuation of womanhood Mr. Brandegee projected a high explosive against prohibition. It was absurd, he said, to send men into battle without "a drink of something to expand the cockles of the heart before they go up against the cold blue steel, and it may be the last the poor devils will ever get." Every army abroad gives its men a drink of this something, he insisted, and he was bitter against the proposition to "fill the soldier's belly full of ice water as a moral stimulus."

What Miss Ludington wants to know is:

"Is the tone of this speech satisfactory to his constituents? Do we wish it to be considered Connecticut's tone? Does he, for instance, represent Connecticut's manhood in its attitude toward woman? Women as well as men are giving their all to secure victory. In Europe and England they are carrying on the work of the men in every line of industry. They are risking—and giving—their lives, at home, in the munition works and at the front in the canteens, in the hospitals as Red Cross nurses and as ambulance drivers. American women can be counted on to do their part as the demand comes.

"THE position of women, the whole range of their interests, is being more profoundly affected by this war than any event since the industrial revolution of the 18th and early 19th centuries. The momentous decisions being made daily by governments are radically altering the world in which their children are to live. England and Canada have realized this and have given their women the same right of self-determination that they have promised to

Connecticut should see

That Brandy-gee

Should ne'er again

A Senator be—New Song.

the down-trodden nations of Europe. France and Italy are well on the way toward emancipating their women. The overwhelming trend of pub-

lic opinion, the outspoken statements of our President, and the leaders such as Roosevelt, William Hays of the Republican National Committee, and Vance McCormick, of the Democratic National Committee, and countless others, is all in this direction; but Senator Brandegee can still talk of women "bleating around about saving democracy by forcing their way into caucuses and conventions." These caucuses and conventions nominate the men who hold women's interests in their hands, and yet we are to have nothing to do with their proceedings! The successful conduct of the war, the welfare of the men of our families at the front, are in their hands, but we are to keep quiet and pick lint.

"NEXT fall the elections will turn on the supreme issue of loyalty, but Connecticut women along with the women of other non-suffrage states are to leave the choice of the new Senators, members of Congress, governors, etc., entirely to the men left at home by the war. We are sending hundreds of thousands of loyal voters out of the country, and it looks now as if they might thus be automatically disfranchised. Among those left home are all the unfit, the slackers, and the dangerously large number of alien enemies, who are still voters (seven states give the vote to foreigners on their first papers and before they are eligible to the draft). They are to decide these elections while the soldiers and their wives, mothers and sisters have not one word to say. Canadian soldiers found this intolerable and their women were enfranchised to represent them. Is America to be the only country except Germany that does not trust her women? We are told by Mr. Brandegee, in unison with the Kaiser, that our concern is with "cooking, clothing and children"—are we to be allowed no part in the protection of these homes and children against enemies without and spies within?

"CONNECTICUT moves slowly, but it has a noble past and its record in this war has been more than creditable. Will it rest contented to have the country take our senior Senator as representing Connecticut's attitude toward women? The Republican party has been a good friend to suffrage and has given it a very large majority in Congress. Mr. Brandegee does not even represent his party.

"KATHERINE LUDINGTON,
"President Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association."

An Anthony Aphorism

"I would exhort all women to be discontented with their present condition and to assert their individuality of thought, word and action by the energetic doing of noble deeds. Idle wishes, vain repinings, loud-sounding declamations never can bring freedom to any human soul."

Their Tory Attitude

WHY should the senators from Massachusetts persist in a tory attitude on the woman suffrage question? It amounts to toryism to vote against the suffrage amendment to the federal constitution now before the Senate. Great Britain has granted the parliamentary franchise to women. In Canada certain classes of women were allowed by law to vote for members of the House of Commons in the recent general elections. In Australasia women vote. In a large number of states in the American Union there is no longer the least discrimination against women as compared with men. Even in New York state women are voters in every sort of election. While the Senate at Washington hesitates over the federal amendment, one reads in the antisuffrage New York Times a reminder to women that "on May 25, between the hours of 8 a. m. and 10 p. m., the women voters of New York will have the privilege of enrolling, so that they can vote in the September primaries."

BUT Senators Lodge and Weeks are still against woman suffrage. They wish to prevent a woman in Massachusetts from voting for president in 1920, although that same woman could vote for president if she happened to live in New York. They know that in the next presidential campaign women will figure on the stump and at the polls even more than they did in the last one and that the candidate of their party would not have one chance in a thousand of being elected if he should line up on the antisuffrage side. The next Republican presidential candidate will cordially indorse woman suffrage, as Mr. Hughes did two years

ago, and Senators Lodge and Weeks will earnestly advise everybody to support him, yet they remain stubborn in their opposition to the passage of the federal amendment by the Senate.

THEY understand the situation perfectly. No one can see more clearly than they do that with women already voting in half the states of the Union, they must soon vote in all the states of the Union. They know that women in Massachusetts will not be permanently contented to be political ciphers not worth the counting while women in New York are by law recognized as political integers whom it is imperative to count. The senator who still opposes the federal suffrage amendment, knowing these things, makes himself an obstructionist for the sake of obstruction. His purpose is to delay an inevitable event in the political development of the country. Thus he stamps himself as a tory of the tories. There is still an opportunity for the Massachusetts senators to avoid for themselves such a classification.—*Springfield Republican.*

Senators Who

SENATORS who after the agitation of the past few years and after the experience of the war still refuse to submit the votes-for-women amendment to the state legislatures should consider carefully the effect of their refusal on the moral unity of the nation. Never in the history of any country have women been called upon to participate in public activities of

all kinds as they have been in the United States during the past year. Not only have they been drawn in constantly increasing numbers into industrial war work, but they have been participating to an unprecedented extent in all those voluntary activities which are doing so much to promote American success in the war and to intensify American national consciousness. They are behaving as active citizens, and the failure on the part of Congress to do what it can to recognize their services and to give to them the legal status of active citizens would be indecent in its sheer ingratitude, incredibly stupid in its ignoring of plain facts and puerile in the quality of its statesmanship. To call on women to conduct propaganda, to sell liberty bonds, to occupy important positions, to undertake hard and steady physical labor, to share in every responsibility and every activity except that of actually carrying arms and then to deny them the opportunity of voting would be one of those acts of fundamental inhumanity and injustice which would in the end involve in disaster the nation which consented to it. The women of America are the comrades of the men in this fight. They have just as much to gain as the men have from the successful achievement of American national purpose and just as much to lose as a consequence of failure. Any man who has seen the parade of American nurses and of the mothers of the drafted men, and who refuses to allow to women their share in the responsibility for the political policy, whose burdens they are so cheerfully carrying, is callous to the moral realities of what is now taking place almost to the point of being defective.—*The New Republic.*

Whom Does He Represent?

"WHOM does a United States Senator represent? Himself and his immediate family, or his constituents throughout the state that did him the honor to choose him as their representative?" That is the question which large numbers of the newly enfranchised women citizens of the State of New York—and large numbers of men citizens also—are asking today. Moreover, they are asking in tones that demand an honest answer. The reason for their asking is the fact that James W. Wadsworth, Jr., senior senator from a state that has declared its women—by an overwhelming majority in a popular referendum vote—to be citizens, persists in declining to vote for federal suffrage.

Not only did New York decide the question of women's citizenship and right to the ballot most decidedly last November—and it might be noted in passing, by a very much larger vote than that by which Mr. Wadsworth was elected to the national Senate—but since that has happened and women are numbered among his constituents, the Republican party, by which the Senator has been supported, has called upon him to vote for the amendment. Various Republican County Committees have sent him similar requests, including New York county, Kings, Nassau, Erie, Chemung, Dutchess, Columbia, Chatauqua, Franklin, Saratoga, Oswego, Delaware, Onondaga, Canajoharie and others, either

through resolutions passed and forwarded to the Senator or through personal letters from the leaders. Some, which have not actually passed the resolutions yet, have them pending. A long list of district political organizations and other bodies, the New York Letter Carriers' Association, for example, have taken similar action. And, finally, the Legislature of the State of New York prepared and sent to the senior Senator from this state a memorial requesting him to vote "yes" on the national women suffrage amendment.

In spite of all this, Mr. Wadsworth declines to vote "yes" and thus refuses to represent the state which he was elected to represent.

IT is reported that Senator Wadsworth defends his course by asserting that when he was elected to represent the state of New York, that state had not then enfranchised its women, therefore he is not bound to recognize such action. To that advocates of justice—and therefore of equal suffrage—reply by inquiring if the Senator expects to remain static during his six-year term in the Senate and quite oblivious to the progress made by his state. Such an argument they consider an absurdity.

In a letter to a New York Assemblyman, who wrote to Mr. Wadsworth, requesting him to vote for national woman suffrage, the Senator is quoted as explaining his inability to do so

because during the past five and a half years several states have failed to pass a state suffrage amendment, and he declines "to impose upon a group of states, however small, suffrage qualification in opposition to their own will." Such argument the advocates of justice—and therefore of equal suffrage—consider altogether specious. They point to the fact that the gentleman was elected to represent the state and therefore the people of New York, and that the citizens of other states are represented by senators of their own choice, under what is intended to be a representative government.

NEW YORK suffragists add that what they object to more than to the Senator's refusal to represent his state is his activity in trying to persuade other Senators to vote as he declares that he will, that is in opposition to the amendment. That they consider as little less than rank treachery to his constituents.

Moreover, if, when the amendment comes up for a vote in the Senate, as it may come at almost any time now, Senator Wadsworth persists in his intention to cast a vote against it, that action, in the opinion of many citizens of the state which he is supposed to represent will mean that in no very distant time he will have ample leisure to reflect in the solitude of private life upon the incidents of a finished political career.

ALICE LAWTON.



MRS. JOHN L. PYLE, OF HURON,
PRESIDENT SOUTH DAKOTA
UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE
LEAGUE

THEIR OFFER TO THE RED CROSS

"As a body of patriotic women, the South Dakota Universal Franchise League, which has a well organized working force in every county, takes great pleasure in offering its services to you, for the period of the coming Red Cross drive. We will suspend all suffrage activities for the week and place our organization entirely at your disposal, if you see fit to use us. We have a number of speakers in this state, who will be at your disposal, and we will be glad to instruct them and our County Chairmen to work under the direction of your County Chairmen."



MRS. MAMIE W. GUNDERSON, OF VERMILLION
Chairman of the Clay County Suffrage League, chairman of the Woman's Committee of Clay County Council of National Defense and head of the women's sale of Liberty Bonds



MRS. GER-
TRUDE GUN-
DERSON OF
VERMIL-
LION, AUDITOR

She is also president of the South Dakota Federation of Women's Clubs

For Cause and Country

SOUTH DAKOTA SUFFRAGISTS OFFER THEIR ORGANIZATION FOR RED CROSS DRIVE, WHILE THEIR STATE IS CAMPAIGNING FOR A SUFFRAGE REFERENDUM THIS FALL



MRS. FRANCES BROOKMAN, OF
VERMILLION

She is Vice-Chairman of the Clay County Suffrage League



PROF. EVA ROBINSON, OF
VERMILLION

Chairman of the Department of Production and Home Economics of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense



**MRS. PAUL REWMAN, OF DEADWOOD,
STATE CHAIRMAN OF FINANCE**

*Chairman of St. Lawrence County Suffrage Campaign Committee,
secretary of Black Hills Red Cross and head of the Woman's
Committee of the Council of National Defense of Deadwood*

**REPLY FROM THE RED
CROSS**

*"We appreciate to the
utmost the generous tender
of the services of the
League and their assur-
ances of co-operation with
the State Board in the
campaign for the Second
War Fund, and thank you
for it."*

*"We certainly will appre-
ciate very much indeed the
splendid co-operation we
know your people can give
this cause."*

**MRS. C. H. HERRIED
OF ABERDEEN,
CHAIRMAN OF
THE SUFFRAGE
CAMPAIGN COM-
MITTEE FOR
BROWN COUNTY**



**MRS. RAYNOS G. WELLINGTON
(BELOW), VICE CHAIRMAN
CLAY COUNTY SUFFRAGE
LEAGUE**



**MRS. ESTELLA
KAHL, VER-
MILLION,
SECRETARY
CLAY COUNTY
SUFFRAGE
LEAGUE**

BY WIRE MAY 21

*South Dakota was
the first state in the
Union to oversub-
scribe its Red Cross
allotment. Accord-
ing to Red Cross
Vice-Chairman
George R. Douthitt, it
is over 70 per cent.
ahead of its quota.*



**MRS. NINA D. PETTIGREW
OF BELLE FOURCHE**

*Member of the advisory board of the South
Dakota Universal Franchise League*



**MRS. LEWIS L. LEAVITT,
CHAIRMAN OF MINNEHAHA
COUNTY SUFFRAGE LEAGUE**

*who carried Sioux Falls for suffrage in 1916,
cutting down an adverse vote of 1,000*



The Red Cross and the Refugee

By Barton Blake



WANTED: A HOME

IF you have a family, Paris is no place for you nowadays.

I am writing of Frenchmen, not Americans. I am writing, especially of the Frenchman who is father of a *famille nombreuse*—a “numerous family,” being anything over three children. And among the refugees at Paris there are a great many *familles nombreuses*, for the French regions for large families are, *par excellence*, Brittany and the North; and the refugees are, of course, northerners, or north-northerners, which is to say, Belgians.

I said that if one had anything of a family, the Paris of 1918 is no place for one, and yet this very afternoon, in the Picpus quarter, near the old cemetery, and the grave of Lafayette, where General Pershing and his officers won the first American victory in France by exclaiming “Lafayette, nous voilà!”—I have just inspected some excellent apartments (one large room, two good sized rooms, kitchen), that will rent for francs 450 per year; less than \$80! It is a quarter frequented by workingmen of the better sort, and not too far from the Quai de la Rapée, where the American Quartermaster has pitched his tent; not far either from the region of the wholesale wine merchants, and I don't know how many factories. There are plenty of reasons why a hundred-odd French refugee families (*familles nombreuses*, *vous savez*) should be housed and made happy by the lodging of the five apartment houses and the quartier Picpus.

The reason why these particular lodgings are not rented, when desirable lodgings at a modest price are in such demand in Paris (almost as rare as a cigarette, if the truth be told) is, briefly, this: They are not quite completed. But they are approaching completion. The story of those apartments is mildly interesting, especially, I think, to Americans.

The group of the five of them—fine, solid buildings made-to-last (and also to be comfortable), was started not very long before the war. Each of the five belonged to a different owner, but the architect-contractor for all five was the same man. Therefore they were sure to form a harmonious group; therefore, also, the material and the construction costs would be the minimum. I am writing about France, where they order these things.

Then came the war. Work on the buildings at Picpus was halted. They stood, grim and incomplete, while the battle of the Marne was

risked and won, and Verdun proved. Refugees poured south into Paris, and beyond, and more than taxed the existing housing facilities. But the five apartment houses at Picpus stood gaunt and unfinished. To have completed them would have been a bad risk from the investor's point of view; both because of war conditions generally, and because of certain special legislation in favor of the war-time tenant, some member of whose family is mobilized at the front. . . .

Here is where the Americans come into the story. For the American Red Cross, through its Bureau of Refugees and Home Relief, deciding last fall, that in the family lay the hope of France, and that in the dispersal of families and the demoralization of family life lay the greatest danger to the French refugees from the battle-country or occupied area (and, through them, to all) decided upon seeing that just such apartments as those of the Picpus region, in the twelfth ward of Paris, were finished and used for *familles nombreuses*; the families in which lies the hope of the future France.

In whatever steps the American Red Cross took there was the collaboration of the Prefecture of Police. It was through the police that the Red Cross secured a list of a hundred and fifty vacant or uncompleted apartment houses in Paris, or in those of the suburbs which lie within the Department of the Seine. To this list, French or American representatives of the A. R. C. have added the locations of twenty-odd additional apartment houses in Paris, and over a hundred outside; and those representatives, having finished with the city proper, are still combing the outlying regions—and with the necessary fine-toothed comb!

THE plan of the Bureau of Refugees and Home Relief of the A. R. C. is this: To find incomplete lodgings, and to interest some French organization therein. The French charitable organizations which concern themselves with the welfare of refugees at Paris* are only too glad to place selected families in lodgings completed under a special arrangement with the proprietor of the as-yet-unfinished buildings by which (I cite a typical contract) the American Red Cross becomes responsible for *three months' rent*. For the most part these refugees are not, in the usual sense of the word, “charity cases.” Instead, they are to be provided with the means of conserving the family life, and, under hygienic and economic condition of living, *kept going under their own steam* till such time as they are able to return to their own homes in the north country. Nor is there any great risk in providing worthy refugees (gifted from the wasters, as they are, by their own nationals) with reasonable lodgings. For in cases where it is needed, they are entitled to a certain allowance from the State, the so-called *Indemnité de loyer*, which is adequate to cover the

* Five French organizations at Paris have undertaken to deal with the housing problem, of which three are actively engaged in running apartment houses for the benefit of refugees, in collaboration with the American Red Cross. The three in question are: “La Fraternelle des Régions Occupées” (of which well-to-do manufacturing and other business men of the northern industrial towns—themselves refugees—are the leading spirits); “L'Amélioration du Logement Ouvrier”; “L'Oeuvre Parisienne pour le Logement des Réfugiés”—this last organization of the Sixteenth Ward of Paris, of which the feminist leader, Mme. Brunswick, is the able president.

rental of a lodging at a moderate cost. The trouble has been, quite simply, that there were not sufficient lodgings to go round. At one stage of the war, withdrawals from Paris for one reason or another opened up a great many quarters for the refugees, but with the coming of so many allies to the French capital, this situation has been vastly altered, and the refugees, whether or not they have had work, have been herded like cattle awaiting the slaughter, in any kind of tenements at all. It has been one of the civilian tragedies of this war, the status of the refugee.

WHATEVER the American Red Cross has been able to do for refugees in Paris has not been charity in the ordinary sense of the word. Are intelligent people in 1918 much interested in “charity?” That is a private gratification which most of us who have a living wage, or more, enjoy practicing, but which we don't all of us take too seriously. . . . The refugees' work of the American Red Cross interests me, as I feel it interests thinking Frenchmen, because it addresses itself to the preservation of family life, and because it is on the family as a unit that the social future depends; because, finally, it is an affair of social justice and reason rather than charity.

In Europe, we are to-day conscious of many redoubtable tendencies and war-forces pulling apart, not families alone, but entire communities and tending to destroy the bases of social responsibility. In this situation, the salvage of some thousand families, the giving them a chance to hold together until, with the return of peace, they can get back to a social and economic life of their own, demanding nothing of anyone—nothing except a chance to work, a chance to live, is one more illustration, not of charity, but rather of understanding.

Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A.

The first “all women's hospital” units to go to the front are on duty in France.

Direct connection with the units is maintained by the WOMAN CITIZEN through letters, cablegrams and reports.

German Prisoners Building Women's Oversea Hospitals

"THE cable containing news of Mrs. Raymond Brown's coming was a happy surprise to us," is the word from Miss Florence B. Kober to the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. "It was the logical thing to do to send someone of Mrs. Brown's executive ability."

Miss Kober is acting as radiographer and nurse's aid in the Women's Oversea Hospitals' unit for French refugees, near Bordeaux, France. She reports that the buildings, now under way, are being erected by German prisoners.

"There is not one doctor in a civilian group of twelve or fourteen thousand people," is another outstanding statement in this letter. This doctorless town is Mont-de-Marsan, which was first designated as the spot for the Women's Oversea Hospitals Corps to establish their new hospital building.

"We went to Mont-de-Marsan," says Miss Kober, "but found it not a suitable place. It is the capital city of the department of Landes, and no refugees were to be quartered there. The Prefet referred us to Dax, and accordingly we investigated that as a site. Here we found that, because it was a fashionable hot springs resort, but a comparatively small number of refugees would be quartered—not enough to warrant the establishment of a hospital, such as ours was to be. Then the Prefet suggested Labouheyre.

"This latter place is the one in which we will permanently be established, taking in the surrounding small towns and the larger ones of Sabres, Rocquefort, Mont-de-Marsan (no doctor in this city of 13,000 or 14,000 people), and Dax, as 'dispensary' towns. Labouheyre is small—just a village, but it is expected to place several thousand refugees under our care here.

"THE Mayor, M. Bacon, is most cordial and interested, and has given us a site on his own property for the houses of our personnel and hospitals. These buildings are in course of construction—we have 20 German prisoners and several French at work upon them, and it's safe to say we will be moving in and settled in another week. We are most impatiently awaiting our supplies, purchased in Bordeaux, and through the efforts and influence of Miss McCaffrey, whose brother-in-law is Major General Kernan, these supplies are being sent through the courtesy of General Scott, chief in Bordeaux, as American Army transportation. Freight conditions are more upset and undependable than those in the States—and that is hard to imagine, isn't it?

"So far we have none of our machines, but expect the ambulances in a day or two. The camion seems to have wandered and evidently does not wish to come to us. No doubt it is resting on one of Bordeaux's numerous docks.

"Dr. Finley and Dr. Sholly came down from Chateau Ognon (where the evacuation hospital unit is at work with French surgeons) to spend several days inspecting our progress here.

"We have a small, purposeful, earnest group, eager and ready for the work before us.

"Of our buildings—I hope to mail you pictures very shortly. We have, in all, eleven.

The hospital group contains office, waiting room, director's office, dispensary and laboratory, operating room and sterilizing room, two wards, hospital kitchen, hospital supply room and maids' quarters.

In the personnel group are living quarters, each house having 3 separate rooms accommodating 2 persons each, kitchen and dining room, stores and recreation room.

"The houses are regulation French barrack type.

"A number of people in the village have already asked for medical attention and we will be busy as soon as the drugs and instruments arrive.

"We are most happy in the progress and prospects of the work. And I am most happy to be able to report this to you. It is not a too optimistic or premature prediction to say that we can promise you and the suffrage party, which is our backbone, a thing in which you soon can take pride; and in this I can only speak for our division for never having seen the work or place of the other divisions, it cannot be judged, but I hear they are very busy, happy and of great help.

"Spring is here—I should say it has been here for quite some time, but two weeks of steady cold rain took away all pleasure. The past few days have been glorious with sunshine, and one began to dig around through trunks for 'summer weights,' and to discard extra clothing."

Good Sports

"NEVER mind what you call yourself, just do what comes to your hand" is the message one reads between the lines of a letter received from Miss Marie Lopez, of New York City, at the National American Woman Suffrage Association headquarters.

Miss Lopez is one of the first group of women who went to France with the Women's Oversea Hospitals. She was a California girl, and a graduate of Berkeley University. Trained both as nurse's aid and ambulance driver, Miss Lopez started out in the Motor Corps, expecting to be most urgently needed in that capacity. But the fortunes of war plunged her into the post-operative ward of an evacuation hospital and she is now working day and night caring for wounded poilus and her only regret is that she can do so little.

"My first days," she writes, "I worked with others in the ward where men are undressed and washed as they come in from the field. Now I am in a post operative ward. To-night, Mary Brown, a wonderful sport, and I are sitting up. Our hours are from 8 p. m. until 5 a. m. Picture us in the great long barrack with two tiny dim lights one at each end of the room. There are two rows of beds all of which are occupied excepting for the three occupants who have died within the last twenty-four hours. The men lie in crude little iron beds and they get along with, oh! so little. Each man has his little tin cup at his bedside, and one of his constant exclamations is, "A boire!" We have water, or cold tea or a weak lemonade sweetened with something that is not

sugar to give to them. A bite of chocolate is a luxury. Occasionally some one asks for a match to light his pipe. He is not able to sleep. Another may call for us to turn him 'a gauche' or 'a droit.' The orderly sleeps in the same room. The other night we needed him badly so we went to his bed to awaken him. Half asleep, we took off his gauze protector which he puts over his lovely, long mustache to keep it in place.

"These soldiers are all like children. Smile and they smile with you. At midnight when the stillness is broken by some absurd request one laughs and the same laugh echoes the full length of the room, and silence reigns again.

"It is all ever so interesting, but there is little one can really do. The problem is so gigantic.



MARIE LOPEZ

"THE men are bully in their spirit. They come in shot to pieces and yet we hear not a word of bitterness. Everything is always well with them. Only in their last dying moments do they seem to rebel and struggle for existence, but even this struggle does not last long. All is soon over. It is so hard to see beautiful young boys with the hope of youth in their eyes pass away! . . . The temporary hospital is situated in one of the most charming spots of France. We are in an old, aristocratic chateau. Our quarters are up on the third floor and the view from our windows is beautiful. They overlook a gentle rolling valley, with its velvety green fields studded with fragrant violets and primroses. There are two quaint little villages in the distance.

"I walked over to one of them to-day and the winding streets with their little low stone houses and fresh dainty vegetable gardens made me realize that I was far away from home.

"ALL of this simplicity spells peace. But not so far from us is the real field of action. We are aware of it when we hear the big machine guns and when we hear the avions soar not far above us. We are more certain of it all when the great camions arrive in the dead of night bringing to us those who have fallen in their fight for us! These men carry with them their most precious worldly possessions done up in little rolls. They would not part with them for anything. Just the other night I saw one who preferred to lie huddled up on his stretcher with the assurance that his wealth lay at his feet."

Hennepin County (Minn.) Suffrage Association's Red Cross Squad



Red Cross and Suffrage Banner

THE South Dakota Universal Franchise League is suspending all its strenuous campaign activities during this week of the intensive Red Cross drive to devote time and energy to the work of raising funds for this humanitarian movement. Every unit of the state suffrage association, which includes an active organization in each county in preparation for the big drive which is expected to place South Dakota among the white states on the suffrage map next November, has been thrown unstintedly and whole-heartedly into the work of aiding the Red Cross campaign.

It is not entirely a new thing for South Dakota to have a franchise campaign under way. It was thought that the campaign of 1916 would be the last one, but circumstances delayed the triumph of the suffragists for a time. The imposing list of suffrage victories gained throughout the world since that time is accepted as an omen of victory in November.

Unusual interest has been added to the campaign by the unique form which the lawmakers have given to the state suffrage amendment. Sex distinctions have been eliminated entirely in the proposed amendment. It makes citizenship alone the basis of participation in governmental affairs on the part of the voters. The old clause, "without regard to sex," found in so many state suffrage amendments, has been eliminated for one of more modern meaning—"citizens of the United States."

Two things are expected to aid in swinging the suffrage pendulum over to the victory mark in the South Dakota campaign. One is the tremendous increase in suffrage sentiment throughout the world in war times, and the other is the ever-increasing belief that the government of the states and the nation should be in the hands of genuine citizens. A vote against the South Dakota amendment will be a vote in opposition to the policy of applying the acid test of citizenship to the nation's electorate.

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association has just completed a survey of the Red Cross work of its state affiliations and submits the following incomplete summary:

The war work chairman of each county suffrage league of Arkansas promptly signified her intention of taking part in the present drive for funds.

EVERY Michigan suffragist is working for the Red Cross in one way or another, and is assisting in the fund-getting campaign. Although Michigan, like South Dakota, is a state where full suffrage will be voted on this fall, suffragists everywhere are serving as members of war boards and the state is everywhere organized into very small units for carrying on the national defense work. The pride of Saginaw is the Surgical Dressings Department of the Red Cross, on account of the successful application of factory methods and the remarkable results obtained in the production department. This method was installed under the direction of Mrs. Earl P. Wilson, member of the General Finance Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and Secretary of the Eighth Congressional district of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association. As a result of her work, the production of dressings in a city of 60,000 has increased from 40,000 pieces from June to November, 1917, to 40,000 in one month. The total production for five months last year was 40,000. The total production from November 1, 1917, to April 1, 1918, is 913,000 pieces.

MRS. FRANK STRANAHAN, President of the Florida Equal Suffrage Association, writes that the officials of Red Cross, Liberty Loan and Suffrage Associations so duplicate each other that it would be impossible for the suffrage association to carry on a separate work even if it wanted to do so. "I, myself," she concludes, "am vice-president of our local Red Cross and was captain of the drive last fall. As president of the State Suffrage Association I am a member of the Florida State Board of the division of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense."

This is a story which could be applied with slight variations about forty-eight times.

Mrs. John S. Cunningham, president of the North Carolina suffragists, has spoken at countless patriotic meetings during the past year.

Suffragists have charge of the Red Cross work in most of the cities of West Virginia and those who are good speakers were all listed to speak in this week's drive.

Several suffrage organizations were so deeply rooted in war work early in the day that they

have become strong central organizations leading the Red Cross work of their sections. Minnesota is such an instance where the Hennepin County suffrage headquarters in Minneapolis also was a Red Cross station headquarters until the work outgrew the space, acquired larger quarters, and is now one of the largest in Minneapolis.

THE Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association offered its officers and affiliated leagues for service in the past week's drive. The State Suffrage President, Mrs. Barton P. Jenks, the second vice-president, Miss Nellie E. Bauer, and the honorary president, Mrs. Alfred Coates, are all on the Rhode Island Red Cross Committee. On the Red Cross Speakers' Bureau are four other officers of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association; Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, honorary president, Mrs. Jerome M. Fritz, corresponding secretary, Miss Helen Emerson, vice-president, and Miss Bauer. Individual suffragists and many local leagues have done intensive work.

The Equal Suffrage League of Richmond, Virginia, is an accredited Red Cross Auxiliary. This league reports nearly 4,000 articles made for the Red Cross.

Wisconsin is a highly organized state for war service. Many local suffrage presidents are chairmen of the Red Cross or Council of Defense work. The first vice-president of the State Association has been active in the Red Cross drives.

Illinois Equal Suffrage Association reports over 200,000 women active in the last Red Cross drive through its affiliated membership. They have "established splendid records."

The Kansas City, Missouri, Central Suffrage Association gives one day each week regularly to the Red Cross work.

THE Savannah, Ga., Suffrage Society maintains a headquarters for Red Cross work, making one-fifth of the entire output of dressings for that city last year. For six months this headquarters was entirely self-supporting.

One of the leading suffragists in Macon, Ga., Miss Ida Holt, is head instructor in surgical dressings for her city, and Mrs. Harrold, one of the state vice-presidents, is chairman of Red Cross headquarters. A tremendous proportion

of Atlanta's Red Cross workers are suffragists.

Maine reports that one suffrage league has adopted a French orphan. Several are contributing as organizations, to the suffrage coffee house at Ayer, Mass., to the knitting and yarn funds. As individuals Maine suffragists have all worked for the Red Cross drive.

THE president of the New Hampshire Equal Suffrage Association, Mrs. Martha S. Kimball, of Portsmouth, is also one of the directors of the local Red Cross Chapter. She reports that the members of her state association are working closely. Membership in the State Red Cross and Woman's Division of the Council of National Defense are so interchangeable with suffrage officials that there was no need of a separated work.

The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association and the Boston Equal Suffrage Association furnished volunteers for the Red Cross drive and the city conducted a special meeting for its benefit.

Mrs. Harriet P. Lynch, of Cheraw, president of the South Carolina Equal Suffrage League, qualified last year as Red Cross instructor, and organized a surgical dressings class over which she is supervisor. She instructed all her local presidents throughout the state to organize as Red Cross auxiliaries.

Out of 75 women gathered in April at Iowa City from all over the state at their own expense, Miss Anne Lawther of Dubuque, president of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, reports at least 60 as prominent suffragists. Each woman promised to teach in 5 counties the things she learned at the conference. "I have been in four counties in the last four days," said Miss Anne Lawther, on May 16. "and I found suffragists all busy preparing for the Red Cross drive."

Indianapolis has recently opened a new Red Cross shop under the auspices of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana. This is under the chairmanship of Mrs. M. H. K. Malone, and was opened at the request of the State Red Cross. The state president of the league, Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, reports that early in the spring from 75 to 80 per cent of the members of the league throughout the state were Red Cross workers. All the local leagues have been assisting the drive this week.

THE Red Cross Circle of the Woman Suffrage League of Maryland has carried on steady work at its headquarters in Baltimore for a year, making surgical dressings, hospital garments and supplies, sweaters, helmets, scarves, and wristlets. Comfort kits were sent to 193 Maryland men in the Rainbow Division of the French Mortar Battery, also to 75 Maryland men in the navy.

Kansas, where all women are suffragists, is highly organized for Red Cross work. Wichita, with a population of 75,000, has an organization of 1,350 women conducting National Defense work—including both Red Cross and Liberty Loan.

The president of the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association, Mrs. Katherine Tipton Hosmer, has rounded into service for Red Cross funds all the members of her association.

The Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association donated at its headquarters, 55 Pratt street, two rooms on the third floor for the exclusive use of Red Cross Work and has a Chapter of forty women who work four half days in



THE GIRL SHE LEFT BEHIND HER
New York Evening Journal

every week. Red Cross headquarters opened April 13, 1917. The chapter is required to furnish 150 garments a month, but always exceeds its quota. Mrs. William H. Deming, Second Senatorial District Leader, a graduate doctor, is to conduct classes in Home Nursing and First Aid.

From Fargo, North Dakota, comes this: "Nearly every woman in North Dakota is a suffragist. If they did their Red Cross work in suffrage leagues only, there would be no Red Cross." Therefore they have chosen to uphold existing chapters of the American Red Cross, although many suffrage leagues work collectively as auxiliaries to the Red Cross. Fargo has one with three departments, surgical dressings, garment making and knitting.

For the Unit

"OVER THE TOP" nine times is the message the St. Louis suffragists send the Central Committee in charge of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A. Forty-five hundred dollars for the maintenance of the hospitals was raised in fifteen minutes at a luncheon given in honor of Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, of New York, at the Statler Hotel, on May 8th. Two hundred women attended the meeting and suffragists and non-suffragists alike contributed generously in response to the appeal of Mrs. George Norton, who spoke after Mrs. Tiffany had outlined the work of the unit from its formation to the present time.

Mrs. Newton Wilson, of St. Louis, gave \$1,000, the first contribution; three women gave \$200 each; seventeen gave \$100 each; ten gave \$50 each; sixteen gave \$25 each. Mrs. Norton, in her dramatic appeal, said: "England is doing her best, France is doing her best, Italy is doing her best, Belgium has given her all, and it is time for us. God grant that we shall not fail to do our share! We want the Government and the world to feel that we are just as essential to America as the men in the trenches."

Mrs. Ernest W. Stix, chairman of the Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis, presided. In addition to Mrs. Tiffany at the speakers' table were Mrs. Frank V. Harrar, chairman of the St. Louis Chapter of the American Red Cross; Mrs. B. F. Bush, chairman of the State Council of National Defense; Mrs. Philip B. Fouke,

chairman of the city committee, State Council of National Defense, and Mrs. Robert McKittrick Jones, chairman of the St. Louis Committee for the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A.

Foreign Notes

THE formation of Women Citizens' Associations throughout Great Britain is receiving the support and assistance of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. The work of these Associations is many-sided. They provide a rallying point for women of all shades of opinion and by promoting discussion of the social and political questions which specially affect them they do much to foster interest and knowledge of these questions among the newly enfranchised citizens. As the movement grows they may be expected more and more to undertake definite constructive work in order to secure the adequate representation of the interests and experience of women in the affairs of the community.

Four women, Lady Lawrence, Mrs. Lawrence, Mrs. Churchill and Miss Mary McArthur, have been appointed on the Committee to advise the British Minister of Munitions on problems of the supply and distribution of food to munition workers. There are at present eleven persons on this committee, but the Admiralty have still to appoint representatives.

"Although we must still deplore the fact," says Mrs. Fawcett's Evelyn House Bulletin from London, "that where there is a committee of men and women, women are invariably in the minority, we are glad to see that their inclusion in public committees is steadily becoming more general."

There will probably be three women candidates for seats in the next British Parliament. These are Mrs. Philip Snowden, Miss Margaret Bondfield and Miss Nina Boyle. Miss Boyle asks if it is not permissible for women to stand for Parliament, why is it permissible for them to be sworn in as police?

A cablegram from Miss Eline Hansen of Copenhagen, Denmark, to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Suffrage Alliance, announces that five women have just been elected to the Upper and four to the Lower House of the Danish Parliament.

German war lords are now letting German women manage the *kuchen* on a communal scale. All the public kitchens of the Empire are directed and staffed by women. They buy and regulate all supplies, including fuel, and handle all the work of supervision and accounting. Most of the kitchens are self supporting.

But the war lords are still keeping their hands on the *kinder*. Compulsory marriages before the twentieth year are recommended by the German commission appointed to examine decline in birth rate. The infantile death rate in Germany is said to be 50 per cent higher than in England and Wales, and a decline of 40 per cent in birth rate from 1913 to 1916 is also reported.

The Commission makes provision to give financial assistance to young couples, to offer bonuses for children and to provide punishment for married couples who remain childless.

Armenian Poems

RENDERED into English verse by Alice Stone Blackwell. For sale for the benefit of the Armenian Relief Fund, by Edward H. Chandler, 3 Joy St., Boston, Mass., Price \$1.00.

THESE poems are truly Oriental in the fire of their passion and the splendor of their imagery. We can better understand the Song of Solomon after reading such verses as these.—Christian Work.

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Democratic Ideals

A SKETCH OF CLARA BEWICK COLBY

By Olympia Brown

Woman's Suffrage is now so nearly an accomplished fact that people are realizing the value of the work that has been done in its behalf and are reading the lives of those who have worked for woman's emancipation with renewed interest. Mrs. Colby was one of the most loyal and faithful of the early workers. The story of her life is most interesting.

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Author of "Paul's Parliamentary Law"
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The Book Stall

Your Vote and How to Use It

THE keynote of woman's long struggle for the ballot has been her ardent desire for service. Now that she has been given the vote, she is eager to learn how she can best render that service," says Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt in her foreword to *Your Vote and How to Use It*. (Harper and Brothers.)

Some of the ways in which women can render efficient service as enfranchised citizens are pointed out in this condensed manual of civics, which will be dear to the hearts of tens of thousands of New York State women because it is written by Mrs. Raymond Brown.

Mrs. Brown was president of the historic New York State Woman Suffrage Association during the 1915 campaign before its incorporation with the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, and has been intensively occupied with the details of political affairs for many years. In her official capacity and as public speaker she has been called upon to study into all phases of the subject of voting and in her printed manual she has naturally specialized on New York's political methods. Mrs. Brown's book is thoroughly practical both as an immediately useful chart through the unfamiliar waters of a new voter's first election and as a compendium of definitions for future reference. In it one can find brief but adequate information on the divisions of state government, functions of officials, and methods of election procedure.

The latter part of this manual gives the woman voter at least a speaking acquaintance with the agencies through which she is to function as a citizen, and points out ways in which her vote may be used to effect such reforms as she holds dear.

Mrs. Catt's brief foreword sets the high standard she herself hopes to see achieved by women as voters. "The ballot should be regarded as a sacred trust," says Mrs. Catt. "It remains now for women to treat it with a new dignity and to give it the importance it deserves."

Orders for *Your Vote and How to Use It* may be sent to the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., 171 Madison Avenue, New York City. 75 cents.

Social Democracy

JOHAN SPARGO, the well-known Social Democratic writer, who is one of the leaders of the National Party, has written two books which the firm of Harper & Bros. will publish. Both volumes are now in press.

The first is entitled "Social Democracy Explained," and is a careful and extensive exposition of the theories and tactics of the great world-wide Socialist movement. It is said that the most notable feature of this volume is an exhaustive treatment of the relation of democratic Socialism to the movement for the prohibition of the liquor traffic, in which Mr. Spargo is a profound believer. He argues that Socialism requires the elimination of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors.

The second volume, "Americanism and Social Democracy," as its title indicates, deals with the great controversies that have arisen among the Socialists as a result of the war and is a statement of the views of that part

of the Socialist movement which has loyally supported the Allied cause.

The publisher's announcements state that the volume contains important official documents dealing with the crisis in the Socialist ranks. In addition to these features the volume deals with the movement to coalesce the various radical parties and groups of the country, and outlines what the author believes to be a practical programme for a new American Social Democracy.

His major contention is that genuine Social Democracy and true Americanism are complementary and not antagonistic.

The price of each volume is \$1.50; prepaid \$1.60.

A Book of Facts

THE recent publication of a woman voter's guide book by a banking house throws a side light on the number of women who look after their own investments and business affairs. The banking house which has issued this booklet for its patrons, *The United States Mortgage and Trust Company*, says that at its West End Branch women constitute probably 80 per cent of its banking and safe deposit clients.

The book, they say, emphasizes the policy of real service which is rendered by their institution and its purpose to keep well abreast of the times. Printed in the sunny yellow and brilliant blue of the New York City suffrage colors it is entitled, "*Facts and Information Relative to the Enfranchisement of Women*." It is small and flat and light enough to be carried in one's hand bag, and contains a summary of the "qualifications, duties and privileges of women voters." Among other things it gives the various steps in the operation of the Wagner bill for the registration and enrollment of women and a brief description of steps to be taken in registering and casting the vote.

The booklet may be had upon request from any of the company's offices or from the city headquarters of the Woman Suffrage Party, 3 East 38th street, New York City.

The A B C of Voting

MARION B. Cothren (Mrs. Frank H.) approaches the details of election procedure in her *a b c of Voting* (Century Co.) in a manner which rather supplements than duplicates other books of its type. Much more attention is given to the primaries than in most books on this subject. Chapter one, "From Primary to Election," maps out each step which the voter must take before she finally expresses her will at the polling booth. There is a chapter on political parties which defines the main differences between the four parties in active operation when the book was written.

Although Governor Charles Whitman is the author of the book's preface, Mrs. Cothren's statement of party principles shows no bias, but is strictly impartial.

A chapter on the relation of state and nation to each other gives the basic ideas of a federated group of states when functioning through a central government. There are pages on the cost of government, the business of "running the state" and a concluding chapter on the special laws in the state of New York governing women and children.

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Light Gray Soisette Uniforms with low neck; white collar and cuffs. Size 34 to 42.	3.95
Maids' Apron Sets, consisting of Apron, Collar and Cuffs of Net, and black ribbon tie. Set	1.50

Correspondence

That Zone System

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

May I call attention to what all who read Representative Blanton's reply to Miss Blackwell must have felt, namely, that the reply completely avoids the real point in the discussion of "That Zone System."

Even if we grant that the department loses the vast sums claimed in the handling of second-class matter, and we admit the necessity of an increased postal revenue, there still remains the indictment that the zone system is unwise, un-American, and mischievous.

Anyone who knows the ante-bellum history of this country knows, and those who have gone from cosmopolitan centers to live in the provincial sections of the country know, that we have paid and are still paying a fearful price for this sectionalism, and that it is to the publications of national circulation that we must look for the cure of this.

The zone system of postal rates will set us back generations and re-sectionalize the country, even though we grant that a few publishing giants like the Curtis company may be able to survive. Not one swallow, nor even a few, can make a summer—nor can anything less than the fullest and freest circulation, nation wide, of all sorts of publications destroy this baneful sectionalism.

Personally, I do not admit the wisdom of looking to the postoffice for a profit or the

extent of the shortage claimed on account of the second-class rate. Most certainly do I not admit that we could afford a zone system were the losses ten times what Representative Blanton claims them to be.

L. D. BECKWITH.

Atascadero, Calif.

Practical Investments

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

In an article "Practical Investments for Women," I agree with Miss Loomis in all her statements except one. Men have not sufficient insurance. There is a large field for the woman salesman to sell Life Insurance to men, for the protection of the wife and children. It often saves them from poverty, through the death of the husband. A woman can learn the business of selling to men in a few months. I know an office in New York where women have sold large policies to men and they consider it a very remunerative and above all a beneficial business.

EDA ARKUSH.

New York City.

Mrs. Conrow's Title

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

You may be glad to know that Emma Hutchinson Conrow, whose excellent paper, read before the New Jersey Pomona Grange,

appeared in a recent issue of the *Citizen*, is not "Miss" but "Mrs." She is the mother of a family of young New Jersey suffragists and farmers, the oldest of whom, a high school senior, bids fair to follow in her mother's footsteps as a suffrage worker.

MARY ELIZABETH PIDGEON.

Watertown, S. D.

Used Stamps Contraband

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I saw in your last issue an advertisement from "an interned Belgian soldier" asking for canceled postage stamps. The same advertisement has appeared in a great many papers; so it is well for readers of the *Woman Citizen* to know that, since spies have used an arrangement of stamps to indicate the sailings of troop ships, the censor holds all letters containing used stamps, or returns them to the senders.

The *Journal of Philately* is my authority for the above statement.

KATE SAMPSON HALL.

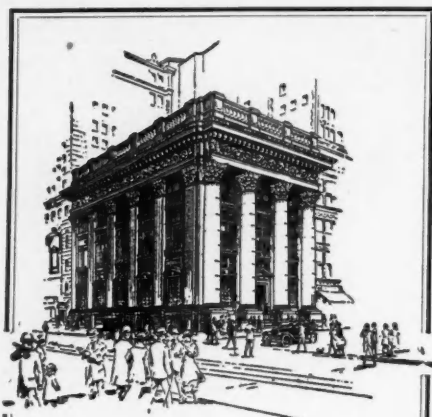
Pinewood, Tenn.

Just Let Him Mention

*While Europe's eye is fixed on mighty things,
The fate of empires and the fall of kings;
While quacks of state must each produce his plan,*

*And even children lisp the Rights of Man;
Amid this mighty fuss just let me mention,
The Rights of Women merit some attention.*

—Robert Burns, November, 1792.



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Minnesota Women's Creed

AT the annual convention of the P. E. O. State Grand Chapter, representing 320 Minnesota women, a suffrage resolution, reading as follows, was unanimously passed:

"Whereas, We believe in the justice of political equality of women;

"Be it Resolved that we favor the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment to the Legislatures of the several states and the ratification of this amendment by the Legislature of Minnesota at its next session."

Within the Organization

A PATRIOTIC rally at the Boston Opera House this evening will mark the closing of the annual convention of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. A military band will play and there will be patriotic songs. Both Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw are in attendance to take part in the big demonstration. Many women's patriotic organizations will participate in the affair in honor of Dr. Shaw who is attending in her capacity of Honorary President of the National Suffrage Association and as Chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense.

PROTESTS, individual and collective against the Senate's delay in voting on the Federal Amendment, were outstanding features of the State board meeting of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association on May 13 and 14.

All the members present reported that the war had made many men think woman suffrage a national necessity. A careful canvass of the candidates for the legislature was reported, and showed many counties 100 per cent for suffrage.

Throughout the state there is, says Miss Anne Lawther, president of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, a resentful feeling towards the attitude of the United States Senate on the Federal Amendment situation, although everyone expressed the greatest satisfaction that the Senators from Iowa are firm for woman suffrage by the federal route.

THE Woman Suffrage League of Maryland will hold its first annual state convention at Baltimore on June 5. The convention announcement states the most important matter to come before the delegates will be the discussion of Federal Amendment ratification plans. A supper on the lawn at Melvale, the home of Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott, vice-president of the state league and chairman of the City Committee, will be the social features.

INDIANA suffragists are taking a lively interest in the May primaries of that state, giving special attention to the candidates for the 1919 Legislature which, in all probability, will be called upon to ratify the Federal Amendment. The Woman's Franchise League has sent out letters to 400 Republican and Democratic candidates to ascertain their attitude on suffrage and the ratification of the Federal Amendment. The result will be announced by Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, president of the League, and the 7,000 active members and the several thousand affiliated members will act accordingly.

THE Alabama Equal Suffrage Association, at its annual convention, held May 7 and 8, at Selma, took a firm stand for suffrage by the federal route, adopting the following resolution:

"Whereas, the Federal Suffrage Amendment has the support of the President of the United States and of the National Executive Committee of the Democratic Party as a necessary war measure;

"Therefore, be it Resolved by the suffragists of Alabama, assembled in sixth annual con-

vention, that they urgently call upon Senator John B. Bankhead and Senator O. W. Underwood to help this nation become a real democracy, to carry out the policy of the present Democratic administration and to represent truly the wishes of the women of their own state by supporting the Federal Suffrage Amendment and voting for it when it comes up in the Senate."

Alabama has outlined a busy year's program to be carried out by the following staff of officers: Mrs. Solon Jacobs, chairman, Birmingham; Mrs. Julian B. Parke, vice-chairman, Selma; Miss Amelia Worthington, corresponding secretary, Birmingham; Mrs. Leon Weil, recording secretary, Montgomery; Miss Annie Joe Coates, treasurer, Gadsden.

The delegates devoted a portion of time to the discussion of Federal Amendment ratification plans.

MISSOURI suffragists held the annual convention of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association at Macon, this month. Politicians will soon have every reason to know that the women of Missouri stand for the Federal Suffrage Amendment and for its speedy ratification when it shall have passed the Senate. One of the principal convention addresses was made by Miss Anna B. Lawther, president of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, who has been devoting much attention to war work.

The convention adopted strong resolutions expressing its loyalty and desire to serve the government, and determined to wage an active campaign in behalf of the Children's Code which will be before the legislature of 1919. The code was prepared by the commission appointed by the governor and provides for the welfare of the children of Missouri.

The convention also voted unanimously to wage a subscription campaign in behalf of the *Woman Citizen* and the *Missouri Woman*, the state Suffrage paper.

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of Columbia was re-elected state chairman and she will have as her first vice-chairman, Mrs. David O'Neill, St. Louis; second vice-chairman, Mrs. Hugh Ward, Kansas City; third vice-chairman, Mrs. William Steele, Sedalia; recording secretary, Mrs. Elmer McKay, Springfield; corresponding secretary, Mrs. W. R. Haight, Brandsville; treasurer, Mrs. Fred Tausig, St. Louis; first director, Mrs. J. W. Head, Palmyra; second director, Mrs. Ernest W. Stix; St. Louis; third director, Mrs. Otho F. Matthews, Macon; fourth director, Mrs. Jules Rosenberger, Kansas City.

MRS. BEN. HOOPER of Oshkosh, Chairman of the Congressional committee of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage association, and prominent in general suffrage activities, has been appointed by the State Council of Defense as special representative to visit the various counties of the state in the interest of organization work among women. Mrs. Hooper, who has a talent for organization, will strengthen the weak places in the county organizations and bring them up to full efficiency.

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